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# LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Public Law 267--78th Congress

Chapter 135--2d Session

H. J. Res. 192

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## DIGEST OF PUBLIC LAW 267

UNRRA AUTHORIZATION. Authorizes appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 to the President for the work of the United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Provides that this authorization shall expire June 30, 1946.

## SUMMARY AND INDEX OF HISTORY ON H. J. RES. 192

November 15, 1943	H. J. Res. 192 introduced by Rep. Eloom and referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.
December 7, 1943	Hearings: House, H. J. Res. 192.
January 17, 1944	House Committee reported H. J. Res. 192 with amendments. House Report 994. Print of the Resolution as reported.
January 19, 1944	H. Res. 401 reported from the Rules Committee for the consideration of H. J. Res. 192. House Report 999. Print of the Resolution as reported.
January 20, 1944	H. J. Res. 192 debated in House.
January 21, 1944	Debate continued. Remarks of Rep. Jonkman.
January 24, 1944	Debate continued. Remarks of Reps. Herter, Voorhis, Zimmerman and Judd.
January 25, 1944	Debate concluded. Passed House with amendments. Remarks of Reps. Andresen, Reed, and Shafer.
January 26, 1944	H. J. Res. 192 referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Print of the Resolution as referred.
February 9, 1944	Hearings: Senate, H. J. Res. 192.
February 14, 1944	Senate Committee reported H. J. Res. 192 with amendment. Senate Report 688. Print of the bill as reported.
February 15, 1944	H. J. Res. 192 discussed in the Senate.
February 16, 1944	H. J. Res. 192 debated in Senate. Amendments proposed by Senators McKellar, O'Mahoney and Taft.
February 17, 1944	Debate concluded. Passed Senate with amendments.
February 18, 1944	Print of the Resolution with the amendments of the Senate numbered.
February 21, 1944	Motion made to appoint House Conferees withdrawn.



February 23, 1944	House appointed Conferees.
March 3, 1944	Senate appointed Conferees.
	Further discussion of UNRRA in House.
March 14, 1944	Discussion of UNRRA in Senate.
March 15, 1944	House received Conference Report. House Report 1260.
March 21, 1944	Senate agreed to Conference Report.
March 22, 1944	House agreed to Conference Report.
March 28, 1944	Approved. Public Law 267.









They provide that any portion of a deficiency in excess-profits tax which constitutes a deficiency because of a tax deferment under section 710 (a) (5), and any portion of a deficiency in tax under chapter I which is determined by the Commissioner to exceed any refund or credit of excess-profits tax arising from the operation of section 722 shall bear interest. They also make certain technical changes in the House bill so as to provide for the appropriate application of the interest provisions of the bill in case of an overpayment resulting from the application of an unused excess-profits credit carry-over or carry-back attributable to an increase in the excess-profits credit due to the operation of section 722 with respect to the taxable year in which the unused excess-profits credit arose. In the case of unused excess-profits credit carry-backs the provisions of the bill and the provisions of section 3771 (e) of the code (relating to the period for interest on carry-backs) are to be applied coordinately. The House recedes.

**Amendment No. 3:** This section does not appear in the House bill. It extends the time to December 31, 1944, within which pension, stock-bonus, profit-sharing, and annuity plans may be amended to meet the requirements of section 165 (a) (3), (4), (5), and (6) of the code. It also provides that for a plan to comply with the statute any provisions adopted by December 31, 1944, shall be made effective for all purposes as of a date not later than January 1, 1944, or the effective date of the plan in case of a plan becoming effective after January 1, 1944. The House recedes.

**Amendment No. 4:** This amendment, which did not appear in the House bill, broadens section 124 (f) (3) of the code so as to extend the time within which a corporation may file an application for a certificate of necessity with respect to emergency facilities completed or acquired after June 10, 1940. Under existing law such application must be filed before the expiration of 6 months after the beginning of construction, reconstruction, erection or installation, or the date of acquisition, of such facility, or before December 1, 1940, whichever is the later. The amendment substitutes April 22, 1943, for December 1, 1940. The Senate recedes.

ROBERT L. DOUGHTON,  
JERE COOPER,  
WESLEY E. DISNEY,  
HAROLD KNUTSON,  
DANIEL A. REED,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted, as follows:

To Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee, for 1 week, on account of official business.

To Mr. DOUGLAS (at the request of Mr. COLE of New York), indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. BULWINKLE, for 7 legislative days, on account of official and personal business.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a very timely and enlightening editorial which appeared in the Chicago Daily News recently on lend-lease.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. COOPER). Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, November 16, 1943, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

##### COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS

(Monday and Tuesday, November 15 and 16, 1943)

Subcommittee No. 8 of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads will hold public hearings on Monday and Tuesday, November 15 and 16, 1943, beginning at 10 a. m., on House Joint Resolution 49 and H. R. 2328, to amend section 18 of the Criminal Code relative to the mailing of certain papers, pamphlets, books, pictures, and writings, etc.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS  
(Tuesday, November 16, 1943)

The meeting of the subcommittee on H. R. 3140 scheduled for Tuesday, November 16, has been postponed, subject to further notice.

COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

(Thursday, November 18, 1943)

The Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold a public hearing on Thursday, November 18, 1943, at 10 a. m., on House Joint Resolution 182, to create the War Shipping Field Service.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

913. A letter from the Secretary of War transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated November 22, 1941, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a review of report on Platte River, Colo., Wyo., and Nebr., with a view to determining whether any modification should be made with respect to flood control on Bear Creek, Colo., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Flood Control, House of Representatives, adopted on June 16, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 356); to the Committee on Flood Control and ordered to be printed, with two illustrations.

914. A letter from the Clerk of the House of Representatives, transmitting the contest for a seat in the House of Representatives for the Seventy-eighth Congress of the United States for the Seventh Congressional District of the State of Illinois, James C. Moreland against Leonard W. Schuetz (H. Doc. No. 357); to the Committee on Elections No. 3, and ordered to be printed.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. COLMER: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 338. Resolution providing for the consideration of H. R. 3377, a bill to increase the rate of pension to World War veterans from \$40 to \$50 per month, and for

other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 861). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. SMITH of Virginia: Second intermediate report of the Select Committee to Investigate Executive Agencies. House Resolution 102. Resolution establishing a select committee to investigate acts of executive agencies beyond the scope of their authority; without amendment (Rept. No. 862). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. DELANEY: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 339. Resolution providing for the consideration of H. R. 3356, a bill to provide for an increase in the monthly rates of compensation or pension payable to disabled veterans for service-incurred disability and to widows and children under Public Law 484, Seventy-third Congress, June 23, 1934, as amended; without amendment (Rept. No. 863). Referred to the House Calendar.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. COURTNEY:

H. R. 3670. A bill to provide for promotion of American prisoners of war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LEWIS of Ohio:

H. R. 3671. A bill to incorporate the Navy Fathers' Club of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GEARHART:

H. R. 3672. A bill to amend the Trading With the Enemy Act, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. J. Res. 192. Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin:

H. J. Res. 193. Joint resolution authorizing the erection in the District of Columbia of a memorial to the Thirty-second Division; to the Committee on the Library.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DAVIS:

H. R. 3673. A bill for the relief of Dr. Alma Richards and Mrs. Mary Block; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JENNINGS:

H. R. 3674. A bill for the relief of William E. Widby; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

3550. By Mr. GRAHAM: Petition of 32 members and adherents of the New Bedford (Pa.) Presbyterian Church, urging the passage of all bills now before the House to prohibit the advertisement of alcoholic beverages, to ban beer and liquor sales at military and naval centers, to make it unlawful to furnish alcoholic beverages to anyone in uniform, and to prohibit the manufacture, sale, and transportation of all alcoholic beverages for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3551. By Mr. COCHRAN: Petition of John W. Fishbeck, and 19 other St. Louis citizens,

protesting against the passage of House bill 2082 which seeks to enact prohibition for the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3552. Also, petition of George Wilhelm and 21 other St. Louis citizens, protesting against the passage of House bill 2082 which seeks to enact prohibition for the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3553. Also, petition of Laura J. Crecelius and 20 other St. Louis citizens, protesting against the passage of House bill 2082 which seeks to enact prohibition for the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3554. Also, petition of Paul Wendt and 19 other St. Louis citizens, protesting against the passage of House bill 2082 which seeks to enact prohibition for the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3555. Also, petition of Herman E. Heberer and 115 other St. Louis citizens, protesting against the passage of House bill 2082 which seeks to enact prohibition for the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3556. By Mr. LEWIS of Ohio: Petition of Eva Brooks and 77 other members of the First Christian Church and Bible School of Barnesville, Ohio, urging passage of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3557. Also, petition of Barbara Ault and 29 other residents of Barnesville, Ohio, urging passage of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3558. Also, petition of Mary Wilson and 73 other members of the First Christian Church and Bible School of Barnesville, Ohio, urging passage of Senate bill 860; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3559. By Mr. HEIDINGER: Communication from W. S. Lawrence, of Fairfield, Ill., urging that all possible reinforcements be sent to General MacArthur at the earliest possible date; to the Committee on Military Affairs.



78TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. J. RES. 192

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NOVEMBER 15, 1943

Mr. BLOOM introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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## JOINT RESOLUTION

To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

1       *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*  
2       *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3       That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time  
4       to time to the President such sums as the Congress may de-  
5       termine to be appropriate for participation by the United  
6       States (including contributions in funds or otherwise and all  
7       necessary expenses related thereto) in the work of the United  
8       Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established  
9       by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and Asso-  
10      ciated Governments on November 9, 1943, reading as  
11      follows:

1 "AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF  
2 AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

3 "The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized  
4 representatives have subscribed hereto,

5 "Being United Nations or being associated with the  
6 United Nations in this war,

7 "Being determined that immediately upon the liberation  
8 of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as  
9 a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof  
10 shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, cloth-  
11 ing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in  
12 the recovery of the health of the people, and that prepara-  
13 tion and arrangements shall be made for the return of  
14 prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the  
15 resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial  
16 production and the restoration of essential services,

17 "Have agreed as follows:

18 "ARTICLE

19 "There is hereby established the United Nations Relief  
20 and Rehabilitation Administration.

21 "1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold  
22 and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake  
23 obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review  
24 the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings

1 and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its  
2 objects and purposes.

3 “2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the pur-  
4 poses and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

5 “(a) To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the  
6 administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in  
7 any area under the control of any of the United Nations  
8 through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and  
9 other basic necessities, medical and other essential services;  
10 and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the  
11 adequate provision of relief, the production and transporta-  
12 tion of these articles and the furnishing of these services. The  
13 form of activities of the Administration within the territory of  
14 a member government wherein that government exercises  
15 administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed  
16 by the member government for carrying out measures planned  
17 by the Administration therein shall be determined after  
18 consultation with and with the consent of the member  
19 government.

20 “(b) To formulate and recommend measures for indi-  
21 vidual or joint action by any or all of the member govern-  
22 ments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships and  
23 other procurement activities in the period following the cessa-  
24 tion of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and

1 activities of the Administration with the total movement of  
2 supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distri-  
3 bution of available supplies. The Administration may ad-  
4 minister such coordination measures as may be authorized by  
5 the member governments concerned.

6 “(c) To study, formulate and recommend for individual  
7 or joint action by any or all of the member governments  
8 measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of  
9 its experience in planning and performing the work of relief  
10 and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member  
11 governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recom-  
12 mendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a  
13 vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be re-  
14 ferred to any or all of the member governments for indi-  
15 vidual or joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the  
16 Central Committee and by vote of the Council.

17 “ARTICLE II

18 “MEMBERSHIP

19 “The members of the United States Relief and Rehabili-  
20 tation Administration shall be the governments or authorities  
21 signatory hereto and such other governments or authorities  
22 as may upon application for membership be admitted thereto  
23 by action of the Council. The Council may, if it desires,  
24 authorize the Central Committee to accept new members  
25 between sessions of the Council.



1       “Wherever the term ‘member government’ is used in this  
2 Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the  
3 Administration whether a government or an authority.

4                               “ARTICLE III

5                               “THE COUNCIL

6       “1. Each member government shall name one representa-  
7 tive, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Coun-  
8 cil of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Adminis-  
9 tration, which shall be the policy-making body of the Adminis-  
10 tration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select  
11 one of its members to preside at the session. The Council  
12 shall determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise  
13 provided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the  
14 Council shall vote by simple majority.

15       “2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not  
16 less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may  
17 be convened in special session whenever the Central Com-  
18 mittee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within  
19 thirty days after request therefor by one-third of the mem-  
20 bers of the Council.

21       “3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist  
22 of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist  
23 Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of  
24 America, with the Director General presiding, without vote.  
25 Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make

1 policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions  
2 shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee  
3 which shall be communicated promptly to each member gov-  
4 ernment. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by  
5 the Council at any regular session or at any special session  
6 called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The  
7 Central Committee shall invite the participation of the repre-  
8 sentative of any member government at those of its meetings  
9 at which action of special interest to such government is  
10 discussed. It shall invite the participation of the represent-  
11 ative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of  
12 the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affect-  
13 ing the provision of supplies are discussed.

14 "4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall  
15 consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
16 representing those member governments likely to be prin-  
17 cipal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The  
18 members shall be appointed by the Council, and the  
19 Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emer-  
20 gency appointments between sessions of the Council, such  
21 appointments to continue until the next session of the Coun-  
22 cil. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate and  
23 recommend to the Council and the Central Committee poli-  
24 cies designed to assure the provision of required supplies.  
25 The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with



1 the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting  
2 supplies.

3       “5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall con-  
4 sist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
5 representing member governments of territories within the  
6 European area and such other members of the Council rep-  
7 resenting other governments directly concerned with the  
8 problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area  
9 as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may au-  
10 thorize the Central Committee to make these appointments  
11 in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such  
12 appointments to continue until the next session of the Coun-  
13 cil. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall  
14 consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
15 representing member governments of territories within the  
16 Far Eastern area and such other members of the Council  
17 representing other governments directly concerned with the  
18 problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area  
19 as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may au-  
20 thorize the Central Committee to make these appointments  
21 in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such  
22 appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.  
23 The regional committees shall normally meet within their  
24 respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to  
25 the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect

1 to relief and rehabilitation within their respective areas.  
2 The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the  
3 Inter-Allied Committee on European post-war relief estab-  
4 lished in London on September 24, 1941 and the records  
5 of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for  
6 Europe.

7       “6. The Council shall establish such other standing re-  
8 gional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions  
9 of such committees and the method of appointing their mem-  
10 bers being identical to that provided in Article III, para-  
11 graph 5, with respect to the Committees of the Council for  
12 Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also estab-  
13 lish such other standing committees as it considers desirable  
14 to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council,  
15 to advise the Central Committee. For such standing techni-  
16 cal committees as may be established, in respect of particular  
17 problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, re-  
18 patriation, and finance, the members may be members of the  
19 Council or alternates nominated by them because of special  
20 competence in their respective fields of work. The members  
21 shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may au-  
22 thorize the Central Committee to make emergency appoint-  
23 ments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to  
24 continue until the next session of the Council. Should a re-  
25 gional committee so desire, subcommittees of the standing

1 technical committees shall be established by the technical  
2 committees in consultation with the regional committees, to  
3 advise the regional committees.

4 “7. The travel and other expenses of members of the  
5 Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by  
6 the governments which they represent.

7 “8. All reports and recommendations of committees of  
8 the Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for  
9 distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the  
10 secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of  
11 Article IV, paragraph 4.

12 “ARTICLE IV

13 “THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

14 “1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief  
15 and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director  
16 General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nom-  
17 ination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The  
18 Director General may be removed by the Council on recom-  
19 mendation by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

20 “2. The Director General shall have full power and au-  
21 thority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by  
22 Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available  
23 resources and the broad policies determined by the Council  
24 or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office  
25 he shall in conjunction with the military and other appro-

1 priate authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for  
2 the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area  
3 occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations;  
4 arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary  
5 supplies and create or select the emergency organization  
6 required for this purpose. In arranging for the procure-  
7 ment, transportation, and distribution of supplies and serv-  
8 ices, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate  
9 with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and  
10 shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available  
11 by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may  
12 not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the  
13 Administration without the consent and unless subject to the  
14 regulation of the Director General. The powers and duties  
15 of the Director General are subject to the limitations of  
16 Article VII.

17       “3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the  
18 organization and direction of the functions contemplated by  
19 Article I, paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c).

20       “4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy  
21 Directors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his  
22 headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he  
23 shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his  
24 powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General,



1 or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General,  
2 shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities  
3 as shall be required by the Council and its committees, in-  
4 cluding the regional committees and subcommittees. Such  
5 Deputy Directors General as shall be assigned special func-  
6 tions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional  
7 standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it ad-  
8 vised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation program  
9 within the region.

10 "5. The Director General shall make periodic reports  
11 to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the  
12 progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall  
13 be made public except for such portions as the Central Com-  
14 mittee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United  
15 Nations, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests  
16 of a member government in such a way as to render it ques-  
17 tionable whether it should be published, such government  
18 shall have an opportunity of expressing its views on the  
19 question of publication. The Director General shall also  
20 arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activ-  
21 ities of the Administration within each region and he shall  
22 transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the  
23 Council, the Central Committee and the respective regional  
24 committees.

1

## "ARTICLE V

2

## "SUPPLIES AND RESOURCES

3       "1. In so far as its appropriate constitutional bodies  
4 shall authorize, each member government will contribute to  
5 the support of the Administration in order to accomplish  
6 the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). The amount and  
7 character of the contributions of each member government  
8 under this provision will be determined from time to time  
9 by its appropriate constitutional bodies. All such contribu-  
10 tions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

11       "2. The supplies and resources made available by the  
12 member governments shall be kept in review in relation to  
13 prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall  
14 initiate action with the member governments with a view to  
15 assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be  
16 required.

17       "3. All purchases by any of the member governments,  
18 to be made outside their own territories during the war for  
19 relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after  
20 consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as  
21 practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United  
22 Nations agency.

23

## "ARTICLE VI

24

## "ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

25

"The Director General shall submit to the Council an

1 annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary  
 2 budgets as may be required, covering the necessary adminis-  
 3 trative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of  
 4 a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be  
 5 allocated to the member governments in proportions to be  
 6 determined by the Council. Each member government  
 7 undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional  
 8 procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its  
 9 share of the administrative expenses so determined.

#### 10 "ARTICLE VII

11 "Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained,  
 12 while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area,  
 13 the Administration and its Director General shall not under-  
 14 take activities therein without the consent of the military com-  
 15 mand of that area, and unless subject to such control as the  
 16 command may find necessary. The determination that such  
 17 hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be  
 18 made by its military commander.

#### 19 "ARTICLE VIII

#### 20 "AMENDMENT

21 "The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as  
 22 follows:

23 "a. Amendments involving new obligations for member  
 24 governments shall require the approval of the Council by a

1 two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member govern-  
2 ment on acceptance by it;

3 “b. Amendments involving modification of Article III  
4 or Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by  
5 a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of  
6 the Central Committee;

7 “c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by  
8 the Council by a two-thirds vote.

9 “ARTICLE IX

10 “ENTRY INTO FORCE

11 “This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to  
12 each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by  
13 that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

14 “ARTICLE X

15 “WITHDRAWAL

16 “Any member government may give notice of withdrawal  
17 from the Administration at any time after the expiration of  
18 six months from the entry into force of the Agreement for  
19 that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve  
20 months after the date of its communication to the Director  
21 General subject to the member government having met by  
22 that time all financial, supply or other material obligations  
23 accepted or undertaken by it.”

24 SEC. 2. Amounts appropriated under this resolution



1 shall be expended under the direction of the President pur-  
2 suant to section 1 hereof. The President shall submit to the  
3 Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any  
4 such appropriations and of operations under the Agreement.

78TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. J. RES. 192

## JOINT RESOLUTION

To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

By Mr. Broom

NOVEMBER 15, 1943

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs





TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE  
IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF  
AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS  
FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS

ON

**H. J. Res. 192**

A JOINT RESOLUTION TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES  
TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED  
NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION  
ADMINISTRATION

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December 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 1943 and Jan. 11, 1944

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# TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND RE- HABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

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TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., in the committee room, Capitol, Hon. Sol. Bloom, chairman, presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will kindly come to order.

The committee has under consideration House Joint Resolution 192, a bill to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization. The committee has as its first witness this morning the Honorable Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I call attention to the fact that there is not even a quorum here with a bill that is going to have in it about \$1,300,000,000 to be spent.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that notices were sent out far enough in advance and the clerk telephoned to all the members this morning.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is correct, because I received a telephone call.

The CHAIRMAN. And they were notified that there was an important meeting on.

(Discussion was had off the record.)

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I will not raise the point.

Mr. JOHNSON. I think we ought to have a quorum. This first witness is the one that gives the whole background. If they miss that, they miss the foundation of the whole thing.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Here we are, faced with a bill for the expenditure of \$1,300,000,000. I recognize that we do not appropriate it, but it seems to me that it is important that we have a quorum when the principal witness starts his testimony. If it will be any embarrassment, of course, I will not press the point.

Mr. JOHNSON. I think the absence of a quorum is due to the fact that so many members are out of town. There is not much doing in the House this week, and a lot of them have absented themselves.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Perhaps that would be a good reason why it should not have been called without consulting the members of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that he is privileged to call a meeting, and he does not always know whether the members will be in town or out of town, and if they would let him know, he could be

guided thereby. Members are supposed to be in town when the House is in session.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. There is no question about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Eaton is here. He had to send his wife home this morning. She is ill; he is still here.

Mr. BURGIN. May I inquire if you intend to go right on through with different witnesses?

The CHAIRMAN. We expect to hear all the witnesses that are necessary so that we can have a continuity of the testimony.

Mr. JOHNSON. How many does it take for a quorum, 13?

The CHAIRMAN. Twelve.

A quorum is present. I would like to have the record show that a quorum is present. I would like to ask the members to kindly remain here so that we at least have a quorum while this testimony is being taken.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. May I ask another question, Mr. Chairman?

Is it the intention to go through with the testimony here and then bring the resolution up before the Christmas holidays?

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the Chair would like to state that it is necessary for us, for this committee, to have enabling legislation passed so as to start functioning. This resolution, by itself, would not give them the right, because the committee has to come back to the Congress for its appropriation, and it will take a considerable time before we get the appropriation so as to start functioning. If it is possible to bring this out under a rule next week, giving sufficient time to debate the question on the floor and get it over to the Senate, I think Congress would like to do that.

Whatever the testimony, I think it would be better for us to proceed and get the testimony and then let the committee decide itself what it wants to do, and we can do that in executive session; but I think what is necessary now is to get all the evidence and testimony that the committee can possibly get at this time, and hear the witnesses and Mr. Lehman, Governor Lehman, and then the committee will decide just what it wants to do. That is up to the committee and is not up to the Chair.

If that is satisfactory, we will proceed with that thought in mind.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make the suggestion and request that due to the absence of some of the members from the city, I would like for as many members as can to hear all the witnesses on this matter, because it is a matter of great importance and it is a matter that some people do not understand, and I think that it is of such importance that they should hear the witnesses so that we can know the background and the necessity for the legislation.

Several of us were privileged to go to Atlantic City, for the closing session of the U. N. R. R. A. conference. I did not feel the necessity or urgency of going very much, but I did go and I am glad I did, and I think if the entire membership of our committee could have gone there it would have been very helpful and enlightening. It was to me, and I know to the other members who went there. We came back convinced that what we had to do was in part to let this committee, the membership of the House, and the country, know the importance of this legislation, because there is some prejudice against



it. They have an erroneous conception of what its purpose is, and I think it is most important that the House know and that the country know, and more important right now to let this committee know, what the facts are in the background and the imperative necessity that this resolution be passed by Congress.

Mr. Acheson was the chairman of that meeting and made a very wonderful presiding officer, and the burden of this fell largely upon him and upon former Assistant Secretary of State Dr. Sayre. Mr. Chipfield, Mr. Jonkman, Mr. Burgin, Mr. Vorys, and Mrs. Rogers were there. Were you there, Mrs. Bolton?

Mrs. BOLTON. I was there earlier in the session.

Mr. JOHNSON. You were not there when I was there.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes to state that the House appropriated funds to enable the members of the committee to go to Atlantic City and attend the different sessions of U. N. R. R. A. at Atlantic City. The House felt that the members should be enabled to go, and any time that any of the members wanted to go they telephoned to the clerk of the committee and the clerk arranged, through Mr. Sayre in Atlantic City, for accommodations there and for their railroad transportation, so the House was very interested to see that the Foreign Affairs Committee received all the information it possibly could to enable them to act intelligently upon the legislation that we have under consideration at this time.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, in regard to the study that this committee should make of this resolution in order to present it to the House, it seems to me that it would be a very advisable thing if the committee could sit down by itself and decide what information it should have. Perhaps after the Secretary has given us more paper to study we will be able to know a little more what questions should be clarified. I feel very strongly that inasmuch as this involves a very large amount of money, in addition to involving money it will mean that the people of this country may have to be rationed—Mr. Lehman has said so, I believe, in the press—for clothing and various other things to make it possible for the other countries of the world to have these things, the people of this country should be given a very, very broad and detailed picture of what is involved in U. N. R. R. A., and just what its relationship is to the other international groups, to our own State Department, what our foreign policy is developing to be, and a great many things of that nature.

You will recall, Mr. Chairman, that I called you last week to ask whether we were to have an adequate period of hearings. You told me that your idea was that this should be a bird's-eye view of the situation. I think that is very necessary. I think we need what the Secretary is good enough to give us this morning as background, very definitely, and we will need background from others. But more than that, too, we will have to have very definite detailed information on many subjects, and personally I cannot see how it would be possible for us to get that in a way that will satisfy the people of this country in a few days, which, if we present it to the House for action before Christmas, is all that you will have.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will the gentlewoman yield for a question?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes, indeed.

Mr. JOHNSON. It occurs to that there is a great deal in what you say, but I think possibly after we sit in executive session and discuss that, we can determine what our future action is to be.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am not saying that we should sit in executive session at this moment, but I do want to register my protest against any too hurried action.

Mr. JOHNSON. I think when the American people understand the conception and purpose—

Mrs. BOLTON. Will the gentleman yield me back my time? I think I have the floor at the moment.

I think there is a very real sense in the membership of this committee of the need for an international control of supplies of food, of rehabilitation and relief. I perhaps am a little keener about it than some of my confreres. I have worked internationally for a great many years in these fields and have had the opportunity to be rather aware of certain matters that are pressing now. I do not want to have anything that I say interpreted to mean that I am not in favor of an international control of these things, but just because of that I feel that a very serious study of the resolution itself, and of the factors involved, should be made by this committee.

Mr. JOHNSON. I agree.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes to state, in answer to the gentleman from Ohio, that he thinks the committee had better get all the evidence that it possibly can get, so that then we can decide and act intelligently on what further information it will be necessary to secure so as to make the kind of reports we have made in the past. I think the report that this committee will issue in passing out this bill to the floor should be all embracing.

After we hear the witnesses today and tomorrow, and so long as it is necessary to hear the witnesses, then, if the committee should decide that they want to hear more witnesses, the Chair promises right now that we will hear everyone who wants to be heard with reference to this legislation, either for or against it. We want all the information that we can possibly get, and the Chair wants to thank Mrs. Bolton for calling the attention of the committee to that.

I agree with what Mrs. Bolton says. I am whole-heartedly in favor and after we get this testimony, if you want to hear more witnesses, the Chair is at the disposal of the committee.

Mrs. BOLTON. May I intrude a like note at the moment to clear the record of my own doings? I went to Atlantic City on my own. The committee did not pay my way.

Dr. EATON. That must have been a great strain on your resources.

Mrs. BOLTON. A great strain on several sides of the whole situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Notwithstanding the fact that you went on your own, the Congress made provision for the payment.

Mr. MUNDT. In view of the foregoing discussion and the fact that some of the Members whom we would like to have here are not here, I wonder if we could not satisfy everybody by the chairman endeavoring to make arrangements with the Printing Office to supply us with proofs of this testimony following each day's hearings. That would give us a chance to study them in detail. It is impossible ever to get the whole committee here at one time, ordinarily.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes to state that he has already given orders to have a carbon copy of the testimony written up so that we

can have it for correction. We will get out confidential prints, the same as we have in the past, for the members of the committee, so that they may read the testimony, but of course those prints should not be given out, because they are not fully corrected.

Thank you for the suggestion. It has already been arranged for.

Are there any further questions before the Secretary proceeds?

(None.)

Mr. Secretary, you may proceed now. Have you a statement?

## STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE DEAN ACHESON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. ACHESON. No, Mr. Chairman.

I have here, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, a letter directed to you from the Secretary of State, in which he states his support of this resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you kindly read it for the benefit of the committee?

Mr. ACHESON (reading).

The Honorable SOL BLOOM,

*House of Representatives:*

I understand that House Joint Resolution 192, a bill to authorize appropriations to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is now before your committee. I wish to endorse this bill and strongly commend it to the favorable consideration of the committee.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement itself was carefully worked out after consultations with Members of Congress, and especially with the Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees. This agreement, as you know, was signed on November 9, and the first meeting of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration council was held at Atlantic City. The council elected a distinguished American, the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, to be Director General of the Administration. It laid the groundwork for the organization of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and adopted sound and useful resolutions on the policies which it should follow. It now remains for this organization to begin its important operations. All the 44 united and associated nations are joining in its work, and I know that Congress will wish the United States to play its proper part. As the President said, " \* \* \* it is hard for us to grasp the magnitude of the needs in occupied countries.

"The Germans and the Japanese have carried on their campaigns of plunder and destruction with one purpose in mind: That in the lands they occupy there shall be left only a generation of half-men—undernourished, crushed in body and spirit, without strength or incentive to hope—ready, in fact, to be enslaved and used as beasts of burden by the self-styled master races.

"The occupied countries have been robbed of their foodstuffs and raw materials, and even of the agricultural and industrial machinery upon which their workers must depend for employment. The Germans have been planning systematically to make the other countries economic vassals, utterly dependent upon and completely subservient to the Nazi tyrants. \* \* \*

"It is not only humane and charitable for the United Nations to supply medicine, food, and other necessities to the peoples freed from Axis control; it is a clear matter of enlightened self-interest and of military strategic necessity."

The broad plans growing out of the Moscow Conference, which Congress has so warmly endorsed, will need the work of this great organization to insure, in the words of the Four-Nation Declaration, "a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace" so that we may proceed to our announced purpose of "maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments."

It is as essential to be prepared for the emergency which will follow the end of war as it is to be prepared for the great operations which will bring the victorious peace. This organization must begin its work close upon the heels of



the armies of the United Nations, not only to assure that the liberated peoples will live and be strengthened for the tasks of peace, but to assure that the end of the fighting brings peace and not disorganization and further conflict. An instrument of great promise has been forged for this purpose by all the United and Associated Nations. That instrument is ready; the task is imminent. I earnestly recommend that the Congress authorize the funds for full and effective participation by this country.

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL.

Dr. EATON. Can this committee be furnished with a list of the resolutions that were passed? That is to say, can we have a preview of what conclusions were reached at Atlantic City?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, can you answer that?

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman, we have brought here and have available for each member of the committee two documents, which I will ask that we now distribute to the members of the committee. The first document contains all the resolutions which were passed at Atlantic City, arranged in order according to subject matter. The second document contains all the reports which the committees of the council made to the council at Atlantic City.

Dr. EATON. In English?

Mr. ACHESON. These are all in English.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. John Vorys calls the resolutions the New Testament and the thicker one the Old Testament.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these marked "1" and "2"?

Mr. ACHESON. They are marked "Part II" and "Part III."

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Since this first document contains the resolutions passed by the U. N. R. R. A. conference and answers many, many of the questions that are in our minds, I am wondering if it should not be incorporated as part of the record of this committee, so that the membership would have it available. While it looks large, there are many pages of it with only one short resolution on a page, and it might save a great many questions if that document were incorporated as a part of our record in the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the Chair understand—

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I do not mean the second one. I mean the resolutions in the first document.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will accept the suggestion of the gentleman, and will either print this as a separate document or embody it with the testimony that is given before this committee.

Without objection, that is so ordered.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. One thing occurs to me since receiving these. I wonder if it would not be advisable for the committee to recess, insofar as the taking of testimony is concerned, until we have had an opportunity to familiarize ourselves with the foundation. I think it may obviate a great deal of the major questions. Frankly, I am not prepared to hear anything except what might come somewhat blindly to me, because I was not present at any part of the sessions at Atlantic City. I have before me only the resolution—I mean House Joint Resolution 192, and then the two volumes that have just been handed to me.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I will be glad to.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will it not be wise to hear the Assistant Secretary, Dean Acheson, go over it in a skeletonized form? Then, later, we can

interrogate him. In other words, if we just get these documents we do not get a very good picture of it. I know how clearly Assistant Secretary of State Acheson has this matter in mind and he can give us a kind of picture of it and then it attracts our attention and interest in these various things. Then we can question him later.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I think that is probably a proper way to proceed, but my idea would be to take no real testimony. I think what you suggest with respect to the Secretary giving us a word picture of what occurred there, supplementing the resolution and the journals that have just been handed to us, and then recessing until we have had an opportunity to go over these journals and resolutions, and then coming back to take testimony in real form in the next day or two——

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I will be very glad to.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I have had opportunity only to study the first 30 pages of this document, and as anybody can see from the one I have it is all marked up with questions. I want the answers to those questions. I do not care whether Dean Acheson answers them or someone else is available. You are a busy man.

The CHAIRMAN. May the Chair offer a suggestion here? I understand that the testimony of the Secretary today will give us a picture of the entire proceedings at Atlantic City and also give us information as to what is contained in these journals. After we get that picture and ask questions, we can then come back.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. If I may interrupt you, I would rather not attempt to ask any questions. I have in mind that this resolution, while only an authorization resolution, will provide for an appropriation of approximately a billion and a half dollars. I think this committee ought to be well grounded in every fact connected with this appropriation or authorization, for the reason that we have a tax bill which has been before the Ways and Means Committee practically all fall, since September, and is now in the Senate, which involves only a little more than a billion and a half dollars, and we are approaching a sum of that size, in view of authorizing an appropriation. I think the committee must be well fortified in going to the House with that, and my suggestion is only made in view of having this committee well fortified when it does go to the House. I am not opposed to hearing what the Secretary has to say today, but frankly, I am in no position to ask any questions, and as a member of this committee taking this resolution to the House I think we ought to be well grounded and ought to know every answer that may be asked of us by Members of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair agrees with what the gentleman says, but I think it would be much better if we heard the Secretary and the other witnesses and then came back and asked them any other questions. You will get a better idea of what really transpired. We are not going to close these hearings in a hurry. I will say that. You do not need to worry about closing these hearings tomorrow or the next day. We are going to give plenty of opportunity to ask all the questions that are necessary with reference to this resolution.

Dr. EATON. I wonder if the Secretary's statement would not act as a sort of key for the interpretation of these documents. Is that what you have in mind?

Mr. ACHESON. I shall be very glad to go into all of them and go through them with you.

Dr. EATON. The statement you give today will be helpful to us in approaching these documents for the first time; will it not?

Mr. ACHESON. I hope so.

Dr. EATON. Have you any notion whether your hopes will be realized or not?

The CHAIRMAN. I think we had better allow the Secretary to proceed for a while and see how far we are getting along with the kind of information that the committee would like to have.

Dr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, if we do not get started pretty soon we will be a living illustration of the theory of limits, where you start from here over to that end and go one-half of the way each time, so through all eternity you never get there!

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. N. R. R. A. AGREEMENT

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman, I should like to begin this by a very brief review of the matters which have been discussed with this committee before; that is, the history of the development and negotiation of the agreement which was finally signed at the White House on the 9th of November.

As I said to this committee before, in September 1941, the European exiled governments met with the British Government in London and formed an organization known as the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Committee. The purpose of that was to have those Governments survey their situation as they could foresee it at the end of the war, and determine what they would need in order to reestablish production and civilian life in their countries.

That work went on for 2 years. After it was started, invitations were issued to the United States and to the Soviet Union to join in that work. The Secretariat of the Committee was a department of the British Government and was not international in character. The Soviet Government had an observer with the committee, although it did not actually participate in its work; the Government of the United States participated with an observer for sometime and only toward the end did we have a regular member.

As the work went on, both the Soviet Government and the American Government made suggestions looking to the creation of a truly international organization with an international civil service working for it. That led to discussions among the four powers, Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. Those discussions went on until the middle of this summer, and in June the United States Government, with the consent and agreement of the other three powers, put out for discussion a draft document proposing a United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

That was discussed very thoroughly, both within this Government and among the Governments of the 44 countries. Many suggestions were made, both by other countries and by various members of this Government. The matter was taken up with a subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate; it was discussed at considerable length with members of this committee, and discussions were had with the whole committee during this summer.

As a result of those discussions, the document was redrafted, eliminating many though not all of the criticisms of it which had been



made both internally and externally. It was then recirculated among the 44 countries and found unanimous agreement.

A ceremony was then held at the White House on the 9th of November at which representatives of all the 44 governments signed this United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agreement, and the President made an address. The next day the Council provided for in the agreement met at Atlantic City.

#### PROVISIONS OF THE U. N. R. R. A. AGREEMENT

The agreement itself provided merely the framework for the organization. It provided for a Council which is made up of one representative from each of the 44 nations. That is the policy-making body; it is in effect the legislative body of the relief organization. That council has four standing committees provided for in the agreement. At Atlantic City other committees were provided for. There is a Central Committee which is made up of the four powers, the United States, the United Kingdom, China, and the Soviet Union, which exercises the powers of the Council during adjournments of the Council, subject on important matters to ratification by the Council. It is provided in the agreement that any country whose interests are concerned with any matter before the Central Committee shall be called in to participate in its discussion.

Then there is a Committee on Supplies. That is to be made up of the principal supplying nations. That is provided for in the agreement, and that was fully implemented at Atlantic City. There is also a Committee for Europe, which is to be made up and is made up now of all the member countries geographically situated within the European area, and also of certain other countries especially concerned on supply or other grounds. The exact number escapes my mind, Mr. Chairman, but there is a resolution setting up the committee and we will come to that in due course. There is similarly a Committee for the Far East, which includes member nations with interests in the Far East and some others who have been associated with them.

That is, generally, the legislative framework or the policy-making framework of the council. The agreement then provides for the executive branch of the relief administration. It vests the executive power in a Director General who has the authority to appoint Deputy Directors General. It is his duty to provide a field staff, secretariat for the Council and its committees, and to carry out all the executive acts of the administration.

Provision is made for going about the work of getting funds for this organization. Articles V and VI of the agreement deal with that matter, and in both articles it is made entirely and absolutely clear that the full power and authority in that field resides in the constitutional bodies of the various member governments. No commitment by any government has been or can be made in that respect, and the agreement provides that in each country the lawmaking body authorized by its constitutional procedure to appropriate money is the only one which can determine the extent of that country's participation, as well as the formula under which it will be financed.

The agreement goes on in another paragraph to say that no member government will undertake the purchase of supplies outside its borders, for relief and rehabilitation work, without consulting with the Direc-

tor General, so that there may be some coordination of this work, and so that such purchases will not be made except through the machinery which has been established by the United Nations to prosecute the war.

There are other provisions of the agreement, one concerning the important subject of relations with the military authorities, which we will discuss later, and several on procedure, permitting the agreement to be amended, providing for the withdrawal of any countries who wish to withdraw and so on. Thus the agreement merely establishes the framework of an organization.

#### FIRST SESSION OF THE COUNCIL

The meeting of the Council was held at Atlantic City; that is, the first meeting of the Council. That was for the purpose of implementing the agreement, of laying down the policies which shall be followed, of taking whatever steps could be taken to recommend to the various governments methods of raising funds, of establishing committees, and of laying down the general underlying framework of procedures which should govern both the Council and the Director General.

That meeting went on for 3 weeks. The meeting opened with the election of the delegate from the United States as Chairman of the Council. It then proceeded to organize a series of four main committees. These four main committees were to take the four branches of the organization work and hammer out the policies which are to be followed. They had one committee on organization and administration, another committee on general policy, another committee on finance and supplies, and another committee on relief and rehabilitation policies. Those committees were, in turn, split up into subcommittees, and for 3 weeks a great deal of very hard work went on. I think all who attended that meeting in Atlantic City will testify that they could not maintain the pace which we had set there for 3 weeks for very much longer. We met all day, and in the evening we had to prepare for the next day's work. Very little sleep was had by all, but great good nature was maintained.

#### COMMITTEE PROCEDURE

One of the outstanding facts about the Atlantic City meeting was the procedure which was followed in the subcommittees and the committees, and I think that this, as much as anything, is responsible for the success of that meeting and for the unanimity of the results obtained.

It was early decided by all the chairmen of the main committees, the chairman of the conference, and the chairmen of the subcommittees, that the only possible way to iron out the very difficult questions before us was through the utmost frankness and freedom of discussion. Therefore each of the committee and subcommittee meetings began with 2 or 3 days of discussion in which everybody was urged to—and did—state the point of view of his country and his own individual point of view. We had a tremendous range of points of view which were put forward. There was then general discussion for a day or so



longer. It seemed at some times as though we were getting into a great deal of confusion, because there were so many different points of view.

As the discussion went on the points of view began to simmer down so that you got to not more than five or six. At that point in the discussions, when it seemed to the chairman that the committee had reached the end of useful further discussion of that particular subject, he would appoint a drafting committee representing all the points of view expressed, and ask the drafting committee to go out and come back with a recommendation. They went out, continued their discussion, and it was really an amazing exhibition of how reasonable men who are anxious to agree and wish to agree can sink differences of opinion and agree upon one conclusion.

These drafting committees would come back with a suggestion. That suggestion would be debated. Some of the people who had different points of view would bring them up again, and men who had represented that same view on the drafting committee would explain why, in the light of other arguments, they had changed their opinion, and as a result of that, in every case we got a recommendation which was a unanimous recommendation of the various committees.

Those were then brought together through the subcommittees into the four main committees, where they were brought into harmony. Then the four main committees made their reports to the Council and the chairman of those committees all got together and produced the documents which you have before you.

Those documents are, as we said a moment ago, the resolutions which were adopted and the reports of the committees which explain in considerable detail the reasoning and the facts which led to those recommendations. That is an outline of the method of work at Atlantic City and the way we went about it.

#### FINANCIAL SCOPE OF U. N. R. R. A.

One further general observation before we come to the specific resolutions and reports of the committees. This is an attempt to put the function, and particularly the monetary scope, of U. N. R. R. A. in its proper perspective. I wish to emphasize that the U. N. R. R. A. organization is not asking for the funds to carry on the entire work of relief and rehabilitation. That is not the case. At the present time the peoples in the occupied areas are keeping alive in some way. It may be on the basis of very low standard, and in some cases it is a desperately low standard, but they are keeping alive, and they are keeping alive through their own efforts. They are now producing not only what they have for themselves but a great deal more which the Germans are taking away from them in the form of war production. It will therefore be the case that the vast bulk of the supplies which are used in a liberated area will be the result of their own production. I will come back to that again.

Furthermore, U. N. R. R. A. is not asking for funds, even to supplement what is locally produced with the total amount of imported goods which will be necessary, because again it has been worked out that those countries which have sufficient gold or foreign exchange, and can

pay outside their own borders for foreign materials, will pay for those materials.

The financial scope of U. N. R. R. A. is thus to obtain a fund which will permit the importation into areas which have insufficient resources of gold or foreign exchange of the essential imports which are necessary to take them over the emergency period.

Now, let me stress that again. The U. N. R. R. A. organization will not ask for the funds, and is not asking for the funds, to do the entire feeding of Europe and Asia. That would be impossible. It could not be done. The vast bulk of what is needed will be provided by the people themselves through their own efforts and their own production in the liberated areas. The funds which U. N. R. R. A. will ask for will not even be those which are necessary to supply all the minimum essential imports into liberated areas, because many of the liberated areas will pay for their own imports.

What U. N. R. R. A. is asking for is a fund sufficient to make purchases in the outside world for those countries which have insufficient gold and foreign exchange and inadequate means of getting gold or foreign exchange, so that during the emergency period they may have the necessary imports to tide them over the critical moments.

#### THE EMERGENCY PERIOD

Now, may I talk for a moment about this emergency period and what it means. We spoke a moment ago of the fact that life is now going on in these liberated areas. In France, Holland, Belgium, Norway, China there is production going forward. But in the occupied areas that production is controlled and directed by the occupying power. The occupying power is draining off as much of it as it possibly can in the form either of food for its own people or of war materials.

When the period of liberation comes two things will happen. One is that that network of economic activity will be broken. There will be no overlord who will be directing a train to go from this place to the other place with material to keep a factory running or to do something of that sort. That will be on the debit side, on the side of confusion. The whole network of German and Japanese control will be broken at the moment of liberation and will have to be made up by the controls which the various governments will assume when they come back into their own countries.

On the plus side of that will be the fact that a great productive plant will have been released from the use of Germany and Japan and will be available to produce for its own people again. However, that cannot be done overnight. A factory which has been making fuses for shells for the German Army in an occupied country cannot immediately begin turning out tractors or plows or harrows or materials of that sort. Therefore, there will be a critical period, a period following the end of the military operations, lasting perhaps a year, certainly lasting until the first harvest comes in, and perhaps longer, on the side of other production, in which there will be great danger that if something is not done immediately, disorganization and confusion and starvation will take place.

It is to provide the imports to take up the slack of that period, to provide the necessary materials with which people can pick up their

own efforts again, that this organization is created and that is the field in which it is working; that field, plus two others. One is the field—and they are closely associated—of the so-called displaced persons in Europe and Asia, and the other the field of health.

#### DISPLACED PERSONS

It is estimated that in Europe there are at the present time about 20,000,000 people who have been driven or taken away from their homes. The number of displaced persons in the Far East greatly exceeds the figure for Europe. These are people who have either been driven from their homes by advancing armies or taken as prisoners of war in the first instance, and then, when their countries were overrun illegally, treated as forced laborers and put into work in Germany. Then there are civilians, not originally prisoners of war, who have been forced to become laborers in Germany, such as those who have been taken into Germany from Holland and Belgium, Norway, and France, and from the Soviet Union. Then there are the refugees in a country who have gone from one part of it to another. The problem of displaced persons is one of the most difficult problems that mankind has been faced with.

The natural urge of these people, when the war is over, will be in some way or other to get home, either to start walking or to get on trains or to get on trucks or in some way to get home. If that is done without control or regulation, two things will happen. One is, there may be spread over Europe the most tremendous scourge of disease with which Europe has ever been faced. If people break from a camp in which there has been typhus and spread themselves all over the face of Europe and Asia, you will have a public health situation of devastating proportions.

Aside from the question of disease, if these people go to where their homes were and there are no homes and there are no houses and there is nothing for them to do, you will then have disorganization, people roaming around in a desperate state.

The two great fields, in addition to the supply one, in which U. N. R. R. A. will have to work, are to organize the care of those people until they can return from the places to which they were driven, and also to organize the health work. It will require the cooperation of all the governments of the areas; it will require the supplying of necessary doctors and medicines; and it will require a plan for the orderly return of people to their homes or places of abode.

That is the field. It is not, as I said, the field of feeding everybody in all these areas with all the materials which they need. That is not it. It is not the field of reconstruction and rebuilding. It is the field of taking care of this highly critical, highly important, emergency period which will follow the end of the war. U. N. R. R. A., as was said at the conference, is to do those things which cannot be done except for this international organization. It is not to do anything which existing governments are equipped to do and can and will do.

So much for the general introduction. And may I say, if at any moment any member of the committee wishes to interrupt me, I shall be most happy to be interrupted with any questions.



Mr. JOHNSON. Right there, as I understand, the chief purpose, then, of U. N. R. R. A. is to help these people help themselves. Is that it?

Mr. ACHESON. That sums it up, Mr. Johnson.

#### COUNTRIES UNABLE TO PAY

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Eaton would like to ask a question.

Dr. EATON. You mentioned several times a number of nations who have no gold or purchasing power. Can you give us an idea as to the number of those, where they are, who they are, and the populations?

Mr. ACHESON. When we come to the resolutions and framework of the U. N. R. R. A. you will see that a procedure has been set up for determining who has and who has not sufficient gold or foreign exchange to pay for relief needs. Broadly speaking, I think it is fair to say that western Europe will be, or is likely to be, in a position to pay for its own imports. The eastern European countries and the southeastern European countries, such as Greece, will undoubtedly not be. What the position of the Soviet Union and China will be we do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean gold credits in this country?

Mr. ACHESON. Many of the countries, such as France, for instance, have a large amount of gold and foreign exchange assets in the United States and in the United Kingdom which are available. Those are assets which have been preserved for the countries by the action of the United States and the United Kingdom in freezing these assets and preventing the Germans from using them. They are still here; they exist; they can be used. To a considerable extent that is true of the other western European countries.

Mr. JOHNSON. Did not Belgium also get her gold out of Belgium, largely?

Mr. ACHESON. I believe that the situation of the Belgian Government and the Dutch, and to some extent the Norwegian, is the same.

The CHAIRMAN. You said "the United Kingdom and this country." How about the South American countries?

Mr. ACHESON. I mean to include the total foreign exchange assets of liberated areas wherever they may be, in this country, the United Kingdom, South America, or elsewhere.

Perhaps the thing to do at this point is to turn to the resolutions, because the resolutions begin to develop, in the way I tried to discuss in this preliminary manner, the policies of this organization and the scope of its work.

Mr. JOHNSON. I see that we do not have part I here. I wonder if we could have a short recapitulation of parts I, II, and III. In other words, what was the work done and the sequence in these reports?

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain what part I is?

Mr. McDONALD (adviser to Governor Lehman). It was simply the recounting of the meetings of the committees the day before.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that I believe it would be very well if the committee had copies of part I? I observe that the subjects covered and indexed in part I seem to be quite pertinent and may furnish the committee with considerable information that will eliminate the necessity of asking questions.

Mr. ACHESON. We will see that you get part I.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. In any of these, do the speeches of the members appear?

Mr. ACHESON. If you would like those, we will have those also. On the closing day the speeches of the various members of the council are reported in the journal for that day. If this committee would like those, we will see that they are available.

Mrs. BOLTON. We would certainly like those, and I think some of the others would be very pertinent, because we get the background of the attitudes and the atmosphere of the minds of the people of the other countries. I think it would be very valuable for us to have them.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, you have those speeches, have you not?

Mr. ACHESON. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you kindly see that the committee gets a sufficient number of them so as to distribute one to each member?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JOHNSON. Right there I would like to say that the only part of the conference that I attended was the closing session, and there were some speeches made there that were very fine. I think that I would like to have them, because there was a summing up on the part of some of them of their conception of what the purpose of the conference was, and one of the speeches that was very important was that of the gentleman who is now our witness. He was too modest to say that he was the chairman of the conference, and I think those speeches would give us, in a few words, some of the purposes of the conference and would be enlightening and helpful.

The CHAIRMAN. The speeches will be distributed.

Mr. JONKMAN. Through the centering of the discussion on part I, which I did not think was so important, I was sidetracked on the other. I would like to know why resolutions on policy precede committee reports. Would you just give us a little insight on how the sequence of those things was? Who made the resolutions on policy? Of course, the committees made the committee reports. I understand that.

Mr. ACHESON. When we distribute part I, I think it will be clear how the material is organized. Part I is the proceedings of the Council on the Monday preceding the final session on Wednesday. It shows that at that session each one of the four chairmen of the four main committees presented to the council the final report of his committee, and he moved that the resolutions recommended by his committee should be adopted by the council and that the report should be accepted. That was then discussed and acted upon. The reports are contained in document part III. Each report contains discussion and then a resolution; then discussion of another topic followed by another resolution.

At the end of the proceedings on Monday the Council authorized the secretariat to put all the resolutions together and arrange them as to subject matter so that there would be one place to which people could turn to find resolutions without hunting through a long report

in which the resolutions were interspersed with the report. So that was done, and that is part II.

Part III is the document as it was actually presented, and you will see that it is a mixture of resolutions and discussion.

Mr. STEARNS. There is no deep-rooted significance in the committee reports being III instead of II?

Mr. ACHESON. No. It was thought that in future months people, both in the administration and outside, wishing to find what policies of U. N. R. R. A. were on a certain subject, would have a very difficult time if they had to search through 300 pages in no particular order to find a resolution. Therefore, the resolutions were grouped together, taking general policy first, particular policy second, finance and supplies third, and organization and administration, including the rules of procedure of the council and its committees, fourth. The result was a consolidation of the acts into one usable document.

Dr. EATON. The arrangement, then, of these documents has nothing to do with the time relationship in which they took place in Atlantic City?

Mr. ACHESON. Document III will show you as much of the time relationship as anything can.

Dr. EATON. The resolutions took place up there as they came, but they are all put in one document here regardless of the day in which they appeared there?

Mr. ACHESON. That is right.

Dr. EATON. So all the resolutions did not appear before the action, or after the action?

Mr. ACHESON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Before you turn to the resolutions, could I ask about one or two questions?

Mr. ACHESON. Please do.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You mentioned the work of the central committee. Does action of the central committee have to be unanimous?

Mr. ACHESON. No. There is no provision that it should be unanimous except in its action on the election or the removal of the director general. Unanimity is required there.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You also mentioned the Inter-Allied Committee on Post-war Requirements and their report to the Allied Governments. I think that is known as the Leith-Ross report.

Mr. ACHESON. That is the Leith-Ross report.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Do you know whether that has been made public or not?

Mr. ACHESON. There are two parts of that. One is a short document which summarizes tables of figures and gives the language of the report. That, I believe, has been made public.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. How about the appendices?

Mr. ACHESON. The appendices are long tabulations of specific commodities for particular countries. Those have not been made public, on the theory that they may go too deeply into the supply situation in various areas. I do not know whether there is any real reason why they should not be, but it was thought that they might contain some military information.

## PERIOD OF MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. There also is a temporary period which I do not think you mentioned wherein the Army takes charge. It is contemplated during the occupation by the Army U. N. R. R. A. shall be called upon to assist in the matter of supplies?

Mr. ACHESON. There is one resolution to that effect. We have attempted, and I think succeeded, in keeping very clear the fact that under article VII of the agreement U. N. R. R. A. may not come into any area until the military authorities invite it in.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. If they requested supplemental aid, you would give it to them?

Mr. ACHESON. If they request supplemental aid, then U. N. R. R. A. is permitted to go in.

Dr. EATON. I had a question that I would like to ask, and intended to ask later, but it has now been raised by Mr. Chiperfield. Does the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agreement and the actions taken at Atlantic City provide for correlation between the activities of U. N. R. R. A., and those of the Army?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Dr. Eaton, they do so provide.

First of all, the agreement, as I said a moment ago in answer to Mr. Chiperfield, in article VII, provides as follows:

Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary. The determination that such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be made by its military commander.

The result of that is that the U. N. R. R. A. organization may not come into any area until the military say so, and then only on the terms that are laid down by the military. That lays the foundation of authority to prevent any duplication, overlapping, or confusion between the two organizations.

Then, at Atlantic City, among the resolutions you will find Resolution No. 1, which begins on page 2 of part II, and if you turn over to page 5 you find a heading for the relationship of the Administration with the military command. That lays down, broadly, the policies; and then there is another one which I will tend to in a moment, which takes them up in more detail. This deals, first of all, in (1), with the period before an area is liberated. It says that before an area is liberated the Administration will, when requested by the military authorities, consult with them in the planning of supplies for the relief and rehabilitation of the area during the period of military control. If the military want to go over matters with U. N. R. R. A., U. N. R. R. A. is required to do it. Further, if the Army wishes, U. N. R. R. A. will arrange for the advance procurement of such supplies as may be agreed on to supplement the supplies needed by the military authorities. If the military wish them to do it, they will do it; if the military wish them not to do it, then they do not.

Then it says:

(2) During the period when a liberated area is under military control, the Administration, insofar as the Director General deems practicable, will, when requested by the military authorities, (a) arrange for the procurement of



supplies to supplement supplies being provided by the military authorities; (b) furnish expert personnel and services, and advise on the conservation and utilization for relief purposes of stocks and productive resources; (c) assist in the carrying out of policies with regard to the repatriation or return of displaced persons as formulated in paragraph II, 2, above; (d) undertake other relief and rehabilitation activities; (e) assume responsibility in whole or in part for such activities.

The whole matter, in other words, has got to be worked out between the Administration and the military, with the military having the authority to make the decisions.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that answer your question, Dr. Eaton?

Dr. EATON. Yes, sir.

Mr. ACHESON. This goes on further, here, to bring out the fact that the Administration will consult with the member government of the area even though that government has not been put back into authority as yet because the military are still in command, and it is recommended to the member governments that the Administration be kept informed of what the soldiers are doing so that the Administration may know when it may expect to be called upon.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers.

Mrs. ROGERS. I suppose you had extensive hearings with Lend Lease, the Treasury Department, Agriculture, and W. P. B., who have charge of the natural resources, before going ahead with this, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. ACHESON. Well, I do not know that "hearings" is exactly the word. We had representatives of all of those agencies on the delegation at Atlantic City, and they worked out all of these provisions, as I shall explain in more detail when we come to them.

Before Atlantic City, surely, we went into the thing thoroughly with all of those agencies, and those agencies were represented at Atlantic City.

Mrs. ROGERS. The committee would like to hear those agencies, also.

Another thing, do you consider any special legislation necessary for any group of any nationality within a nation, or do you think that U. N. R. R. A. takes care of special groups. You see, we have now special bills before us to take care of different groups, and I think if U. N. R. R. A. is going to take care of them that legislation would not be necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean the feeding of the children?

Mrs. ROGERS. The feeding of the children and taking care of them generally economically.

The CHAIRMAN. The legislation that we have before us now is for feeding them now, and I understand this comes in afterwards.

Mrs. ROGERS. It takes in the whole thing, raw supplies—

Mr. VORYS. Will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. ROGERS. I will be very glad to yield.

#### NONDISCRIMINATION IN RELIEF OPERATIONS

Mr. VORYS. I wondered if it would not be helpful to explain Resolution No. 2, a resolution relating to nondiscrimination, in paragraph 1 of which it is stated that no discrimination as to race, creed, or political beliefs should be made, but paragraph (2) says—

That, in determining the relative needs of the population, there may be taken into account the diverse needs caused by discriminatory treatment by the enemy during its occupation of the area.



Mrs. ROGERS. That is what I was coming to.

Mr. VORYS. I took that to mean that while U. N. R. R. A. would not discriminate, yet in determining needs U. N. R. R. A. would recognize discrimination, for instance, against Jews as a class through occupied Europe in determining relative needs. They would recognize the results of Axis discrimination. Was I incorrect?

Mrs. ROGERS. Or any other group.

Mr. VORYS. Was I incorrect in that assumption, or would you explain No. 2?

Mr. ACHESON. No; that is correct.

May I add one thing to what I was saying in answer to Dr. Eaton, and then we will come back to your point?

I pointed out that there was, in Resolution No. 1, a rather full statement of the relations of the Administration with the military. That subject is also discussed in Resolution No. 17 on page 34, where, under the heading of "Procedures for obtaining supplies," there is again a reference to the need for the military authorities and the U. N. R. R. A. consulting and working together during the military period on what the military are doing, so that at the end of that period U. N. R. R. A. may know what the situation is and be ready to act.

Mrs. ROGERS. Will you amplify that, Mr. Secretary, if you are going back to my question? It is all part of the same thing.

Mr. ACHESON. As to your question, Mrs. Rogers, I do not know that I understand your question. I know that there have been hearings here in the Congress on the question of what is called feeding through the blockade. If that is what you have in mind, then I would say that this organization has nothing to do with that, because the terms of the agreement itself specify that the activities of U. N. R. R. A. shall take place in areas under the control of the United Nations and that they will not take place in areas not under the control of the United Nations.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, please. Let the Secretary complete his statement.

Mr. ACHESON. I am not quite sure what you have in mind. If it means, should U. N. R. R. A. take the place of the suggestions that have been made, that U. N. R. R. A. should take the place of those suggestions during the war, the answer is that it does not.

Going forward with Resolution No. 2, to which Mr. Vorys and you, I think also, referred, that resolution in one form or another appears in here two or three times. The first paragraph makes it clear that in any area where relief and rehabilitation operations are being conducted—

The CHAIRMAN. Where are you reading from?

Mr. ACHESON. I am reading from Resolution No. 2 on page 7 of the document numbered part II:

That, in any area where relief and rehabilitation operations are being conducted through the employment, in whole or in part, of the Administration's resources, relief and rehabilitation in all its aspects shall be distributed or dispensed fairly on the basis of the relative needs of the population in the area, and without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief.

I think the meaning of this paragraph is clear. The resolution goes on to say:

2. That, in determining the relative needs of the population, there may be taken into account the diverse needs caused by discriminatory treatment by the enemy during its occupation of the area.

That refers to matters of the type to which Mr. Vorys refers. You may find, in an area, that the population is not all in the same state of health. Some portion of the population may have been discriminated against and have a desperately low diet and no medical attention and be in very bad shape. This makes it clear that in dispensing relief it is not violating the nondiscriminatory clause to give particular attention to people who, because of discrimination, have been put in a desperate state.

Mrs. ROGERS. Then it is entirely a matter of need that will govern?

Mr. ACHESON. A matter of need.

Mrs. ROGERS. Does a subcommittee decide this, or the main committee? You are divided, are you not, into committees for different things, or does that go to the whole committee?

Mr. ACHESON. The question of decisions within an area, as to what is the most important thing to do, would be undertaken as an administrative matter by the administrative officers within the area acting in conjunction with the government of the area. It would be impossible and wrong, so far as operations in a field thousands of miles away, to have a committee sitting in Washington try to undertake to decide.

Mrs. ROGERS. So the authority is delegated?

Mr. ACHESON. The authority is in the Director General.

It is also, in another resolution, pointed out that in determining the needs of various areas due regard must be given to the destructive action of the enemy within those areas. Again, that is up to the administrative officers dealing with the various governments, to take these policy matters into consideration and act on them.

Now, the Council may at some later time, on the basis of full information, undertake to devise some new policies, but at the present time it cannot because it has not got the information before it.

Mrs. ROGERS. And special attention will be given to the feeding of children?

Mr. ACHESON. Of course, the whole matter of how the Administration and the Government will operate within a territory is an administrative matter, and you will find a discussion in all the reports here of the necessity for taking care of children, mothers with young children, people who have been particularly injured by the war. There are various classes of people who require special attention.

Mrs. ROGERS. The responsibility then is on the director in that area.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. May I call attention at this point to section 4 of Resolution 9, on page 15, which reads as follows, in part:

\* \* \* the Administration should make specific provision for welfare services for victims of war—in particular for children, expectant and nursing mothers, the aged, and the disabled.

I think that covers the question Mrs. Rogers asked about the children.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Eaton.

Dr. EATON. Mr. Secretary, this whole thing, then, boils down to one sentence. We propose to relieve the persons who need relief as they need it, whether they are mothers or grandmothers.

Mr. ACHESON. I think that is a correct statement.

Dr. EATON. Is that not right?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Mr. JONKMAN. That section on nondiscrimination, Mr. Chairman, of course, provides for the right to give extra relief where there is extra discrimination, but it is also true, and I think we should bear it in mind, that it would not help, for instance, Jewish people discriminated against in enemy countries, because U. N. R. R. A. does not operate there. That is correct; is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. It would not help them until the country is liberated

#### PERIOD OF MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY

The CHAIRMAN. So as to get all that cleared up, Mr. Secretary, when does U. N. R. R. A. really start to function, then, so as to relieve the situation regarding the resolutions we have before us now?

Mr. ACHESON. U. N. R. R. A. will start to function in an area at the time when the military, having driven the enemy out of the area, and finished their military operations, have found that they can now turn over matters within that area to the civilian authorities of the exiled government or the civilian authorities of some commission in an enemy country who will ask U. N. R. R. A. to come in and undertake responsibility. That must be after the Army has defeated the enemy, driven him out of the area, restored order, and finished with that area as a base of operations. At that point the civilian authorities will again take over and U. N. R. R. A. will be able to function.

Mr. JOHNSON. In connection with that, I believe you read a moment ago some provision that when the military authorities, even though they were still in possession of the area, needed the cooperation of U. N. R. R. A., U. N. R. R. A. would cooperate before the military abdicated.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. That is to give complete flexibility. There may be some areas in which military control has to continue for quite a while, but within which the military would like the assistance of this organization to deal perhaps with some of the very special classes of people that Mrs. Rogers has in mind, and as to whom soldiers may not be the best caretakers.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers.

Mr. ROGERS of California. Mr. Acheson has answered my question.

Mrs. ROGERS. Then really the important thing to do is to get the best possible Director here. That is likely one of the most important things of the whole U. N. R. R. A., as I see it.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. We believe that we have got the best possible Director General in Governor Lehman, and we are counting on him to get the best assistants.

Mrs. ROGERS. Governor Lehman is an able man. What is the title for his assistants?

Mr. ACHESON. They would be Deputy Directors General.

Mr. BURGIN. Will that be done in a liberated country piecemeal? For instance, in Italy will you wait until they drive the enemy out of an entire country before U. N. R. R. A. would go in? Then they would have to have the request by the Army to come in piecemeal.

Mr. ACHESON. It is entirely up to the Army. The Army may do it in any way in which they think it is desirable from the point of view of military operations.



Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Secretary, Congress is going to ask a good many questions about this thing when we go on the floor. What about the time element of the passage of this act? What does U. N. R. R. A. think of that—I mean, the need for it? When do you want this? That is something that was evidently discussed down there. It is pretty urgent, is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. We believe, Mr. Richards, that it is very urgent. It takes considerable time to get organized for this work. Of course, we are all amateur military strategists. I do not know when any of these areas is going to be opened up, but we hope that it is not going to be very long. We need quite a little time to get the field forces organized, to get supplies in hand, to get the doctors and medical people organized, and to be ready to act. It is a tremendous job.

Mr. RICHARDS. I think you should be ready to go to town by spring, anyway.

Mr. ACHESON. I should think that would be the very latest.

Mr. RICHARDS. What about calling on Governor Lehman now? Have they enough money to take care of things until the spring?

Mr. ACHESON. At the present moment, Mr. Richards, we have no money.

Mr. RICHARDS. U. N. R. R. A. has not money, I know that, but we are doing a certain form of relief over there now.

Mr. ACHESON. The first impact of this thing will have to be taken care of by the Army as part of the military operation, but as soon as that military period is over the Army's responsibility also is over.

Mr. RICHARDS. You do not mean the only money being spent there is being spent by the Army?

Mr. ACHESON. I do not know what you mean by "there."

Mr. RICHARDS. Italy and North Africa, for instance.

#### OPERATIONS IN NORTH AFRICA

Mr. ACHESON. As I understand, what is happening in North Africa is that the materials which we and the British are sending in for the civilian population through civilian agencies are very largely being sold through commercial channels. Such part of it as is not sold because people have nothing to buy it with has to be given away, otherwise the Army would have starving people in the rear of the troops, which would be a military hazard. In Italy the same thing is being done, as I understand it, by the two Allied armies.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Oscar Cox wishes to make a statement.

Mr. OSCAR S. COX (general counsel, Foreign Economic Administration). In North Africa the civilian supplies over and above those which the Army has made available are being supplied under lend-lease to the French Government, which pays 100 cents on the dollar for the supplies being made available. They then distribute these supplies by sale or, where for direct relief purposes it is necessary to give them away, they give them away and stand the cost. All the supplies that have thus far been made available in North Africa have been paid for by the French Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You mentioned North Africa, did you not?

Mr. RICHARDS. Yes.

What I was trying to get at, Mr. Secretary, if this is a good thing, it really has to start pretty soon. You really have a big job to do as to organization and so forth.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir; that is very true, indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.

#### DISPLACED PERSONS

Mr. VORYS. On this matter of discrimination and special groups, Resolution No. 10 on page 17 in part II deals with displaced persons and stateless persons, and in section 6 it recommends that the Director General take steps to insure the closest cooperation with such agencies as the International Red Cross and the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, and so forth. That entire resolution is directed, is it not, particularly to the victims of Axis discrimination and to stateless persons of whatever race or nationality?

Mr. ACHESON. No, I think not, Mr. Vorys. We discussed not that resolution but the situation which it was intended to deal with just before you came in.

Mr. VORYS. Excuse me.

Mr. ACHESON. I was pointing out that this deals with the vast number of people in Europe and Asia who have been driven from their homes by the war. That includes the people about whom you are talking, but there are a great many more people who are not necessarily victims of discrimination. There are just millions of people who are the victims of this whole war machine which has rolled over the areas. The resolution includes the forced laborers who have been taken by Germany from occupied countries; it includes all the people who have been taken by the Japanese and out of the areas which they have occupied. It includes in Europe possibly 20,000,000 people, in Asia many millions more people, and the purpose of the resolution is that in that great task U. N. R. R. A. must work with the governments, both the governments of the areas where people are, the governments to which they owe allegiance, and the governments of countries through which they must go on their way home, and try to bring some order out of the great problem of returning these people to where they came from.

Mr. VORYS. But in addition to displaced persons you have also stateless persons whose problem is that they have technically no country of which they are citizens, and they would not be as numerous as this entire group you have spoken of, but they are to be given special consideration under Resolution No. 10. Is that not true, sir?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. They will fall under the same provisions. Generally speaking, the difference in the function between U. N. R. R. A. and the Inter-Governmental Committee is that where people do not wish to return to where they lived before, where they want to leave the whole country and go somewhere else, the problem of caring for them until that is done will be a duty of U. N. R. R. A., but the job of working out with some other country where those people will ultimately settle will be for the Inter-Governmental Committee. That is not a relief job; that is a job of international agreement.

Mr. VORYS. Article X, found on page 68 of part II, is part of the machinery, the rules of procedure of the Council, and provides that a

majority of the members shall constitute a quorum for any formal action by the Council except that for any proposal to amend the agreement three-fourths of the members shall constitute a quorum.

In reading through article X, I do not find how the vote is to be taken, whether it is a majority or not, but article VIII of the November 9 agreement contains a provision for a two-thirds vote for any new obligations, including the vote of all the numbers of the central committee, plus acceptance by the government concerned, before the new obligation shall apply to it.

I have two questions. One is, Do the provisions of article X of the procedure rules purport to amend or modify article VIII of the original agreement? My other question is, Will a vote be taken by a majority vote in the routine work of the council?

Mr. ACHESON. In answer to your first question, article X does not amend the underlying agreement. The underlying agreement is the basic constitutional provision of U. N. R. R. A., and that stands.

Mr. VORYS. Is there any provision expressing that in the rules of procedure any place? I should think that would be the case.

Mr. ACHESON. I do not think that is expressly stated. It is clearly understood that the basic document is the basic document, and can only be changed in accordance with its own terms.

Article X of the resolution, to which you referred, is the article which governs the ordinary business of the Council and does not deal with the number of votes necessary to amend the agreement.

Mr. VORYS. It does with respect to what a quorum shall be.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; but not with the number of votes which must be cast.

As to your other question, it is true that in the ordinary business of the council a majority of the quorum will determine the vote.

Mr. VORYS. That, however, is not expressed, insofar as I can find it. Is there an international understanding or something that Robert's Rules of Order provide?

Mr. ACHESON. It is in article III of the main agreement of November 9. Look at House Joint Resolution 192, on page 5, line 12.

Mr. VORYS. I see.

Mr. ACHESON. It says:

Unless otherwise provided by the agreement or by action of the council, the council shall vote by simple majority.

There has been no "otherwise provided," and therefore the simple majority is carried into the rules.

Mr. VORYS. It would require, for instance, a simple majority vote, then, of the Council, to provide a larger vote for a larger majority for action, would it not?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

#### NECESSITY FOR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

Mr. VORYS. The question has come up as to the necessity for congressional action on this. Is this not true, that it would be possible through lend-lease funds, and other funds, and through executive transfers, for the United States to at least start forward with the work of their part in U. N. R. R. A.? There could legally be made available supplies, lend-lease and military supplies, and other funds, to get the thing started. That could be done, is that not true?



Mr. Cox. May I answer that question?

On the hearings for the last appropriation for lend-lease the Appropriations Committees and the Congress authorized the use of part of the funds appropriated in liberated areas, and part of the funds have been used in French Africa and have been repaid. I think as a matter of technical legal construction the lend-lease funds which were approved by the Congress, so long as they fitted within the framework of the Lend-Lease Act, could be used for a contribution to U. N. R. R. A., but as I understand the situation, even though it might be legal to do it, the issue is now being squarely presented to Congress in two steps: One, a resolution authorizing the appropriations, and secondly another step, going before Congress and asking for an appropriation. When it gets before the Appropriations Committees it is conceivable that they may reaffirm that lend-lease funds, or other funds already appropriated, can be used to execute this authorization, but quite aside from the legal foundation, as a public issue this is being presented in a very direct and forthright way to Congress so that they can look at the problem anew, pass on it, and proceed from that point on.

Mr. VORYS. You have made the next point I wanted to make, and that was that the necessity for action by Congress is not a technical matter to enable the United States to carry out its obligations to U. N. R. R. A. but is a matter, if you please, of consulting the people's representatives as to an important step and asking, by their approval of authorizations for appropriations, their approval of the plan which is incorporated in the legislation. Is that not true?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct, Mr. Vorys. The representatives of the Department of State, as you know, have consulted for many months with members of this committee and members of the Foreign Relations Committee, and it is understood between us that we are presenting this matter to the Congress through the joint resolution which authorizes funds for participation in the work of U. N. R. R. A. That lays before the Congress in a broad way this whole matter, and it is up to the Congress to express its view upon it.

Mr. VORYS. I want to say that I thoroughly approve of the technique that has been followed in collaborating with the Congress, and with this committee, in the development of U. N. R. R. A. and it is my great hope that this committee and the Congress will fully appreciate the necessity for collaboration on their part, and the question here is not some technical question of whether you could get some money to go ahead for a while but it is whether our Government, the various parts of it—executive and legislative—think this is a good idea and this is a good way to go about it. I thoroughly approve of that procedure, but I wanted to see whether I had the same view of it that the Executive has, and the explanation shows that I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think we ought to vote now?

Mr. VORYS. No.

I want to say this, also, that due to the courtesy of Secretary Acheson there were a few of us who had the opportunity to have an advance study of this "old and new testament," the proceedings down there, with a coach to answer questions and show us where we could find things in these volumes, and due to the cooperation of the State Department we have seen a good deal of the development of this. I think, however, it would be helpful for the entire committee to fully



familiarize themselves with this vast organization and its implications before we go forward.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean a coach to ride in; you don't mean someone to coach you.

Mr. VORYS. This was a coach to coach us and to answer questions and to listen to our arguments and to generally tell us the results of the deliberations down there.

Another question: I think reference has been made to the Leith-Ross report. At Atlantic City, and for some time, I have been unable to find any over-all summary or statement of the needs. We know they will be gigantic. We also know that U. N. R. R. A. is not proceeding on the basis that every possible human need all over the world arising out of the war is going to be met by this organization. That is true, is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Mr. VORYS. In order to keep from just bogging down, a selection of needs has to be made. That is true, is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. That is true.

Mr. VORYS. Is this Leith-Ross summary the best statement available now of prospective needs in terms of materials and commodities and so forth?

Mr. ACHESON. Before you came in, Mr. Vorys, we were going over the field in which U. N. R. R. A. would operate, and I was pointing out that the financial field of U. N. R. R. A. may be described, roughly, this way: that the vast bulk of the material which will be needed by the liberated areas will be produced in the liberated areas as they are at the present time, during the war; that there is necessary, in order to get over the emergency period, the period of break-down between enemy control and the reestablishment of the several governments in areas, the importation of materials from outside the areas. That importation will be taken care of in the case of countries which can afford to pay for them and have gold and foreign exchange by payments by those countries. That leaves as the field of operation for the financial part of U. N. R. R. A. the furnishing of imports during the emergency critical period for those countries which do not have the means of foreign payment.

Even within that area, when we come to the first resolutions, which we will talk about in a minute, we see that the needs that U. N. R. R. A. will address itself to are of a limited character, and deal with the basic necessities and the emergency period.

Mr. VORYS. The request made on each country for a contribution of 1 percent of its national income has a further limitation, has it not, that not more than 10 percent of the 1 percent is to be furnished in the form of foreign exchange; that is, that of the contribution of the United States only 10 percent would be spent, presumably, outside the United States for materials, and the rest would be used to purchase materials within the United States for use in the needy areas?

Mr. ACHESON. That is covered in the financial plan. I will be glad to take up the financial plan now, or I will come back to Resolution No. 1 and go right through this with the members of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We will do that this afternoon. As soon as we hear from Mr. Schiffler we will recess until 2 o'clock.

## FORMULA FOR ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I prefer to wait. I was going to ask a question, particularly with reference to Resolution No. 38, which provides for the administration expense during the remaining portion of this year and for the calendar year of 1944, of \$10,000,000. Is the same formula, or the same rate, used in arriving at the gross for all purposes as is used in arriving at the administrative costs?

Mr. ACHESON. No; the administrative expenses have been spread on a different formula from the others. One reason for that is that all the countries come within the scope of the administrative expenses, whether they have been occupied or are unoccupied. Everybody shares in the administrative expenses. So far as the contributions for the substantive work of the Administration are concerned, the liberated areas have not been included in the group who are asked to make contributions, because their own contributions to their own people will be of such a vast amount of the relief and rehabilitation within the areas.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Mr. Secretary, of course they are not associated with or forming a part of the United Nations, but I am wondering if the other countries of Europe, such as Sweden, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey, might play any part in this plan at some future time.

Mr. ACHESON. It is hoped that they would. One of the resolutions sets up the policies under which the Director General shall collaborate and cooperate with neutral countries. The agreement itself provides that other nations than those who are now members of the Administration may apply for membership. It is perhaps doubtful that neutral countries would apply for membership during the war. It is hoped that they would after the war. But whether they are members or not members, they will want to take a part in this relief work, and provision is made for their working with the Director General and coordinating their efforts with his and vice versa.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. My reason for asking the first question is, in trying to arrive at the total sum, both in goods and currency or gold, for all purposes, especially until the next appropriating time, based upon the formula followed in arriving at administrative costs, it would be roughly about \$3,700,000,000. Would that represent the approximate figure?

Mr. ACHESON. No; under the financial plan the amount of the fund which it is hoped to raise would be somewhere in the neighborhood of between two billion and two and one-half billion dollars. That is, provided all countries are able to meet the recommendation which is set up in the financial plan. We know that many of them will not be, for reasons which I shall be glad to discuss at the time we go into the financial plan. But the size of the fund is given by those figures.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. That is all at this time.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. May I ask just one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chiperfield.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. On the administrative costs, I want to call attention to section 6 on page 26 of II, Resolution 14, which is as follows:

A member government may treat its share of the administrative expenses, as determined by the council under article VI of the agreement, as included in its contribution made under sections 4 and 5 hereof.

Are we going to include the \$4,000,000, our share of the administrative expenses, as part of the 1 percent of our contribution?

Mr. ACHESON. That would be the idea, Mr. Chipperfield; yes.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. In other words, the \$4,000,000 is not in addition to our 1 percent?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee stands in recess until 2 o'clock. I would like to have all the members here promptly.

(Whereupon the committee recessed at 12 o'clock, noon, until 2 p. m.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee resumed at 2 p. m., pursuant to the taking of a recess at noon.

#### FURTHER STATEMENT OF HON. DEAN ACHESON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, STATE DEPARTMENT

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will kindly come to order. The committee has under further consideration House Joint Resolution 192. Mr. Dean Acheson, you may proceed.

Mrs. Bolton, do you wish to ask a question now at this time?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes; I have some questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, please do, Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. This is a little off the angle we were on this morning, but I think probably I would like some clarification, and so I think it would be interesting to get certain things into the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. BOLTON. A number of people have asked me why and how it came to pass this comes before the House as a joint resolution and I wondered if I might have clarification. I understand in Mexico, for instance, it is considered as a treaty and some of the countries, and I wondered how the arrangement was made, where, and when.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to state this off the record.

(At this point there was informal discussion off the record, after which the following occurred:)

#### RELIEF SHOULD NOT BE A POLITICAL WEAPON

Mrs. BOLTON. Very well, Mr. Chairman, I am perfectly willing to have it in executive session.

In studying these materials that we have had before us, I need clarification from the Secretary, if I may have it, on a number of things. It was my understanding and that of many that this was set up, the U. N. R. R. A. was set up, with the really central focal reason to constitute a nonpolitical method of assistance to the countries of the world; that whatever this organization became it should give help to the countries, regardless of whatever form of government they might set up when they were freed from the oppressor, and it was, I think, your answers which told me it was for the emergency period that it was going to be so very important. When we had the all too brief little session with you in the summer after we learned that this was in contemplation I am sorry it did not occur to me then to make inquiry about it, but it did not. The governments that are called



member governments all through the agreement and the resolutions and the whole set-up are those governments in exile; are they not?

Mr. ACHESON. They are not all governments in exile, because there are 44 member governments.

Mrs. BOLTON. How are those governments to be treated? Is it going to mean in insistence upon this particular form of government which we now recognize being forced upon the people, or are we going to keep to the Atlantic Charter, and leave it to the judgment of the people once freed what their government shall be? Do you get the point I am troubled about?

Mr. ACHESON. I think so.

Mrs. BOLTON. Can you speak about it?

Mr. ACHESON. I think we discussed that once before, Mrs. Bolton, in this committee, if I remember correctly.

In the first place, you refer to a nonpolitical method. I think what you have reference to there is the idea that relief should not be a political weapon.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes; definitely.

Mr. ACHESON. And I think that if that phrase is not expressed in Resolution No. 2 it is in one of the resolutions, which I could find for you.

Mr. SAYRE. It is on page 12.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; in Resolution No. 7, appearing on page 12 of part II.

The first resolution is:

1. That at no time shall relief and rehabilitation supplies be used as a political weapon, and no discrimination shall be made in the distribution of relief supplies because of race, creed, or political belief.

Resolution No. 2 has the same idea in it, and it appears in two or three other resolutions.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. The idea running through all of the resolutions is that the distribution of relief shall be upon the basis of need, and with no discrimination on account of politics, race, creed, et cetera.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. Then you come to the question you asked as to what governments are member governments and what the relation between the government of a territory is and its participation in U. N. R. R. A. That question is one which is quite apart from the organization of U. N. R. R. A. The governments which are members here are governments which are recognized or authorities such as the French Committee, which was recognized as the authority dealing with French affairs. There is no thought that the activities of this organization are to be used to support or to attack any government, in fact, the thought is exactly opposite. We are dealing with the governments which are now recognized by all member nations as the governments. Should that situation change the membership can change. But there is no purpose or desire here either to maintain or to attack any government.

Mrs. BOLTON. Beyond the fact, if that is the case, if it is not to be used, or if a very large amount of relief is not to be endangered by its use for political purposes what assurance is there set up, and what guaranty is there that it will not be so used?

Mr. ACHESON. The guaranties in words are the resolutions which I have read, resolutions agreed to unanimously by all the countries.

There is, of course, always the possibility that if anything should be done of the nature you have in mind the governments which are contributing could cease to contribute. There is also the control which the Director General himself will exercise over the flow of supplies which are financed.

Mrs. BOLTON. Through U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

#### RELiance UPON LOCAL AUTHORITIES FOR DISTRIBUTION

Mrs. BOLTON. Am I wrong in what I thought I had read that the French Committee was to take over the supplies when they reached France?

Mr. ACHESON. I think what you have in mind is the statement made by a member of the French Committee before the Council, which was that France intends to pay for the supplies to France, and France would not be a burden upon the fund created by U. N. R. R. A.

Mrs. BOLTON. No; I did not mean that, Mr. Acheson. I had actual reference to the handling of the supplies from the borders of France from the ports of entry, and so on; that the French wish to take those over, the French Committee, and that they would give them out.

Mr. ACHESON. I think these are different aspects of the same thing, Mrs. Bolton.

Let me just read what I just mentioned, and I think it will explain what you have in mind.

Mrs. BOLTON. Surely.

Mr. ACHESON. This is an excerpt from the report of Statement to Subcommittee 1 of Committee II by the Member of the Council for the French Committee of National Liberation on November 20, 1943:

He stated that the French view of the problem of relief and rehabilitation is that the rehabilitation of France and the rehabilitation of Europe are closely interrelated. He further stated that, as her contribution to the needs of all Europe, France would pay, though this would be a very great burden on her shoulders, for her imports of relief and rehabilitation supplies, thereby leaving United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's resources available for assisting in the relief and rehabilitation of the countries not able to pay. In order for any recovery to be possible in Europe, moreover, a large portion of the resources for such recovery must come from Europe. In that connection, he stated that the French view is that after liberation restricted consumption must continue for some time within Europe and France in order to assure that there will be resources available for this purpose.

Now, then, he went on to say that since France is going to pay for its supplies, the French authorities will receive those supplies and distribute them. That is not materially different from the outline of policies which have been made at Atlantic City, which provides that insofar as it is possible of achievement, U. N. R. R. A. should rely upon the local distributing mechanism in order to distribute the supplies which are brought in from the outside. In other words, this morning you remember we talked about the fact that the great bulk of supplies which will be used in any country will be those of local production. In all those areas there will be governmental administrative people who will arrange for the distribution through com-

mercial and other channels of this main body of supplies. To that will be added a comparatively small amount of imported supplies.

In those cases where these imports are bought and paid for, obviously the Government would receive them and put them with local supplies into the general method of distribution. Even if purchased by U. N. R. R. A. and turned over to the local government, that government, if it has administrative machinery, can much more effectively distribute those if it does it along with other goods which it is putting into circulation in the country. That is the policy which U. N. R. R. A. has adopted. In other words, this is not to be a proposition under which goods go into these various areas and U. N. R. R. A. undertakes to run and control the business of the distribution of supplies within the State. It is a service auxiliary agency which is helping the various authorities in the various countries get this additional amount of supplies which is necessary to be imported and to be added to the materials of the country itself.

#### RECOGNITION OF RESPONSIBLE LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes, that is very clear, but that does not answer my original question.

The political value of the relief material to the French Committee is very great, and there is the possibility that the Committee is not going to be acceptable to the people of France. Now, what guaranty do we have that the Atlantic Charter principle of self-determination will not be endangered by the unabridged and unlimited use of those French materials that we gave to the French for the purposes of relief which would give them a political hold? We have, all of us in this country, known what the W. P. A. funds did to the election.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not get that.

Mrs. BOLTON. Maybe it is just as well you did not hear it.

Dr. EATON. Maybe it is with regret that he admits he did not get any of it.

Mrs. BOLTON. You see my question? To me it is a very vital point of the whole set-up as it came out of Atlantic City.

Mr. ACHESON. Let me go further with it if I can. You ask what guaranties there are. The guaranties are the ones that I mentioned before. There are the resolutions agreed to. There is the supervisory control of the Director General so far as the use of U. N. R. R. A. supplies are concerned, and there is the ability of the various governments to discontinue their support if the purposes of the organization are not carried out.

Now, with that, which I believe is all the guarantee that is possible, you are then faced with a practical problem, and I think I see what your difficulty is, your belief or your suggestion as to the local government or local authority, or whatever it is.

Mrs. BOLTON. Not the local one, but the government we have recognized here outside the country.

Mr. ACHESON. What I should like to point out is the time at which we now stand. At this time we recognize certain governments in exile as representing their countries. As long as they are recognized we deal with them on questions affecting those countries. Whether



the governments we now recognize continue to be recognized, and become the governments to exercise local authority is a political question which will be decided outside of U. N. R. R. A. and U. N. R. R. A. does not want to inject itself into that situation in any way. The representatives of the various governments on the council and committees of U. N. R. R. A. will, of course, be guided on such political questions by their own governments. As a result of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers, the great powers have set up important political machinery whose function it is to prevent disagreement and to reconcile and settle differences of point of view on questions of this kind. The language of the agreement specifies that the relief agency may act in areas with the consent of the governments or authorities exercising administrative authority there. As a practical matter that must be the method. The political aspects of the question of choosing or accepting such authorities will be decided by the political authorities, not the relief authorities. We have not delegated our power of making such decisions to the council of U. N. R. R. A. You suggest that by relying upon an authority which is exercising administrative control within the territory, you may support that authority to the extent that you make supplies available to it. That may well be true. On the other hand, if you take the opposite position and say you will withhold from that authority any dealing with relief supplies, you are then attacking that authority, because you are attacking the very center of its governmental powers—the control of the distribution of the necessities of life during a highly emergency period.

There are only two courses you can follow. One is to create some sort of supergovernment which will go into territories and attempt to administer relief there, which would not be practical. In the first place you cannot get consent to that. In the second place, it would require a vast staff, which would be a practical impossibility. The other task is to find the authorities functioning in the areas, and those authorities will be enlisted and supported in the distribution of these imported relief goods. Those authorities will, in any event, distribute the vast bulk of the supplies consumed in the area. Therefore, if you had U. N. R. R. A. acting separately, you would have two authorities, one dealing with the great bulk of supplies internally produced, and the other with a small percentage of imported supplies which are vitally important. Such an arrangement could from the very beginning tend to destroy the local authorities in these administrative areas, and that is the reason for the course which is being followed.

#### MARKETING OF U. N. R. R. A. SUPPLIES

Mrs. BOLTON. May I ask further what guaranties—I used that word for lack of a better one—are there that U. N. R. R. A. supplies will always be known as U. N. R. R. A. supplies?

Mr. ACHESON. There is a resolution on that.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is right.

Mrs. BOLTON. It is resolution No. 4 on page 9.

Mr. ACHESON. Good. You have answered the questions yourself, Mrs. Bolton.

Resolution No. 4 appearing on page 9 of part II reads as follows:

*Resolved*, That the council recommends that member governments, consistently with such measures as they consider necessary to regulate the dissemination of

information while hostilities or other military necessities exist, afford the administration opportunity to make public information with regard to its operations, and that they permit the use of special labels or other designations on supplies and equipment belonging to or furnished by the administration.

Mrs. BOLTON. May I comment on that before you do just to make my question go to the point? The words used are "recommends, permits, and suggests," and so on. There is nothing mandatory there that I can find. It would seem to me that if we are going to have U. N. R. R. A. appreciated by the French, because that is what I believe first brought up this particular contract, that wherever a railroad, say a train were used, a store was used, or a fleet of trucks, or a wagon, or whatever, should have U. N. R. R. A. to be marked plainly on it. This would exclude the possibility that the people in the inner regions of the country by the time it reaches them would believe that this provisional government or the acknowledged government of this movement is responsible for their getting those relief supplies. That would be one way to preclude its being used as a political whip to put back into power a government which might not be wanted by the people.

Mr. ACHESON. In the first place we cannot make it mandatory because there is no power to make it mandatory. After all we are operating under an agreement of November 9—

Mrs. BOLTON. But we can agree on that.

Mr. ACHESON. Which does not detract from the sovereignty of the parties taking part in this agreement.

None of us at Atlantic City were clothed with any authority on the part of our Government to agree to anything or to go beyond the implementation of this agreement of November 9. You would have felt very critical of me if I had come back from Atlantic City and if I had agreed to things which were totally beyond the power of any delegate of the United States to agree to. The same thing is true of any delegate of any other country.

This is a recommendation to those countries which we feel quite certain will be followed, but which it may not be practicable to apply in the case of all supplies. One of the reasons is a great many supplies do not lend themselves to markings; that is, most things which come in bulk. One of the very vital things which will have to be imported during this critical period is fuel to keep warm, to keep trains running, and you cannot mark things like that.

Mrs. BOLTON. It has to go into a container.

Mr. ACHESON. Coal goes in a collier, and is dumped out.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes; it goes in a car.

Mr. ACHESON. It is almost impossible to do it, as we have discovered in north Africa.

Another thing you have to keep in mind is that these supplies will be a smaller part of the total supplies, and you may go too far in marking things, except those which lend themselves particularly to it, and get the reverse impression of the one you intended to have put into the minds of people, and that is that very little comes from this organization, that relief does not amount to much, most of it comes from somewhere else. It is almost entirely an administrative matter. The recommendation has been made and it has to be left to the Director General and the field forces to carry this as wisely forward as they can.

Mrs. BOLTON. I still feel there is grave danger of the possibility of making U. N. R. R. A. a political instrument, Mr. Secretary. I think there is involved the whole foreign policy of this country, and I do not know whether we are going to get behind the thing that the President and Mr. Churchill agreed to in the middle Atlantic, self-determination of nations, or whether we are going to build tools that will make a travesty of that.

Mr. ACHESON. I think we all agree most enthusiastically that we do not wish to do the things you fear, Mrs. Bolton, and I think we have gone as far as we can.

Mrs. BOLTON. Of course, let me make myself clear that I am enthusiastically for the United Nations control of relief, and my whole purpose in asking any questions at all is to clarify it as much as possible. I know certain questions are going to be asked on the floor, and a great many of the same questions are going to be asked by our people, and together I would like to work out with you and the State Department the answers or the possibilities of the next set of suggestions to make it impossible to have any of these detrimental factors.

That is my only purpose.

Mr. ACHESON. It is impossible in this world to ever make completely impossible the doing of wrong things.

Mrs. BOLTON. Of course, there are going to be mistakes.

Mr. ACHESON. If we should attempt here to go to the extreme end of perfectionism we might have an ideal relief administration, and practically no people to relieve, because they would be dead before we got to relieve them.

As I said at the beginning of this testimony, the critical period is the period following liberation.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. It will be one where the difficulties will be most acute. If this organization acts quickly then I believe that the whole relief period may be very short, and that we may start the liberated areas of Europe and Asia off toward rebuilding themselves without much help.

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you very much for that.

Mr. ACHESON. If we delay or bungle too much for the fears we have then I believe the possibility of disorganization and chaos is very great.

Mr. EATON. Would the lady yield?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes; I yield.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor Eaton.

Mr. EATON. I had the misfortune to be a little late and I missed your original question. Am I to understand just as the W. P. A. debauched the American electorate so they voted wrong you are afraid U. N. R. R. A. extended into countries like France will debauch those electorate so they may not vote right.

Mrs. BOLTON. I think we should be exceedingly certain, Mr. Eaton, that it is not possible for any government to use these relief supplies to put itself back in power.

Mr. EATON. At the pleasure of the American Government?

Mrs. BOLTON. Just that.

Mr. EATON. No.

Mrs. BOLTON. What I am anxious to see us do is to examine into every possible little nook where there could be trouble. It is so much



easier to secure it in the beginning than it is later, and in reply to your statement, Mr. Secretary, that it is very necessary that relief go forward as quickly as possible in order to avert possible chaos; I am quite in agreement with you there. But if we give relief in such a manner as to destroy the very thing that this is all about, which is freedom of countries, the right of the people to make their own mistakes, it would be just as unfortunate, to my way of thinking, and it is just that I hope we will be very careful that we do not get back with that kind of thing.

And to that end I have been unable to find certain provisions that would appear necessary. I regret that I have not had time to go through all of the resolutions. Can you tell me if provision is made at any point for the moment when the present member governments, such of them as are governments in exile, would be superseded by government set up by the people of the now occupied countries. What will bridge the gap for U. N. R. R. A.? What happens to it if the signatory governments cease to function? Somehow, one wishes they might have been called "temporary governments" or something of that kind.

That just gives my sense of what it is all about. But what is going to protect relief during the period of change from the government-in-exile type to something the people may prefer?

Mr. ACHESON. That again, as I said, is a question in the first instance that has to be decided in some other place. If a government disappears it obviously disappears and a new government takes its place. If there is a question between two governments the various representatives on the council will be instructed by their own governments as to what position they take.

But say that you come in discussing membership in an organization with governments all of which are recognized in good standing. You say we are now going to take up the matter of dealing with the possibility of their successors. That is not the way to get the organization off to a good start.

Mrs. BOLTON. Then it is the policy of the department, of the Americans, of our representatives in it to have the supplies go into these countries unmarked and no guarantee given that they are not misused or misunderstood.

Mr. ACHESON. I think that is almost the exact opposite of what I said a moment ago. That is not the policy.

Mrs. BOLTON. You did not quite cover it, and I overdo it perhaps, but I am doing it purposely.

The CHAIRMAN. May the Chair ask a question, Mrs. Bolton?

Mrs. BOLTON. By all means.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, regarding Mrs. Bolton's reference to France, the French, I understand, are to pay for these goods before they are delivered, or at some time the French are supposed to pay for them, is that right?

Mr. ACHESON. That is the statement made by the French representative.

The CHAIRMAN. If whatever government or whatever committee is in France at the time buys these goods and we deliver them to them do you not think it is up to the committee or the government of France at that time to say how we are going to deliver them and how

they are going to be marked? She pays for them and they are her own goods.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; that is what I was going to try to bring out.

So far as possible what we have done is reserve this fund for those who cannot get along without it, and have every government that can possibly do so pay for the imports which it gets.

There are also provisions, which we will come to in the resolutions, by which even a government which has no foreign exchange must bear all expenses of the government in its own country with its own currency. So that we have gone very far in not undertaking to carry the whole burden of relief or rehabilitation in any of these areas. We must, therefore, rely to a very great extent upon the local authority, and it is not possible at that point to say to the local authority, "You must do all these things, bear all these things, pay all these expenses, and we will come into your territory and administer the distribution of these goods." That would not work.

So far as the policy is concerned, it is not, as you thought, Mrs. Bolton, that the American representatives are not in favor of having goods marked. We have a resolution here that their goods shall be marked, so far as practicable. Many cannot be marked, and some can be, and will be marked. It is not our policy that there shall be no supervision of distribution. It is our policy that there shall be strict supervision of the distribution of relief goods. One of the resolutions, the last one, in regard to relief distribution policies appears on page 13 of part II.

The CHAIRMAN. Page 13, part II.

#### U. N. R. R. A. CONTROL OVER DISTRIBUTION

Mr. ACHESON. It is on page 13.

The first eight resolutions, which we will come to later, go into the responsibility of the local authority in the distribution, and then it ends up by stating—

That the Director General should be kept fully informed concerning the distribution of relief and rehabilitation supplies within any recipient areas, and under all circumstances there should be the fullest working cooperation between the governments or recognized national authorities concerned and the administration for this purpose.

So that he has to know all about what goes on. Then there is the resolution on nondiscrimination. The Director General has the power of saying that supplies cannot be continued to be given if there is discrimination or political use. Then there is ultimate power of the governments to discontinue their distribution.

Mr. VEATCH. Mr. Acheson, may I raise a point on this subject under discussion?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. VEATCH. Is it not to be expected that the Director General will reach an agreement with the government to which supplies will be given which will spell out in some detail the general policies laid down by the council? So, the specific things Mrs. Bolton has in mind would be made by special consideration of the council and are made in that way.

Mr. ACHESON. The agreement of November 9 provides for that procedure. It is in Article 1, paragraph 2 (a). It appears in the Joint Resolution 192, and is on page 3, beginning at line 12:



The form of activities of the Administration within the territory of a member government wherein that government exercises administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed by the member government for carrying out measures planned by the Administration therein shall be determined after consultation with and with the consent of the member government.

Now, it is expected that under that provision and the more detailed provisions of the resolutions that there will be working agreements reached between the Director General and the various governments as to the part each shall play in the relief measures within that territory.

Mrs. BOLTON. Then, as I understand it, the U. N. R. R. A. continues to recognize the member governments, and what opportunity would there then be for the people in these countries to express their sense of the kind of government that they wish?

Mr. ACHESON. The two questions have no relation to one another, Mrs. Bolton. The people within the area will do whatever they wish to do. U. N. R. R. A. will take no part whatever in that political process.

Mrs. BOLTON. Not as such, Mr. Secretary, but when you are hungry and a government comes in and says, "I will feed you, I am your government. Remember, I am your government." You are pretty hungry, and you take that government, do you not? And are not we in agreeing to this making it almost impossible for there to be anything except acceptance of the member governments unless there be actual revolution?

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind the Chair asking a question there? I think you might clarify it, Mr. Secretary. Could you kindly explain for the benefit of the committee the procedure of our Government, which I guess is the procedure of all governments, in recognizing governments of any country, whether in revolution or anything else? In other words, you have a procedure whereby you recognize a certain government and as soon as you recognize a government in control of that country until the government is changed and you recognize it of course your procedure is recognizing the government in power, is that right?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Kindly explain how does our Government or how does our State Department do that with countries in peacetime or in wartime.

Mr. EATON. Do what?

The CHAIRMAN. Recognize the governments.

I think what is in Mrs. Bolton's mind, if I understood correctly, is that Mrs. Bolton fears some of those governments are governments the people object to, and how are we going to recognize those governments so as to function with the government in control?

Mr. EATON. I think I might add to what the gentleman says that that raises another question. What Mrs. Bolton assumes is that when this relief comes to the distressed people abroad they are to be informed it is done entirely by the American Government.

Mrs. BOLTON. No, sir.

Mr. EATON. Or is it to be done by an international organization representing 44 countries.

Mrs. BOLTON. No, sir; the U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. EATON. Why should we worry? We have only got one forty-fourth of it.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am troubled over the answers to the questions.

Mr. EATON. Pardon me.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am troubled over the answers to the questions we will have to make to the Members of Congress and to the people as to what use these supplies will be put into. And if we put into the hands of a government-in-exile the materials which would give them undue strength with which to go into their country and insist upon being the accepted government. It might be far from what the people want. Therefore I should be desirous not to have this magnificent international machinery have qualities that would make it a danger to the principles for which the Atlantic Charter has spoken.

Mr. EATON. The functions and desires of the alimentary canal among people will obtain unobstructed by any change in the Government, and that is really what we are dealing with here so I do not see the purpose of the question. Perhaps I do not know.

Mrs. BOLTON. I won't pursue this overlong, but I do think it is one of those questions that need to be considered if we consider this whole problem thoroughly.

Mr. EATON. Yes.

#### RELATION OF U. N. R. R. A. WITH EXISTING AGENCIES DEALING WITH SUPPLIES

Mrs. BOLTON. Then in connection with what you say the French are going to buy the supplies that will go into France very largely?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. Do they buy through U. N. R. R. A. or to whom do they go?

Mr. ACHESON. If you will turn to Resolution No. 1 you will see the answer to your first question. We turn to page 4 of part II, which is Resolution No. 1, the part of it with the roman III,

Relation of the administration with existing intergovernmental authorities and agencies established to deal with supplies, shipping, and related questions.

The first paragraph deals with the activities. Let us read it. It is as follows:

1. The activities of the administration in bringing assistance to the victims of war will be so conducted that they do not impede the effective prosecution of the war. The prosecution of the war demands that scarce supplies and shipping tonnage shall be carefully controlled and allocated in order to assure not only that the supplies and shipping requirements of the armed forces are fully met, but also that a fair distribution of supplies is made between the civil populations of the various areas having due regard to their actual or potential contribution to the war effort. It will therefore be essential, both for the conduct of the war and in order to promote a fair distribution of supplies between the inhabitants of areas with which the administration is concerned and those of other areas, that demands upon supplies and shipping presented by the administration should be coordinated with other demands through the use of the existing intergovernmental agencies concerned with the allocation of supplies and shipping.

That is, first of all, the over-all picture. Whatever U. N. R. R. A. does it will do through the existing intergovernmental agencies concerned with allocation.

Then we go to paragraph 2, as follows:

It will be an essential part of the functions of the Administration to secure a fair distribution of goods which are in short supply and of shipping services to and among the various areas liberated or to be liberated. For this purpose the Administration must have full knowledge of all the relief and rehabilitation import requirements of such areas, whatever arrangements may be contemplated for procurement or finance. Therefore, member governments shall keep the

Administration fully informed of their requirement and programs of intended purchases. The Director General may present to the intergovernmental allocating agencies such recommendations or objections as he may deem necessary to obtain a fair distribution to and among both liberated and to-be-liberated areas. The Director General will present before the intergovernmental allocating agencies the over-all requirements for relief and rehabilitation of all areas liberated and to be liberated in order to permit a global consideration of these needs with all other needs. He may also present the particular requirements of any country for which the assistance of the Administration has been requested. It is anticipated that the Director General, and, where necessary, the chairman of the committee on supplies, will be fully consulted by the intergovernmental allocating agencies when any matter touching the interests of the Administration is under discussion.

That is spelled out in a later resolution in more administrative detail. For the purposes of the record it is Resolution No. 17, which appears on page 32 of this document, but I shall not take your time now to read all of that, and you will see it starts out with the preparation and presentation of over-all requirements. That provides that all of the liberated areas shall inform the Director General of their total over-all requirements, and that he may present the entire picture for all the areas to the allocating boards. Then if a country wishes and is willing and able to pay for its particular purchases, it comes with a particular program of purchases, which is within this over-all requirement, and it is presently given to the Director General. The Director General is fully informed of that program, and immediately goes before the allocating boards and makes such recommendations or objections as he wishes to.

Insofar as countries which have no foreign purchasing power are concerned he may present their programs himself so that before the boards the Director General is acting as the financier of a particular country even though that country may carry out certain supply and procurement operations on its behalf.

Mrs. BOLTON. When you say the boards, do you mean the combined boards?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; the boards, the combined boards.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Will the lady yield for just one question?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes, indeed.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Where does the Food Administrator appear in the picture in connection with the combined boards?

Mr. ACHESON. The Food Administrator is on the Combined Food Board. The Combined Food Board is made up of the Food Administrator of the United States, the Food Administrator of Canada, and the Minister of Food of the United Kingdom.

#### PRESENTATION OF PROPOSED PURCHASE PROGRAMS BY INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES

Mrs. BOLTON. Then France, paying for her supplies, can go to the Combined Board and make her own plea?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct, having first fully informed the Director General.

Mrs. BOLTON. But on informing him it has not gone through with his O. K.? He is simply informed.

Mr. ACHESON. There are two steps to that. In the first place, he presents the over-all needs of all the liberated countries.

Mrs. BOLTON. He presents them to the Combined Board?



Mr. ACHESON. Yes. This is the whole picture so that the Combined Boards may have that total picture in mind in considering those needs in relation to the needs of the armed forces, the needs of the United States civil population, and the British, whatever they may be. They have a total picture.

Along comes a country which wishes to and can pay for its own supplies. That may be a program of purchases. This will be a narrower thing than the statement of their over-all needs. It is what they wish to purchase in the next 60 days. They must inform the Director General of that. He has had their total picture long before that. He may go before the boards, as they may go, and say, "I endorse this program. This is needed. This is sound. This is needed in this particular country," or he may say, "It is excessive," or "Part of it is needed, and part of it is excessive." But the country is not required to go through two consents to its program. It may go to the Combined Board together with the Director General. The whole thing is considered as one proceeding.

#### SUPPLIES TO BE ALLOCATED SOLELY ON BASIS OF NEED

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Secretary, how does that tie in with the information we had last summer that one of the reasons for this was that there would have to be complete control of the food supply of the world if the countries who needed the most were going to get it, every country that has money? At that time there were several stock piles of food, as I remember it, and if those countries who have money are able to purchase they can get it at once, unless they have a pool, and everybody is humane; is not that the type of exactly the kind of thing that U. N. R. R. A. is set up to prevent?

The CHAIRMAN. Would the lady mind an interruption there?

I think the question, the way the Chair gets it, is, Is there a preference given to any country which has the money to pay for this food against the country which needs the relief and has not the money to pay for it, or do you give preference to where it is most needed instead of preference to the country which can afford to pay for it?

Is that your question, Mrs. Bolton?

Mrs. BOLTON. That is part of it, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Do you give a preference to any country because she has the money to pay for it, or do you supply the food according to the need for relief?

Mr. ACHESON. There would be no preference given to the country, because it has the funds to pay for it. The whole purpose of setting up the organization is to see that there is an organization which has the funds to pay for the food which a nonpaying country needs.

At the present moment there are vast areas of the world which are drawing on these total resources by applying to the controlling center which is the combined boards and their constituent elements.

The combined boards are purely advisory. They are simply meeting places where various food administrators or other administrators meet and discuss their common problems.

Let us take the question of food. For instance, at the present time you have whole continents which draw upon this common food resource. They come to the combined boards or constituent elements of

the combined boards. The procedure is no different when you create U. N. R. R. A. The fact that a country is a liberated country, if it has funds to pay for its food, does not put it under any disability that some country never occupied was never under. At the present moment, for instance, if Brazil wishes to buy some food abroad it comes to the combined boards and there its needs are considered. Similarly, with a European country which can pay. There is no purpose or need, there is no sense in making that country suffer some disability which a country which has never been occupied has suffered. The only thing you want to make sure of is: Has the distribution been fair and equitable and in accordance with the need?

The Director General prepares and presents the over-all requirements, so he may survey the whole field and may know what the needs of each country liberated, or to be liberated, are, and what the needs are of other countries. Therefore, he may go to the Board armed with facts in order to recommend or criticize when that country does what every other country may do, make its application for its own needs. He also goes on with the applications for countries which are not able to make application on their own account because of lack of purchasing power in the world market.

#### U. N. R. R. A.'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR DETERMINING RELIEF NEEDS

Mrs. BOLTON. Then, it seems to me, if it moves into various areas to my mind the Combined Boards are going to settle it anyway. Therefore, if we had just the Combined Boards and then had an organization set up to represent the country that cannot afford to buy anything why do we have to have this complicated machinery of U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. ACHESON. It is not a complicated machinery, and the Combined Boards do not settle it anyway, because the Combined Boards are not equipped to, and do not have the complete information on all these questions. The boards are expert on questions of supply, rather than need or demand. It is the function and job of U. N. R. R. A. to find out relief needs in the first instance and present the picture of needs to the Combined Boards. It is not merely a question of dividing materials within liberated areas. It is seeing that fair allocations are made to the whole group of liberated areas and areas to be liberated. The hard matter is these liberated areas which are coming in to make demands on existing pools of supplies. In considering what those demands are going to be it is necessary to know the totality of them first. That is the first step. The Combined Boards must know so that they may determine whether existing resources are sufficient, whether they can be expanded, whether allocations for other purposes must be cut down to meet this new demand, to what extent this new demand may be cut down, and all of those factors. U. N. R. R. A. prepares that basic information for them.

You then get into the purely administrative business of making a purchase and getting it shipped. The important thing in that field is not to create unnecessary paper work, but to make it as simple as possible. When this procedure will have been finished we will know what the needs of the whole area are and the boards will then have made their plans to meet them. You then have a detailed administrative request coming along that the French want to buy something.



The Director General is informed and says, "This is in accordance with the plan," and you go along with the paper work without creating unnecessary bureaucracy.

Mrs. BOLTON. Am I correct then in understanding that each country informs U. N. R. R. A. of the requirements of its people?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, it will present to U. N. R. R. A. its total picture.

I assume that it may be taken up in several ways. Almost all the liberated countries have an administration of relief and rehabilitation or a ministry of relief, or some part of their government which is charged with this duty. They also have a member on the council and a member on the regional committee for the area in which they work. There will be a great deal of work done in these regional committees where representatives of the various countries who will probably be their cabinet members in charge of this work, will appear and state what their needs are and what the prospects for production are. All of that will be discussed at considerable length to see that the basis on which applications are made is the basis which is generally acceptable, and as to how the people really are feeding in various countries. All of those matters will be thrashed out in the regional committee, and finally the Director General will get a lot of figures which will be the basis of his estimate of the total requirements. He will have to know what countries are producing and the scale of consumption which they are maintaining. He will have to analyze their requests for imports. He will have to take these in their order of importance. There may be some small import which will greatly facilitate local production. Obviously that will be much more important than it will be to import the same amount of other consumer goods. All of that has to be worked out by him. And with that picture in mind he can give his total requirements to the Combined Boards and they can then criticize his purchase programs.

Mrs. BOLTON. Am I right in getting from the whole set-up of the original agreement, and so on and so on, that in each instance the member government is the government in exile, and that by accepting those governments as the voice of the people of those countries we have, so to speak, frozen those governments in power?

Mr. ACHESON. Not the slightest bit.

Mrs. BOLTON. How not, Mr. Secretary?

#### NECESSITY FOR DEALING WITH RECOGNIZED GOVERNMENTS

Mr. ACHESON. This comes back to the question you asked a few moments ago. We are dealing with a practical situation. We cannot wait until a country is liberated and people have gotten into that country to decide what preparation has to be made for supplying it. If we do that it will be too late. We will have great suffering and disintegration. We must deal with the representatives who exist, who know about that country. Those are now the only governments of the country, wherever they may be, we can deal with on such questions. The fact that we recognize a government in exile for occupied Ruritania, for example, will not limit the freedom of the Ruritaniens to choose a new government after liberation, if they want to. Quite the contrary, for it will be easier to exercise political rights in an

orderly way in Ruritania if the country is not convulsed by food riots, chaos, and consequent martial law.

Mrs. BOLTON. What is our policy going to be in the matter of any possible training in government in those countries?

Mr. ACHESON. That is what we discussed a moment ago, and I said that is something which takes part outside of this organization.

Mrs. BOLTON. And is a matter for our State Department?

Mr. ACHESON. It is a matter for various agencies, the state departments and foreign offices of the various governments, to make up their minds who is the representative of a government and who is the government of that country.

Mrs. BOLTON. And you deal with them, giving them power to do what they want to do in those countries?

Mr. ACHESON. We are not giving people power.

Mrs. BOLTON. No, we want to give them relief.

Mr. ACHESON. The problem you have in mind, Mrs. Bolton, is a real problem, but it is not one which is soluble in any other terms than the way in which we try to solve it. We are dealing with an actual situation. In handling relief, we must deal with a local authority. We have two choices. We may deal with the authorities in those countries, or we may attempt to set up some kind of superstate. We cannot set up some kind of superstate, because there is not any power or force in the world to do so with.

Mrs. BOLTON. I agree with you, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. ACHESON. Now, you pose the question, Will dealing with that authority strengthen it? I presume it will. On the other hand, refusing to deal with it will not only weaken it, it will destroy it. So we do not have a perfectly simple choice there. We must deal with someone. Therefore, we deal with a recognized government or authority, and we leave the political question of deciding which government to recognize to the political, not the relief authorities.

Mrs. BOLTON. And it is your feeling merely requesting that labels be on every possible place so that the receiving people shall acknowledge the international group in any local group of their own as their benefactors is an impossibility? We cannot do more than that?

Mr. ACHESON. We have made that recommendation. It is a matter that has to be worked out with various governments. It is one which has to be worked out with this government. It will not be an easy thing to do, because there will be a desire on the part of many people not to have an U. N. R. R. A. label on materials which come from the United States, but to have a United States label, of course, which will be a mistake.

Mrs. BOLTON. Of course, we have found ourselves under a mistaken situation since we did not label lend-lease and follow it to the end. Perhaps that is why we should like to see U. N. R. R. A. things carried through a little bit more satisfactorily. I regret the lack of greater insistence upon this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Bolton, you know lend-lease was labeled wherever we could possibly label it all over the world.

Mrs. BOLTON. We are not discussing the lend-lease fortunately at the moment.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Secretary, at this point, could I ask you a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

## INTERIM COMMISSION ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

Mr. EATON. A few days ago I received from Mr. Will Clayton, a gentleman from Oklahoma, for whom I have a very high personal regard, a very interesting proposal setting up the food administration based upon the mysterious food conference that was held in a nearby sovereign State not very long ago. What is the relation between U. N. R. R. A. and Mr. Clayton's organization?

Mr. ACHESON. There is very little, Dr. Eaton. The result of the Hot Springs Conference was to set up what is called the Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture, the purpose of which was to draft an international agreement for the establishment of a permanent international food and agriculture institute. That institute was to bring together all the various international agencies working in the field of food and agriculture, and to supersede some of those which are now under the control of the enemy, such as the Rome institute. That is a long range international service agency for Government departments of food and agriculture. It is supposed to do various things of a service nature.

One is to make annual surveys of the food production program all over the world, and to bring to the attention of governments that these programs fall way below or go above the consumption needs in particular grades of food and agricultural products.

We have found in the past the various national organizations, working separately without knowledge of what others are doing, would all produce one article, say get a great surplus of that and deficits of others. This body is to make a survey so we would have in all countries the full knowledge of all agricultural products of the world.

It was also to take up and carry forward the study of the nutritional value of various foods to see whether it would not be possible to raise the standards of nutrition of many classes in all populations and of some populations.

Then there was to be another branch of it which would be a technical branch, so that there could be information given to various governments on the latest developments in agricultural science. There are many parts of the world in which agricultural techniques are used which are exceedingly crude. There are others where knowledge of the insecticides and fungicides is not present. The purpose of this was over a long range to aid national departments of agriculture to bring to various peoples the latest scientific knowledge and to guide the production of food over a long range to meet consumptive demand.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not sell anything?

Mr. ACHESON. It is not an agency to provide food for anybody.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. As contradistinguished to the provisions of the food conference, about which you have just testified, U. N. R. R. A. is entirely different in that U. N. R. R. A. is purely a temporary organization to serve you in a period immediately following a war period? There is nothing permanent in U. N. R. R. A.; it is temporary only?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Mr. JOHNSON. Just for an emergency period?



Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To take up the work of the Rome agricultural institute idea, is that the idea, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. ACHESON. That is one part. It was to expand that work and to take up the various branches of agricultural work.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not sell anything?

Mr. ACHESON. Oh, no. It is not an organization requiring expending for feeding or controlling food or anything of that sort.

Mr. EATON. Or assembling food products for use?

Mr. ACHESON. No, it is not that.

Mr. EATON. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chipperfield, very well.

#### U. N. R. R. A. RELATIONS WITH PHILIPPINE COMMONWEALTH

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. Mr. Secretary, getting back to this first resolution which covers areas in which the administration will operate does U. N. R. R. A. consider operating in such an area as the Philippines, or does U. N. R. R. A. consider the Philippines as purely as domestic question for the United States?

Mr. ACHESON. No, the Philippine Commonwealth is a member of U. N. R. R. A. It participated fully in the meeting in Atlantic City and signed the agreement.

There are questions in connection with the Philippines which will fall within this general scope of the U. N. R. R. A. activity. There are other questions in which this Government and the Philippine Government are now at work beyond anything which U. N. R. R. A. ever contemplates doing. So that relation between this Government and the Philippine Commonwealth is much more close than the relationship of the Philippine Commonwealth and U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. What would be the status of the Dutch East Indies?

Mr. ACHESON. They are represented by the Netherlands Government.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. And U. N. R. R. A. funds will be necessary for both?

Mr. ACHESON. If necessary for them then U. N. R. R. A. funds would be available.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. If I understand it correctly the distribution of the foods and materials furnished by U. N. R. R. A. are to be distributed as far as possible by the governments in those areas. And some of these resolutions refer to that, for example, on page 13, section 5.

The CHAIRMAN. Part II.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Part II, page 13, section 5?

#### PAYMENT TO U. N. R. R. A. IN LOCAL CURRENCY

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. "Relief and Rehabilitation Policies." Distribution of relief and rehabilitation goods is done through private trade; the remuneration earned by private traders for their services is no more than is fair and reasonable. Then there are other provisions



that this food should be available to all regardless of how much they happen to have so that it will come within the range of their pocket-books. Apparently these goods are going to be sold in some instances at least through private trade and sold through the market place. In those cases will U. N. R. R. A. be paid for materials furnished or have the benefit of receipts received from individuals for those goods?

Mr. ACHESON. The question of payment to U. N. R. R. A. is covered in the financial plan which begins at page 25, and the provision I have in mind is section 19 appearing on page 28.

First of all let us look at section 16 on page 27. That says:

It shall be the policy of the administration not to deplete its available resources for the relief and rehabilitation of any area whose government is in a position to pay with suitable means of foreign exchange.

That is the policy declaration. If a government is in a position to pay with suitable means of foreign exchange it shall do so.

Section 16 then provides a method of determining whether a country should or should not pay.

We then get to section 18, which says:

It shall be the policy of the administration that an applicant government shall not be required to assume the burden of an enduring foreign-exchange debt for the procurement of relief and rehabilitation supplies and services.

In other words, if it cannot pay, it does not have to go into debt before it asks U. N. R. R. A. for relief through those funds.

Then we come to the question you asked, which is section 19. It says:

The Council recommends that governments not in a position to pay in suitable means of foreign exchange for necessary relief and rehabilitation supplies or services make available to the administration in whole or in part the local currency proceeds from the sale of supplies furnished by the administration. It shall be the policy of the administration to use any such local currency for relief and rehabilitation work, including the care and movement of displaced persons, and for such other purposes as may be agreed upon with the government. Programs for the utilization of such local currency shall be formulated by the Director General and the member government involved.

Now, that means if you have a country which does not have sufficient gold or dollars or pounds or any currency which is good outside of its own borders and it has to acquire some import material for its own use it may go to U. N. R. R. A. and put in its request for that material. U. N. R. R. A., if it approves, may purchase the material with any funds which may be available to it and turn them over to that government.

Let us assume since the country is well organized and has a good administrative force; it can then take those goods and put them into distribution. There will be two methods of distribution. One will be to put some of the goods into the ordinary commercial channels of distribution, instead of building up a great force of distributors. Then there will be people in that country who do not have even local money to pay, and the Government will then have to see, with or without the help of U. N. R. R. A. as may be worked out between them, that there is free distribution to those people of whatever is necessary to feed and clothe them.

Now, then, where goods are sold there will be proceeds in local currency. Under this recommendation the Director General may agree with the Government, and he may say, "I will sell these." He may not know when the ship docks how much materials have to be

given away through the Red Cross, local dispensaries and that sort of thing. He says, "Whatever you put in commercial channels I sell, and you give me the proceeds of local currency."

Mr. EATON. A sort of a revolving fund so they can continue to carry on the work?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. Then that local currency is to be used to perform relief and rehabilitation work within the country. Let us take country X, for instance, which has no foreign exchange or gold. It needs food. There will be need for putting up shelters. Let us say that is the extent of its import needs. Then it has great need of taking care of orphans, widows, and people of that sort. The Director General may sell food for local currency except the part which is given away, and he will get local money for that. Then here is a lot of lumber which has been imported to put up temporary shelters. That lumber has been sold to the country for the Government to put up an orphanage as well as other things. There have got to be workmen and carpenters to put up that local shelter. The Director General has a fund which he can use to pay X, Y, and Z, who are carpenters and other workmen who will work and put up the building. Thus they began to get paid and life starts over again.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Take this example, they also decided to rebuild a utility or repair a coal mine, and the owners were private owners, and they had the ability to pay, and suppose the repairs would not be made without payment being made by the private owners, then you have, as you say, a sort of revolving fund to be used in that country for other purposes, so it would not be a gift to the private owner.

Mr. ACHESON. Well, wherever a country or a citizen of a country who had been dealing through his Government in this emergency period has foreign exchange they will pay directly to the supplier in this country or South America, or wherever it is. If they have no foreign exchange the Government will pay U. N. R. R. A. and U. N. R. R. A. will have this fund.

#### FISHERIES AND WHALING

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. In Resolution No. 11 on page 19 it refers to the whaling industry. Why is it a necessary function of U. N. R. R. A. to expand the whaling industry?

Mr. ACHESON. It is not a matter of expanding it, Mr. Chipperfield. This reference is to fisheries and whaling. We are particularly dependent upon fisheries also. And we are faced with one of the most acute food shortages with which the world is going to be faced and that is the shortage of fats. I would expect fats are extremely short, shorter than almost anything except some of the proteins. One of the quickest ways of repairing that is through fisheries. And if there is any way of furnishing nets or fixing up one of these whaling boats which is now being used in connection with landing supplies or naval operations so it can produce whale oil you have done a tremendous job for nutrition of the liberated areas.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You also say in that same resolution:

In determining such priority for agriculture and fishing requirements the test should be applied whether the supply of these requirements will bring early and large returns in the form of crops and fish for direct human consumption.

I am just wondering and I think many ardent fishermen might be interested in that test or formula where they could tell ahead of time where they would be able to fish and guarantee early and large requirements for human consumption. I would like to find that formula myself.

Mr. ACHESON. I do not think that was an attempt to predict where the fish were. But the idea was that there are some fishing operations which might produce fertilizer or something of that sort. What we are interested in all the way through here is emergency work.

#### FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I appreciate that.

Are there any countries that have said they were willing not only to take care of their own relief, but also to come within the 1-percent provisions?

Mr. ACHESON. In the liberated areas?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. ACHESON. We have not put up to the liberated areas the question of making any contribution except in the plan which says that any liberated area which after it is liberated and knows what its situation is and finds it can make a contribution is urged to do it.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. It is provided they do if they are able?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; but it is a question of getting into the area and finding out whether there is any possibility.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Eliminating the liberated countries from consideration of the cost of 1 percent, is the income of the United States greater than the income of those remaining countries?

Mr. ACHESON. Our estimate is that it is, Mr. Chiperfield.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Based on the national income all the rest of the countries outside of the liberated countries are less than the national income of the United States?

Mr. EATON. We ought to have a day of Thanksgiving to God Almighty that is a fact.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I agree with you on that.

Mr. VORYS. We had one last month.

Mr. EATON. I know, but we did not realize how well off we are.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the Secretary answer.

Mr. EATON. The Secretary will about the national income.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. It is a fact that it is a very difficult thing to estimate because we do not have figures for other countries outside of our own as of the year ended June 30, but the best estimate we can make at the present time is that our national income would be about \$135,000,000,000 for the year just ended, and that the income of the whole area, all of the areas including our own, would be somewhere in the neighborhood of \$230,000,000,000.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. And that is the reason you think the total contributions would be around \$2,300,000,000, and our share would be \$1,350,000,000?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. Now, it is going to be and is quite clear that all of the countries who are included in this will not be able to make the contribution of 1 percent. There are obvious reasons why that is so. If you get a country which has a large national income but a vast population then is not what it might appear to be statistically—a rich



country. It may be a very poor country suffering a great deal of lack of its own. Therefore, its contribution would have to be less than 1 percent.

Mr. EATON. I hope you will excuse me?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Secretary, in our own case in 1943 this immense national income is quite an artificial thing. A good deal of it is because of the fact that taking taxes out of one pocket and putting them in another. To settle down to the national income it would not be anything like that unless you have a change of administration.

Mr. ACHESON. It is a large increase of the previous national income.

Mr. EATON. And it is due to the war situation; is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. I imagine it is closely connected with that. The misleading character of all comparisons of national income in wartime is that they have to be made in dollars or pounds or other monetary units. Now prices have gone up in different degrees in different countries, and the nominal rates of exchange in which we have to make these comparisons no longer accurately reflect internal prices in the different countries. Generally speaking, real income in terms of physical production has increased in about the same proportions in the chief belligerent countries, and they are devoting about the same fraction of their actual output to war purposes. But the price problem has been handled differently in each country, so that in terms of money figures, it is easy to be confused. Actually, the chief industrial countries are very much in the same boat so far as real national income is concerned, under the impact of war, and national income is therefore a reasonably fair basis for their contributions.

Mr. VORYS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Secretary, this is quite true, is it not; this is not contemplated as an annual contribution?

Mr. ACHESON. Oh, no; not at all.

Mr. VORYS. But this is the contribution, unless and until this contribution is exhausted and the need still persists and the Council meets and makes a new recommendation? This is the only request for a contribution that is now formally considered and adopted; is not that true?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct, Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. And as a practical matter no one is considering that the job of relief is going to take 1 percent of our country's national income annually.

Mr. ACHESON. Oh, no; not at all.

Mr. VORYS. With the exception of the countries receiving the relief, and some of them are going to pay the full amount of their relief, and others very large amounts: is not that true?

Mr. ACHESON. That is true.

Mr. VORYS. And some of those recipient countries will be paying of course many, many times 1 percent of their national income during the period when they are receiving help; is not that true?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Mr. JOHNSON. Right in that question could I interpose this suggestion?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johnson.



## RELATIONS OF U. N. R. R. A. EXPENDITURES TO TOTAL COST OF RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

Mr. JOHNSON. That the total money that will be handled, the total relief that will be granted by U. N. R. R. A. will be only a very small percentage of the total amount expended for relief and rehabilitation in these countries?

Mr. ACHESON. That is true, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. Is there any way to estimate what that percentage would be, and that is the percentage the U. N. R. R. A. pays and the percentage that the countries pay.

Mr. VORYS. Does it not amount to the amount given of above \$2,900,000,000 or something like that?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right, but what percentage above that are other countries supposed to pay? What I am trying to find out is what percentage of the whole amount will be spent by U. N. R. R. A. and what percentage will these countries contribute themselves? I think that is an important thing if you can give it; I do not know whether you can ascertain it or not.

Mr. ACHESON. It would be only a guess or shot in the dark. But if you take the total supplies and services which have to be consumed in these areas in which U. N. R. R. A. would be operating I should be very much surprised if the part financed through U. N. R. R. A. exceeded 5 percent of the total.

Mr. JOHNSON. In other words, 95 percent will be contributed by other countries?

Mr. ACHESON. Between 90 and 95 percent would come from the liberated areas themselves.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, have you concluded?

The CHAIRMAN. I have another question.

Mrs. BOLTON. I wonder if you could declare that less operation would come from U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. ACHESON. No; I said from other sources.

Mrs. BOLTON. What would the other sources be?

Mr. ACHESON. Local production, local trade within areas; payment by the country itself for the imports.

Mrs. BOLTON. I just wanted that to be made clear for this record.

Mr. ACHESON. And the reason the U. N. R. R. A. will give relief is solely for the support of the areas which do not have adequate foreign exchange. That must be quite a small part of the total consumption.

Mr. JOHNSON. Permit me this offer: The reason I think that is important is some people who are not familiar with this matter think U. N. R. R. A. is going to furnish all relief for these countries. I think it is important the public should be disillusioned of any such misapprehension, and I think that statement clarifies it and makes it in a very forceful manner as to what connection U. N. R. R. A. does play in connection with the whole amount expended.

## UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTIONS FOR RELIEF AFTER LAST WAR

Mr. VORYS. Along that line I do not know whether you have given the figure before, or whether you have it ready to give, but as I understand it the amount which our country paid for the similar type of

relief contributed for relief after the last war was far in excess of the amount that is now to be authorized; is not that correct?

Mr. ACHESON. I have some figures on that, Mr. Vorys, if I can find them.

According to the figures which were compiled by a publication of the League of Nations called "Relief Deliveries and Relief Loans, 1919-23" the total which includes amounts distributed during the war and after the Armistice amounted to approximately \$2,600,000,000.

Mr. JOHNSON. You mean by our country?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. Of that amount, there were United States Government loans of about \$1,000,000,000 for relief purposes, primarily foodstuffs; and another amount of approximately \$1,300,000,000 was spent by continental European governments for relief and rehabilitation out of general credits established by the United States Treasury for them in this country.

There were gifts aggregating \$37,000,000 from the United States Government, and there was private charity from the United States of \$340,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that include purchases made by foreign governments that were not paid for?

Mr. ACHESON. Of those loans by the United States only about 5 or 6 percent were ever repaid, so that it amounts to a relief gift.

Mr. VORYS. That brings me to a question which came up this noon which brings up sort of a border-line case. Some of us were assuming that in one of the liberated countries there might be coal mines which had been bombed or otherwise put out of commission, and that it would be quite apparent to the relief director that it was cheaper to put, say \$1,000,000, into rehabilitating those coal mines than to spend \$10,000,000 shipping coal from the United States or from some other present source of coal. That would seem to be the wise thing to do to rehabilitate the production of coal, we will say, in a liberated country.

Now, once that rehabilitation was finished some individual or some corporation in that country would then have a going coal mine. And after the relief problem was over this relief item would have become an item of reconstruction. Would the revolving fund arrangements in section 19 we referred to, which describes what shall happen to the proceeds of actual relief supplies, would that procedure be applied to the cost of rehabilitating the coal mine, or just how would that be handled?

Mr. ACHESON. No.

Mr. VORYS. We would not want a relief item which turned into a reconstruction item to continue to be a gift if we could help it, and no self-respecting country I would think would want to accept it on that basis. Is there anything in the statements of policy that would forecast the way such a transaction would be handled?

#### RANGE OF SUPPLIES AND SERVICES TO BE PROVIDED BY U. N. R. A.

Mr. ACHESON. Well, in the first place the extent of what would be done in that case is covered in Resolution No. 1, which appears in part II. The particular paragraph concerned is on page 4 at the top of the page. This whole resolution, which begins on page 3, is called "The Range of Services which the Administration will Provide." It goes

on about "Relief supplies," "Relief services," and then it goes to "3. Rehabilitation supplies and services." Those are to be "materials (such as seeds, fertilizers, raw materials, fishing equipment, machinery, and spare parts) needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas, and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes."

Now, that is the general policy which covers your coal mine case.

Then on page 21 in Resolution 12 it goes into that a little more fully, saying:

Rehabilitation supplies are to consist of materials, such as raw materials, machinery and spare parts needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated territories; and, within the scope of the administration, the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, so far as they can be repaired and restored to meet immediate, basic needs, such essentials as light and water, power transportation and communication.

And emphasis all the way through here is on immediate repair and restoration to take care of relief needs.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind an interruption right here? Could not that be made in the shape of a loan?

Mr. ACHESON. One of our purposes, Mr. Chairman, is to avoid foreign loans. If the country has foreign exchange the country will be asked directly to pay for these mines. If it does not have they will be asked to pay in local currency. I take it we are not to have an enduring foreign debt which will later on impede the area.

The CHAIRMAN. I have a further question there. If you are restoring a coal plant and you loan \$100,000 or \$1,000,000 could not they be made to pay to the U. N. R. R. A. for relief needs in coal so you can distribute that?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; that is covered by the plan.

The CHAIRMAN. That is covered by the plan.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask something right there of Mr. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. You may have touched on this. If you have I do not want to go into it again. Is there a banking branch of this thing?

Mr. ACHESON. That is in—

Mr. RICHARDS (interposing). I would like to find where it is. If you have touched on it already do not go over it.

Mr. ACHESON. We have only touched on it a little bit, Mr. Richards. It is Resolution 14 on page 25.

What I had hoped to do was to go right through these resolutions, taking them all up.

Mr. RICHARDS. If you would rather touch on them like that you can do it; it is all right.

#### FINANCIAL PLAN

Mr. ACHESON. No: we will take them in the way they come up.

This financial plan is a recommendation by the Council to the various member governments. There is no commitment on the part of any one but merely the plan which has been recommended.

It starts out by requiring a program of operations from the Director General, which is going to outline the extent of the work which he proposes to do, and it is hoped that this program will be available by the next meeting of the Council, which ought to be in the spring.



Then there is provision made for an administrative budget. He has to put that in annually with such supplemental budgets as are necessary for his administrative expenses.. Then it comes to section 4 on page 26, and says:

As to the amount and character of the contribution of each member government, to be determined by its constitutional bodies as provided for in article V of the agreement, the Council recommends that each member government whose home territory has not been occupied by the enemy shall make a contribution for participation in the work of the administration, approximately equivalent to 1 percent of the national income of the country for the year ending June 30, 1943, as determined by the member government.

The council recognizes that there are cases in which the recommendation above may conflict with particular demands arising from the continuance of the war or may be excessively burdensome because of peculiar situations, and therefore recognizes that the amount and character of the contribution recommended is subject to such conditions.

That is the contribution.

Mr. RICHARDS. Where do you put that contribution? Do you have a bank of your own is the thing I was trying to get at?

Mr. ACHESON. Every government is of course free to handle that as it would wish. It has been assumed this Government would make the appropriation not in one whole amount, but as it is needed from time to time, and would make it to some agency of this Government so it would be in the hands of an agency of the United States Government.

Mr. RICHARDS. Will there be any relation between this thing and the bank that has been proposed by the Treasury Department? That is more in the nature of loans and so forth for rehabilitation?

#### FORM OF CONTRIBUTIONS: FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND LOCAL CURRENCY

Mr. ACHESON. No. There would be only this indirect relationship to it, that insofar as other financial plans are worked out and countries get on their feet and go ahead, the burden of relief is very much reduced.

Mr. RICHARDS. You have mentioned several times the problems of exchange and all of those things. I thought maybe possibly this thing kind of contemplated a central bank to handle the situation itself.

Mr. ACHESON. No. The next section deals with the foreign-exchange feature of it, and says:

Subject to the provisions of article V, paragraph 1, of the agreement the council recommends that as much as possible, but not less than 10 percent, of the amount contributed by each member government as recommended in section 4 hereof, shall be in such form of currency as can be expended in areas outside of the contributing country; and that the balance thereof shall be in the form of a credit in local currency which shall be available for the purchase of the contributing country's supplies and services.

That means that it is hoped that every country which makes a contribution will make at least 10 percent of that, and if possible, more, available to be expended outside of its own area for purchases in other countries.

Mr. RICHARDS. Instead of paying it, won't your central bank of this organization just be placing it to the credit of these countries?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; they can place it to the credit of some agency of the Government or it can be placed to the credit of the United States Government.



Mr. RICHARDS. But you have not any bank to receive these contributions? They are just credits?

Mr. ACHESON. No; if the contributions are made to the administration directly by any government that is dealt with on page 28, section 22, which says:

All funds and currency credits of the Administration shall be retained, insofar as advisable, in the form in which they are received until needed.

Some country may prefer to make its contribution in one lump directly to the Director General. This says "insofar as advisable" is it suggested he keep it in that form until he needs it?

Mr. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a second, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. It is just in line with what Mr. Richards asked. As I understood Mr. Acheson's statement in response to Mr. Richards he said 10 percent would be spent anywhere else than its country. Does that contemplate 90 percent will be spent in the country that contributes. Am I right in that?

Mr. RICHARDS. No.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; that would be the result if the country contributed only 10 percent in foreign exchange.

Mr. JOHNSON. I just wanted to know.

Mr. ACHESON. Some countries will have to make most of it available in their own currency because they do not have foreign exchange. Other countries will want to make a very large part of it in foreign exchange because if they do not, the procurement of relief supplies will impose a greater burden on their own population, because all supplies will have to be drawn from that particular country, whereas if they do have foreign exchange it would be desirable to draw supplies from some other country and not reduce the rations of that particular population.

Mr. VORYS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.

#### VALUATION OF CONTRIBUTIONS IN KIND

Mr. VORYS. Right on that particular point, there is some provision here somewhere that gives the Director General some discretion to put a price on the contributions that may be considered contributions in kind. For instance, if let us say "A" country furnished its local market butter for 30 cents a pound and butter in "B" country was a dollar a pound, and "A" country said, "We will just credit our butter contribution at \$1 a pound," there is some place in here a provision which does not leave it entirely within the power of the country to determine how to fix its contribution in kind. Do you remember where that is?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; I think that is one of the powers of the committee on supplies. Do you know where the committee on supplies is?

Mr. SAYRE. Page 40, paragraph 6, Mr. Acheson.

The CHAIRMAN. Page 40, paragraph 6.

Mr. ACHESON. This is resolution 22 relating to functions of the committee on supplies. This is a committee of the council, one of

the important standing committees, and among its functions shall be:

To consider whether there are unjustifiable differences in the valuations placed by the contributing countries upon the supplies and services purchased by or made available to the administration, and make necessary recommendations regarding the adjustment of such valuations. These recommendations would be made after having given due regard to the points of view expressed by the representative of the contributing country concerned.

Now, the final authority, the final power, has to remain in the contributing country. It is sovereign and it says what it will do and what it will not do. But there will be cases such as that raised by Mr. Vorys where you have the same commodity and where because of lack of transport or some other reason it is at a disproportionate price in each country, and therefore if each country did exactly what it thought was right, and credited its contribution at domestic prices, you would have one country getting two or three times what another got for the same thing, say for a pound of butter. That is obviously unfair. All the council can then do through this committee is get the countries together and say, "Now, let's discuss this and see whether we cannot be a little more equitable," but whether the countries do it or not is up to them.

#### PAYMENT FOR SUPPLIES USED TO REHABILITATE PRIVATELY OWNED INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Mr. VORYS. To return once more to this coal-mine problem I have mentioned, I understand the purpose of U. N. R. R. A. and of Governor Lehman as expressed on page 22, section 11:

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief.

There the U. N. R. R. A. has attempted to define and limit its field. However, when you get a situation where the necessary relief steps have afforded a large measure of reconstruction and the particular country, or individuals, or group involved is not in an immediate position to pay in local exchange or in foreign exchange for the benefits what is to be the policy of U. N. R. R. A. as to that sort of improvement to the freehold, the real estate?

Mr. ACHESON. I am not sure that I follow you.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a permanent improvement.

Mr. VORYS. Here is a permanent improvement that has been made not for the purpose of reconstructing, but for the purpose of affording men efficient relief, affording coal, fixing up a light plant which might be a possibility, mending a railroad to get relief supplies in some place. It has been done to speed up relief and to render relief more efficiently and economically. When it is finished, however, it is a permanent improvement. Now, right there it seems to me you get a question that, as I say, is a border-line case.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean if it is going to be repaid that it should be repaid?

Mr. VORYS. Yes; it should be repaid by the Government or by the private owner. In case of bread being sold in that same country it is clearly set forth in here that it will be paid for, that if it is sold, we

will say, for local currency that the local currency will be used for the benefit of U. N. R. R. A.

Now, here is a coal mine, a utility——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). An electric-light plant or something?

Mr. VORYS. Also, there could be clothing factories that are rehabilitated by U. N. R. R. A. in a country which has no foreign exchange, or no other way of paying for it immediately, but which gets to be a going corporation, and it has been made a present of this thing which incidentally is a permanent improvement.

Mr. ACHESON. There is no difference between relief and rehabilitation supplies. They treat them exactly the same. If the country has foreign exchange and can pay for these supplies which make this necessary elsewhere they pay for them, and that is over and done with and finished.

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. If they do not have foreign exchange then they pay for it in local currency, and that is over and done with and finished. There is no enduring debt.

Mr. VORYS. No; but the third one, if they have neither foreign exchange or local exchange, but at the time the transaction is completed, instead of buying light, food, and clothing which are expendable, the permanent improvement remains in this country for the benefit of either the Government or the individual should not there be some arrangement made so that that should be paid for?

Mr. ACHESON. There will not be such a situation, Mr. Vorys. There will always be either foreign exchange or local currency, and in some cases both. There is no situation where there is not local currency available.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind an interruption there?

Mr. VORYS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, supposing I am owner of a coal mine and I have no money to pay for putting this coal mine into order so that I can produce coal. I have no money to pay for it, and I think what Mr. Vorys means is U. N. R. R. A. loans the money or advances the money to put this coal mine into condition for operation. Now, it is in operation. Now, if we have loaned to the coal operator or owner of the mine \$50,000, or any sum of money, and they put this mine into operation and they are mining and selling it, is there any way of recovering the amount of money we have advanced to the coal-mine owner, is that the idea, Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. That is right, or would we take all of the income, or would the owner agree to impound a part of the local currency he is getting for his coal, which is a matter of relief? I mean it cannot be produced without U. N. R. R. A. coming into it, but after it gets going he has got a going coal mine and is making money out of it, and it has been rebuilt by U. N. R. R. A.

The CHAIRMAN. We can take the same situation in Naples, Mr. Secretary. When the Army went in there they restored all of the electric light plants. As soon as the electric light plants were restored and began making juice they naturally would sell the electricity to the inhabitants of the town, and they got paid for it. What would happen in a case of that kind, Mr. Secretary?



Mr. ACHESON. I do not believe that such a case arises. Whether the owner has funds or not is a question of local financing, but it is between him and the bank or the government or whatever it may be, as U. N. R. R. A. is not concerned with these detailed transactions within a country. It is not going to make a loan to A, or make a loan to B, or sell something to C. It is all done through existing channels or financial institutional action. Your man has a coal mine, but let us assume he has no money. He wants some particular props and some steel to make a new shaft, things of that sort; he is going either to the bank and say he wants to make a loan, or he goes to the Government to make a loan, and in that case he is dealing with the governmental authority, not U. N. R. R. A. The private individual states: "That is an essential material; we need it for rehabilitation purposes." The Government says, "It is essential, we will buy it and turn it over to you." The private individual will never be unjustly enriched by the transaction between the two Governments.

Mrs. ROGERS. You might say the same thing for the drilling of oil as to these oil towers?

Mr. ACHESON. We could say the same thing about anything.

Mrs. ROGERS. Have you taken up so far as oil is concerned the matter of giving us relief so far as gasoline is concerned?

Mr. ACHESON. No; we have not.

Mrs. ROGERS. This country certainly needs relief in that situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not get us out of the coal mine, Mrs. Rogers?

Mrs. ROGERS. I would like to get the coal out of the mines and to also get oil into the country.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Will you yield?

Mrs. ROGERS. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. When U. N. R. R. A. sends material into the country does that country either pay for it in foreign exchange or in local currency?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. There is no gift?

Mr. ACHESON. If U. N. R. R. A. wants to give it away it can give it away, but the financial plan says if the country can pay in foreign exchange it should. If it cannot, it can make the proceeds in local currency available. The only place where it may be a gift is where the country has no foreign exchange and the country wants some material given for an orphanage, and so forth, so there would be no proceeds of a sale. That would, of course, be true for other cases of direct relief distribution or for various relief services. In such cases U. N. R. R. A. can still decide to pay for the supplies or services in foreign currency.

Mrs. ROGERS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yes.

Mrs. ROGERS. Will you give the oil situation your best consideration?

Mr. EATON. You mean in America.

The CHAIRMAN. We promise you that if you stay awhile we will.

Mrs. ROGERS. No; I mean so far as other countries are concerned.

Mr. ACHESON. That is a matter which is having very considerable thought right now.

Mrs. ROGERS. U. N. R. R. A. will?

Mr. ACHESON. No; not in connection with U. N. R. R. A. It has nothing to do with U. N. R. R. A.



Mrs. ROGERS. But it could have; the United States needs relief in the matter of securing oil.

Mr. ACHESON. It just is not connected with U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I have another question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. I have just one more thing and then I am through. Is not this true: If one nation, say France, which has agreed to pay for everything, and say Greece, which we will say is not going to pay for anything—if both of those countries have a similar need for relief, let us say, the rebuilding of a sewage plant in some large city in each one their claim on the world's materials insofar as U. N. R. R. A. can control it will be equal if their needs are equal, even though one can pay and the other one cannot?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Mr. VORYS. But the other more wealthy nation, once it gets beyond immediate relief needs and into reconstruction may then be in a more fortunate position?

Mr. ACHESON. Clearly so, yes; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions of the Secretary?

Mr. ACHESON. I should be glad to begin right at the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. This will be off the record.

(At this point discussion off the record ensued, after which the hearing was resumed as follows:)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will go into executive session for a couple of minutes, after which time we stand adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, December 8, 1943, at 10 a. m.

(Thereupon, at 4:15 p. m., the committee went into executive session, having announced an adjournment of the public hearing until tomorrow, Wednesday, December 8, 1943, at 10 a. m.)

# TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1943

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman), presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will kindly come to order.

The committee has under further consideration H. J. Res. 192. Assistant Secretary Acheson will proceed.

## FURTHER STATEMENT OF HON. DEAN ACHESON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee: Yesterday we went over the resolutions in a rather hurried way, skipping about from one resolution to another. I thought this morning it might be helpful if we began at the beginning and went right through the resolutions, which would give us a more complete and orderly view of the structure which was set up at Atlantic City.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you prefer to proceed so as to get a full explanation of the entire proceedings without interruption?

Mr. ACHESON. No; I shall be very glad to have questions, Mr. Chairman. I think that helps to bring out the points the members have in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

## RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN U. N. R. R. A. AND THE AUTHORITIES IN CONTROL OF LIBERATED AREAS

Mr. ACHESON. The first resolution deals with the broad general policies of the U. N. R. R. A. organization. It deals with the areas in which U. N. R. R. A. will operate and the form of relationship between U. N. R. R. A. and the various authorities in those areas. This resolution will answer some of the questions which Mrs. Bolton asked me yesterday. The resolution starts out by providing that the geographical areas in which the Administration will operate will depend upon the action of the Director General under policies laid down by the Council. It then clarifies three general types of areas and states what the relationship shall be in those areas between U. N. R. R. A. and the authorities in control.

The first one is the liberated area in which a government or recognized national authority does not yet exercise administrative control. That describes in general the military period, and it says that in cases of those areas—

the Administration will operate from such a time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the military command and the Administration, and subject to such control as the military command may find necessary.

I think we went into that yesterday, and the necessity for that is clear. It means that U. N. R. R. A. will not come into any area which is under military control until the military requests it to, and then under such restrictions as the military may impose.

The next qualification :

in a liberated area in which a government or recognized national authority exercises administrative authority, the Administration will operate only after consultation with, and with the consent of, the government or recognized national authority concerned regarding the form of activities to be undertaken by the Administration within the whole or part of such area.

That is required by the agreement which itself provides that U. N. R. R. A. shall not operate in any area in which a government or recognized authority exercises administrative control without its consent, and after working out the form of activities with that recognized authority.

I do not know whether it is necessary to go over again the matter which Mrs. Bolton raised. I wish she were here to discuss it. Perhaps we might skip it and come back to it when she gets here.

The point, of course, is that U. N. R. R. A. is not the organization which recognizes or does not recognize governments. That is done by the political heads of the various states which make up the membership in U. N. R. R. A. If a government is recognized, then it is the authority with which this organization has to deal. U. N. R. R. A. is not a political organization; it is a service organization. It cannot go into any sovereign state against the wishes of the government which controls that sovereign state, just as it cannot conduct activities in the United States without the consent of the Government of the United States. Therefore, before going into an area, it must consult with the government and must have the approval of the government, and it must work out with that government the form of its activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind going in, Mr. Secretary, a little bit more in detail, with reference to recognition by U. N. R. R. A. of the different governments, which was brought out yesterday.

Dr. EATON. U. N. R. R. A. does not recognize governments.

The CHAIRMAN. U. N. R. R. A. recognizes, according to the question Mrs. Bolton asked—

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, in that connection, could I interpose this question? I was very much surprised to read in one of the papers large headlines this morning that in the testimony, Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson said yesterday that U. N. R. R. A. may be used for political pressure, or to aid political factions. I heard this hearing yesterday. I do not know what reporter reported that or who wrote that headline, but I am surprised to find that in the paper, and I would like for the Assistant Secretary to state whether or not he has any fear that that is going to happen, and I hope that the paper that published that, if you deny it, will publish the denial. I would like to hear him on that point, so it will be clear to the public.

The CHAIRMAN. And further, preparing to get the full information, I think Mrs. Bolton mentioned yesterday how these governments were going to be recognized by U. N. R. R. A. so as to give the relief. I think Mrs. Bolton was rather fearful of the fact that we might recognize a government in a way that would give them power within that country. Now, I would like to have the Secretary, if he would, elaborate a little bit more on that, so she will definitely understand that U. N. R. R. A. in no way recognizes any government unless it is a government that is recognized by the different countries. Is not that a fact?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Mr. Chairman. The fundamental fact of the matter is that there will be in every area some authority which exercises the administrative and political control in that area. Now, in the first instance that will be the military forces. Following the military forces there will be some civil authority. At the present time all the member governments in U. N. R. R. A. recognize certain governments or authorities as being the recognized government or authority of an area. Now it is obviously impossible for U. N. R. R. A. to attempt to carry on any activities in any area except with the consent of, and after agreement with, the authority which exercises administrative and political control in that area. U. N. R. R. A. does not have an army; it does not propose to have an army; it does not propose to coerce anybody; it does not propose to do anything contrary to the orders and wishes of those who are in control in that area. That must be so. There cannot possibly be any other solution to that problem. This agreement provides that during the period when the military are in control, U. N. R. R. A. acts subject to the authority of the military. After the military have finished their job and a government is set up which at the present time is the exiled government of the territory, then U. N. R. R. A. will act in cooperation with, and with the consent of that authority. If some other government is set up which is recognized by the states which form this organization, U. N. R. R. A. will deal with that authority. It has to deal with the authority which is in control in the territory. That is just a physical, basic fact which cannot be overlooked.

Mr. JOHNSON. A question right there. Does U. N. R. R. A. have anything to do with reference to determining what governmental authority shall be set up in the various countries?

Mr. ACHESON. U. N. R. R. A. has no political responsibility whatever.

Mr. JOHNSON. Is not this true, that U. N. R. R. A. is simply the clearing house of the governments through which this relief is granted to the suffering peoples?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct, Mr. Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. If you do not mind, Mrs. Rogers, the Chair would like to ask a question. I am reading from today's Washington Post, on page 7, and herewith we have a headline covering four columns, and in large type it says, "Possible political use of U. N. R. R. A. admitted by Acheson."

When did you admit that? I do not think it bears out the testimony that you gave here. I wish you would kindly give for the benefit of the committee, and also for the press, I would like to have that statement answered.

Mr. ACHESON. I think, Mr. Chairman, that the article does not bear out the headlines.



The CHAIRMAN. The article does not bear out the headline, but the headline is what the people read, you know.

Mr. JOHNSON. The public reads the headlines and does not read the article. Now, anyone that is reading that would say, "Well, that is what Dean Acheson says, the Assistant Secretary of State." I think you ought to say something on that headline. You never made any statement of that kind yesterday before the committee or any of the press, did you?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir; not to the best of my knowledge and belief. I would prefer to discuss the facts rather than to argue whether the headline writer in the Post is accurate.

Mrs. ROGERS. That was not a matter of reporting; it was a matter of the person who wrote the headline.

The CHAIRMAN. That headline is not true, is it, Mr. Acheson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Do not let him say that, let us say that, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to comment, if I may, on the disservice that the press sometimes renders in writing glaring headlines that attract attention but are not supported by the facts. I think that is one of the difficulties that we have to contend with in this country. I know that General Marshall, in a speech which he made, said that the trouble was that the people read the headlines, and then determined about the state of the war, and I think that is the trouble about a great many things, and I think that the press owes a duty to the public to make their headlines conform to the news contained in their columns, and I think that the State Department ought not to have to condemn that, but as a humble member of the committee who has no restraint by diplomacy or otherwise to express my feelings, I want to express my indignation and condemnation at such an abuse of reporting news.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes to state that the reporter, the people who are covering this hearing—

Mr. JOHNSON. I am not condemning the reporter. I am condemning the people who wrote the headline.

The CHAIRMAN. They have been very fair, and it is wrong to give out by any headline writer anything else other than the facts. The headline should conform to the facts.

Mrs. ROGERS. Is it not true, Mr. Secretary, that large sums of money or food or commodities given to a recognized government would tend to make that government stronger and that government more popular? As a rule, gifts or loans of money do, for a time anyway, make a friendly feeling for the person or group who are dispensing that largess.

Mr. ACHESON. Mrs. Rogers, I would much rather discuss the facts than debate about abstractions. The way your question is framed, one would be supposed to answer, "Yes." If one really examined the situation, I think one would see that the control of rationing has rarely made a government popular. Yet strict rationing will have to be imposed by these governments in liberated areas. It is true, they will get a small amount from U. N. R. R. A. to supplement the supplies they will be able to produce locally. Now, in the distribution of those supplies, they have got to put, as Mr. Monnet said in Atlantic City, a very strict rationing in effect. That is not going to make any government popular.

Mrs. ROGERS. It is much better than getting nothing.

Mr. ACHESON. Surely it is better than getting nothing, but I think we are engaged in an unreal debate. We are debating the fact that some way, through this relief, the government will be built up and strengthened. What we are talking about is furnishing relief for these areas.

We are back on your question, Mrs. Bolton. I think we are in full cry now.

Mr. VORYS. Could I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. One of the signatories, one of the member governments under the agreement, is Yugoslavia, and that is a refugee government, is not that true? That is a fact, that it is a refugee government?

Mr. ACHESON. That is a very clear fact.

Mr. VORYS. It is also a fact that there are various factions in Yugoslavia? Is not that true?

Mr. ACHESON. We see in the papers that that is the case.

Mr. VORYS. If the 44 powers were unable to agree, or disagreed, as to what government of Yugoslavia would be recognized, so that there was a disagreement among the signatories, the member governments, and let us say Government A said, "We are the Government of Yugoslavia," or some other country, so as not to make it too specific; and Government B said, "Why, we are the real Government," then what would happen, since there was a disagreement among the members? Would they not take a vote under the master agreement and the procedure? Would not that be the next thing to happen?

Mr. ACHESON. I doubt it very much.

Mr. VORYS. Why? What would happen if there were a disagreement between the members as to which particular government or organization should be the one to dispense relief in a particular area?

Mr. ACHESON. I doubt very much whether that situation would occur. It is possible to imagine situations and ask questions which I cannot answer, Mr. Vorys. If we will keep our eyes on the facts and on the problems with which this organization has to deal, these political and theoretical difficulties will not be found to be present. Let us take any country. I do not wish to take the one that you suggested, because we do not want to talk about political questions of particular countries. But let us say that we have a country which we will call X, for which there is a recognized government which is now in exile, and as to which there is also dispute as to which is the legitimate government. Factions arise, and there is confusion as to the authority of any particular government within the country.

If you look at the agreement, and if you keep your mind on the practical application of relief, you will see that in the first instance the military authorities will have to liberate that country and will be in control. It would seem almost impossible to the rational mind that the military authorities would move out of a country in which there was such a chaotic condition as the one which we have imagined. They would have to stay there until some way had been found of creating an orderly situation. When that orderly situation was created and a government had been established, and that government was exercising administrative control within the area, then your problems disappear.

What U. N. R. R. A. is concerned with is the authority. There are

two qualifications. One is that the authority with which it deals is a member government, and the other is that it "exercises administrative control within an area." If it is not exercising administrative control within an area, it is not the authority which is controlling the actions within that area. One may consult with it, one may take all sorts of steps which are provided for within the agreement, but, so far as U. N. R. R. A.'s activities within the area are concerned, it operates, first of all, under the military who are exercising control, and thereafter with whatever member government is exercising administrative control within the area.

That is a practical formula which will result in the wishes of the authority within the area being followed, which will allow complete freedom for the political leaders of states to recognize governments in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, or any other applicable principles, and will not inject U. N. R. R. A. into the political scene or have it take any part whatever in the political battles. That has been the constant aim and effort of the agreement and of all the parties who were working together at Atlantic City, and for the life of me I cannot see any other possible course which anybody could devise other than the one that we followed. Truly, you can put theoretical questions to me which I cannot answer, but that, I think, is no objection to the course that we have followed.

Mr. VORYS. I am not objecting to the arrangements—

Mr. ACHESON. I understand that.

Mr. VORYS. To the arrangements that are proposed, and I have not any better suggestions as to the way to make a decision, but my surmise is that U. N. R. R. A. would make a decision by vote of the council and of the central committee in case there were a disagreement between the political authorities as to which government should be recognized, and I cannot see any other way out of it, and I do not know that I object to it, but I think we ought to understand the facts.

Mr. ACHESON. Let me ask you a question. What point would there be in raising that question or taking that vote? What would be the utility of that decision after it is made? Two things I want to bring to your mind are, in the first place, whoever exercises power within the area is the force which can prevent U. N. R. R. A. from doing anything if it wants to. That is the fundamental physical fact, that somebody who exercises the political and administrative power is the authority with which you must deal.

Second, if there is chaos in an area, the most practical decision for U. N. R. R. A. to make is to stay out of the area altogether unless the military authorities request its assistance in which case you do not come to these questions.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johnson.

#### CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH U. N. R. R. A. WILL OPERATE

Mr. JOHNSON. Is not one reason for some of these questions based upon the idea when U. N. R. R. A. begins to function? As I understand, U. N. R. R. A. first begins to function after a country has been conquered and the military turns it over. If U. N. R. R. A. should go in now and undertake to exercise functions and relief, there might be



some possibility of a question as to what faction would be recognized, but the beginning of U. N. R. R. A.'s function is after the military has turned the matter over, and the country has been recognized and U. N. R. R. A. begins to function. U. N. R. R. A. does not start until after these political questions have been settled. Is not that right?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Mr. Johnson. U. N. R. R. A. operates under the military insofar as the military want it. When the military have finished their job in an area, and have relinquished the administrative control to some government, then U. N. R. R. A. operates under that government. In both cases U. N. R. R. A. has to be asked to give help. That is, it is not going around just giving help under all circumstance, whether it is asked or not.

Mr. JOHNSON. It has to be invited in by the exercising government or the military authorities, one or the other, so U. N. R. R. A. has no choice as to what shall be the political head of any government.

Mr. ACHESON. None at all.

Mr. VORYS. I would hope that the whole future would run as smoothly as you suggest, but I still think that if there were a chaotic condition, and various factions arose within a country where U. N. R. R. A. was administering relief, and there were disagreements between the powers signatory to U. N. R. R. A., that the decision as to how relief should be continued would be made by the U. N. R. R. A. machinery if there was the further obvious fact that the people in that country greatly needed relief.

Mr. ACHESON. Have you not almost stated two inconsistent things in your own statement?

Mr. VORYS. I may have.

Mr. ACHESON. If the conditions are chaotic and you are having all sorts of civil disturbances, it becomes almost by that fact impossible to administer relief. If there is factional fighting going on, and no order, you obviously run the most colossal risk of having everything that you put into the country stolen, taken away, no orderly administration possible. It would be inconceivable to me that the Director General would inject himself into a situation of that sort. It seems inconceivable to me that the military would withdraw and permit a situation like that to arise.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through, Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. I still feel that there is another situation which might arise, and I am not objecting to the U. N. R. R. A. machinery, but I have a different conception of the way it would work. That is, that if there were not civil rioting and chaos but a political situation within a country which was receiving relief, and temporarily at least out from military control, and grave indication that if the relief did not continue there would ensue chaos, that U. N. R. R. A. would be derelict in its duty if it did not continue the relief, and if it did not make a choice under its machinery in case of dispute between the possible organizations that claim to be representing that country. One hope that we have for U. N. R. R. A. is that it will, by relief from suffering, prevent disorder, and my guess would be that U. N. R. R. A. would not run away from such a situation or turn it back to the military, but would do its best to make a decision. I may be wrong.

Mr. BURGIN. Will the gentleman yield?



Mr. VORYS. I yield to everybody now.

Mr. BURGIN. I would just like to ask, would not U. N. R. R. A. follow the recognized government or authority, that is recognized by our Government or the United Nations? How could they go outside and deal with a government, a committee, or authority, that was not recognized as the existing authority or government of those liberated countries?

Mr. VORYS. Our Government and all of the United Nations have not always recognized the same government in each of the possible areas in question.

Mr. ACHESON. May I go back to your question and attempt to answer that, Mr. Vorys? In the first place, could we get the question clear. In the case that you put, as I understand it, there is no fighting or civil disturbance, so that relief is not impossible.

Mr. VORYS. That is right.

Mr. ACHESON. The military have moved out under your question?

Mr. VORYS. That is right.

Mr. ACHESON. There is some government. Is that the recognized member government which is in control, or is it not?

Mr. VORYS. Let us say that it is the member government of which one person in the government was the signatory.

Mr. ACHESON. All right. Then your case is, where the recognized exiled government has returned and does exercise administrative control, and there is some sort of a political campaign or election going on to determine whether the people like that government. Is that it?

Mr. VORYS. Possibly not an election. Possibly other forms of agitation that are appropriate in that country. They may not operate by means of elections.

Mr. ACHESON. I am trying to get at what your problem is. I do not see that so far we have a problem. We have the government which is recognized; it is the exercising authority. U. N. R. R. A., of course, will deal with it. There is not any doubt about that fact, and relief will be distributed in accordance with the agreement. The fact that there is agitation against the government does not alter the situation in one way or another. There is agitation against the government in all kinds of countries. There is in this country. What difference does that make?

Mrs. ROGERS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I want to say this: I could give specific instances, naming particular countries, but I do not believe it would be helpful to do so at this stage of our discussion.

I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS. It still seems to me that the government getting the money stands a better chance of getting people to come into that recognized government with the money or supplies from U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. ACHESON. Nobody is giving anybody any money.

Mrs. ROGERS. Well, the goods.

Mr. ACHESON. That is made very clear. But let us stay with Mr. Vorys' question just a little while, because I think it is important to be straightened out on that.

In the case which he puts, no problem is presented. Now, if he changes his question around and says that there has been some sort

of a revolution in the country and the recognized government has been thrown out and some other government is exercising authority within the area, and then he presents a political question: is that new government to be dealt with? I think as to that all we can say is that the whole purpose of the conferences which have been held at Moscow and Cairo and Teheran is to the effect that there is going to be agreement among the United Nations as to dealing with questions of this sort, and that we will not be thrown into a position of disagreement among the United Nations as to what government recognizes the will of the people of the various areas. That is a problem for the Chiefs of State who are dealing with it and not for U. N. R. R. A., and it has got to be exercised in that way.

If there is a government which is not recognized which is maintaining perfectly orderly control and does not object to U. N. R. R. A. coming in and giving relief, and does not impede it, then there would be no reason why U. N. R. R. A. should not go in and give relief. It is not a question of recognizing a government, it is a question of being able to carry out its functions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jonkman.

MR. JONKMAN. I am inclined to agree with Mr. Acheson that we are discussing an abstraction, and yet that is not altogether true. It was in the final analysis stated yesterday that what Mrs. Bolton feared was the possibility. In that case I think the headline in the paper is correct, but it states it unfortunately, as though it is a voluntary, gratuitous statement on the part of Secretary Acheson, as against an irresistible conclusion in the final analysis.

You take, for instance, in lend-lease: Secretary of War Stimson made the point that through lend-lease the United States would be able to control the strategy of the war by the distribution of lend-lease products. Of course, there is a vast difference between lend-lease and U. N. R. R. A., in that lend-lease was controlled exclusively by the United States and U. N. R. R. A. will be controlled by the United Nations. But, nevertheless, I think that was the understanding yesterday, that in case there is a struggle between, we will say, the existing government in exile and a local clique that is seeking control, I do not think that we can get away from the fact that if U. N. R. R. A. was inclined so to do, to play politics, the supplies of U. N. R. R. A. could be used to give one or the other side an advantage.

Mrs. Bolton asked, "Is there any guaranty that that will not happen?" Well, I do not think it should be so greatly our concern, because I do not think we can operate if we are going to say that we are not going to operate in the fear of that possibility. The only way that we can stop it, or give some guaranty that it would not occur even in the final analysis, would be a provision that wherever there was factional struggle for control of the Government, U. N. R. R. A. would not furnish relief until that had been internally settled. That is the way I look at it. I do not think it is a question, unless you want to do it along that line, that we need to consider or concern ourselves seriously about it, but there is a possibility. There is no question about that. I do not think it would be wise to deny that. We are driven to that conclusion.

Those are my sentiments, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Eaton.

Dr. EATON. I would like to be illuminated at this point.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Dr. EATON. As I understand it, we are going to bring relief to the citizens who are in distress in these liberated countries, and the instrument chosen by U. N. R. R. A. for the administration and the application of that relief will be the existing government that is left after the military withdraw, and in furnishing to that government the instrumentalities of this relief it is absolutely inevitable that it will in practically all cases strengthen that government in the affections of the people, somewhat.

What I want to find out is, since that is an inevitable fact, are we going to back out of this thing on that account and quit? Or are we going to go ahead, recognizing that human nature is very frail in all countries except this? What is a logical end of this argumentation? Is it that we are going to quit doing anything, or are we going on and accept the inevitable side consequences of our action? We cannot change human nature very well, can we, even in U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. ACHESON. I think that the conclusion is what you have stated, Dr. Eaton, that we must go forward. We have put into this document innumerable statements of policy that relief shall not be used as a political weapon or in a discriminatory way. The Director General has been given access to all information; he is the person who can stop the flow of goods at any time if the policies laid down are being violated, and having done that, I think we have done everything that is possible to be done, and that we must go forward and do the best job that can be done.

Dr. EATON. And we can not withdraw in furnishing this relief because of certain inevitable byproducts that are due to human nature.

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. I hope that the Secretary has no thought that my questions yesterday, or Mr. Vory's today—I did not hear the beginning of them—have been raised in any mood of destructiveness.

Mr. ACHESON. I understand thoroughly.

Mrs. BOLTON. I think there is probably no one at this table more thoroughly enthusiastic over the idea of U. N. R. R. A., and in addition to that I have long known Governor Lehman and worked with him, and have the highest regard—I will not say affection, because I might embarrass him—for him, but I certainly have great admiration for him, and I talked with him in Atlantic City and at every point he made it very clear that his intention would clearly be to prevent these suggested possibilities. But there have been questions of this kind asked us, and it seemed to me valuable that we should have from you the kind of statements that you have been gracious enough to give us, a clarification and emphasis, a statement of the philosophy behind the idea and behind the resolutions.

I do have to differ with my very eminent and very much beloved colleague in what he just said of what was going to happen, that we would deal with the governments that were left in those countries. Oh, no. We deal with the member governments that are signatories to U. N. R. R. A. If there are any governments left within those countries, those are the ones that concern the group of people out of



whom these questions emanate, because the signatories are governments that are not in the countries. But at the same time, none of us has any idea of any withdrawal from this agreement. Nothing could be further from our thoughts.

It is most imperative that at this interval the Secretary has given us pictures of that chaos that might well occur unless there can be relief immediately. We are as eager to see that dangerous interval as carefully covered as possible. But at the same time we feel that this sort of illuminating discussion is well worth while, because it will give us the philosophy, as given us by the Secretary, to take and reply to those who were questioning us. I think the Secretary does appreciate that.

Dr. EATON. Would my beloved colleague yield for a question?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes, Dr. Eaton.

Dr. EATON. I wonder if it would not be all right just to postpone the possibilities that may arise and go ahead now with the job, and then when these byproducts of perverse human nature appear, deal with them as they arise, one at a time. Do you agree with that?

The CHAIRMAN. The answer is "Yes."

Mrs. BOLTON. The answer is "Yes," but not without very great clarification. I think we owe that to the country. We owe that to our whole future attitude, that the people of this country shall know that this committee has studied every possibility, every phase of this agreement, and that we have neglected nothing along the way.

Mrs. ROGERS. Dr. Eaton said that every country but this would receive relief, and as I asked you yesterday, I trust that you would consider giving us oil and coal.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, please proceed.

Mr. ROGERS. I would like very much an answer today on that. Mr. Chairman, I have a right to ask it, a perfect right.

The CHAIRMAN. If you can, answer Mrs. Rogers.

Mr. ACHESON. I think I said to Mrs. Rogers yesterday her concern about the oil problem was one which was receiving very careful attention, but not in connection with U. N. R. R. A.

Mrs. ROGERS. But it would be possible to consider it under the U. N. R. R. A. rules and regulations, or why not, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. ACHESON. Because it is a wholly different field.

Mrs. ROGERS. I do not see it that way. But I want to ask his views.

Dr. EATON. Would Mrs. Rogers include relief from undue taxation?

Mrs. ROGERS. We are not cold as a result of that yet.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, kindly proceed.

#### OPERATIONS IN ENEMY OR EX-ENEMY TERRITORY

Mr. ACHESON. Proceeding to the resolution, we come to the third class of area in which U. N. R. R. A. might operate, which is an enemy or ex-enemy area, and there it is provided that—

If it appears necessary for the Administration to operate in an enemy or ex-enemy area in carrying out the purposes of the agreement, it will do so only from such a time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the military command, the established control authority or duly recognized administration of the area on the one hand and the Administration on the other, and subject to such control as the military command or the established control authority may find necessary—



And then there is a proviso which says—

*Provided*, That the Council approve the scale and nature of the operations it is proposed to undertake and the standard of provision, and that all expenses connected with such possible operations in an enemy or ex-enemy area should be carried by the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned. The Director General will consult with the military command or established control authorities having control of enemy or ex-enemy areas with a view to securing information as to any surpluses of supplies from time to time available in such enemy or ex-enemy areas from which relief and rehabilitation import requirements of liberated areas might be met.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. If we should go into Italy under U. N. R. R. A., Italy would pay the expenses?

Mr. ACHESON. That is the idea. There are two ideas which may be made a little clearer by two charts which we have brought up this morning. One of the great activities within enemy or ex-enemy areas will be the care of displaced persons within those areas who belong to the United Nations.

The other one will be the possibility that within these enemy areas, particularly Germany, there may be surpluses of supplies which the military can make available to U. N. R. R. A. for use in the liberated areas.

We have a chart here which gives a graphic illustration of the movement which has taken place of people as the result of the war. I do not know where the best place to see that would be, Mr. Chairman. [Indicating on chart.] The column on the left with respect to each country shown on the chart represents the people who have been moved out of a country. The middle column represents the people who have been moved into that country from the outside, and the right-hand column represents the people who have been moved about within the country. All together they represent people who are not at their homes or where they have lived before.

#### DISPLACED POPULATIONS OF EUROPE

(See chart on facing page)

Origin of persons moved into Germany (excluding prisoners of war) :

Country of origin	Number of persons	Country of origin	Number of persons
Czechoslovakia.....	831,000	Bulgaria.....	20,000
Poland.....	2,050,000	Greece.....	23,000
Denmark.....	34,000	Rumania.....	14,000
Norway.....	3,000	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (occupied).....	1,800,000
Netherlands.....	380,000	Spain.....	9,000
Belgium and Luxembourg.....	607,000	Other countries.....	80,000
France.....	710,000	Total.....	6,281,000
Italy.....	413,000		
Yugoslavia.....	280,000		
Hungary.....	27,000		

<sup>1</sup> 315,000 persons included in this figure were treated as prisoners of war but were not captured soldiers.

*Russia*.—Since no Soviet representatives participated in the work of the Allied Post-War Requirements Committee, the figures used in the chart are incomplete with respect to the total number of displaced persons in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It has been estimated by other sources that from 10 to 20 million persons fled from Soviet territory occupied by the Germans at their farthest point of advance. Some of these have already returned to the liberated areas.

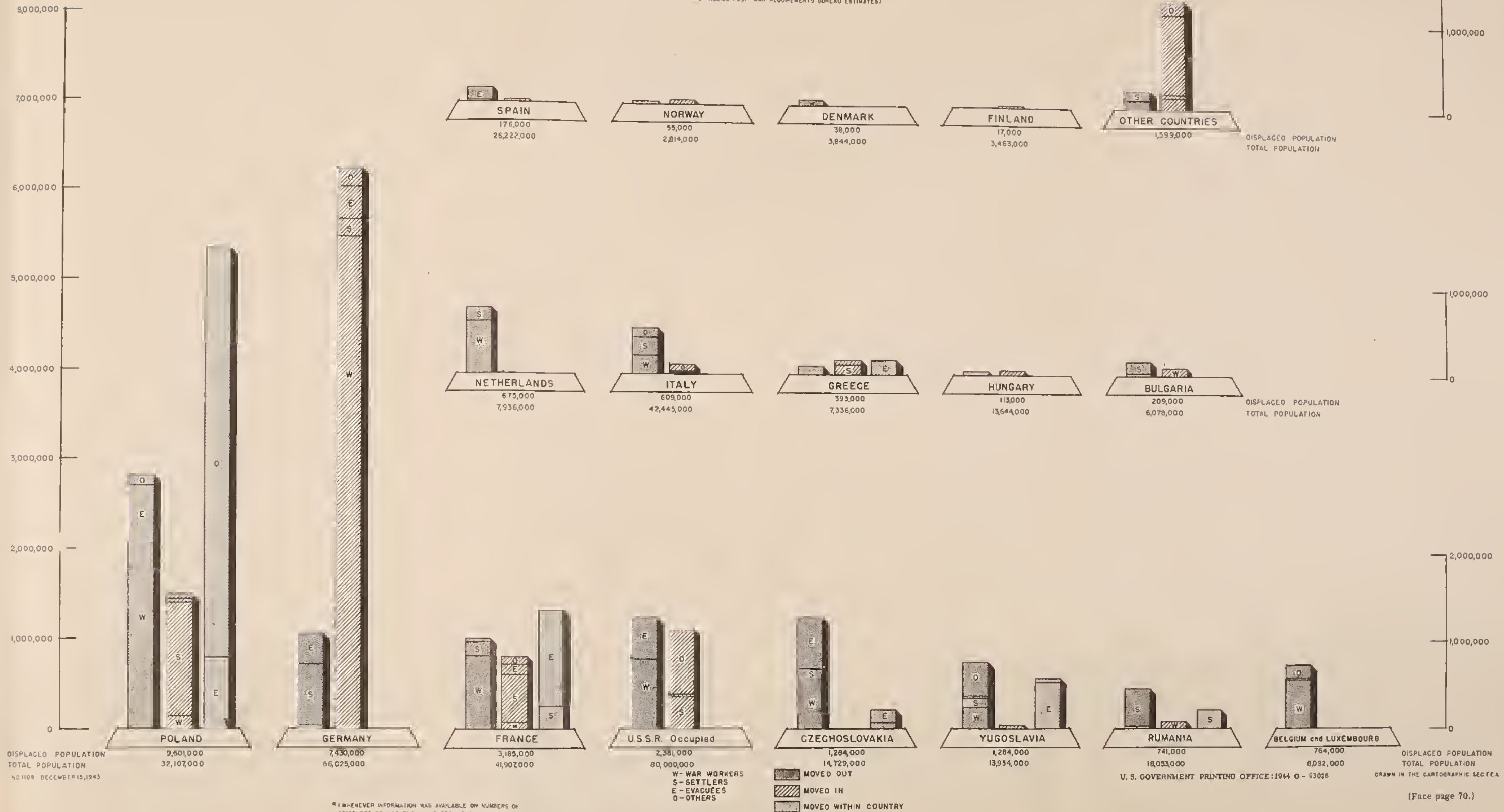
*China*.—The number of displaced persons in China is approximately 40 million, according to Dr. T. F. Tsiang, member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council for China.

# DISPLACED POPULATIONS OF EUROPE

NOT INCLUDING PRISONERS OF WAR\*

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION  
REOCCUPATION DIVISION

(BASED UPON INTER-ALLIED POST-WAR REQUIREMENTS BUREAU ESTIMATES)





This first country here is Poland. The column on the left indicates the people who have been moved out of Poland and are somewhere other than within that country.

Mr. JOHNSON. How many?

Mr. ACHESON. A little over 3,000,000. The scale is on the right, and there are slightly over 3,000,000 who have been moved out.

Mr. ROGERS of California. Does that include East Prussia, or does it just include Poland?

Mr. ACHESON. That just includes Poland.

Mrs. ROGERS. What groups, particularly?

Mr. ACHESON. These are just all people.

Mrs. ROGERS. Without any separation into those groups?

Mr. ACHESON. These are nationals of those countries or residents of those countries.

The middle column represents persons who have been moved into Poland from outside of Poland.

Mr. JOHNSON. How many?

Mr. ACHESON. There were about a million and a half, and the right-hand column represents people who have been moved about within the country.

Mrs. ROGERS. And it does not say whether they are children or other people? They are just counted all together?

Mr. ACHESON. No; it does not. That right-hand is a little over 5,000,000.

When you come to Germany you see the great problem with which we are faced. There have been moved out of Germany a little over a million people who have been taken around as technicians in the various factories and works outside of Germany. This great middle column here, which goes up to 8,000,000, are the forced laborers and other people who have been moved into Germany. The war workers are a little over 7,000,000; this small line at the top is evacuees, and others up there.

This represents one of the great labors that U. N. R. R. A. will have to perform, and with the other countries the same is true. But this gives you a graphic illustration of what must be one of the immediate tasks of U. N. R. R. A. in an ex-enemy country.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Acheson, is that the work of U. N. R. R. A. or of the Inter-Governmental Committee? Where would the dividing line be between their efforts as applied to this problem?

Mr. ACHESON. We were talking of that yesterday, I think perhaps before you came in, Mr. Vorys.

(Discussion was had off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. The question asked by me is whether this is the Evian Committee, an intergovernmental committee that started at the Evian Conference in 1938. That is the intergovernmental committee that is now functioning with its headquarters in London?

#### DISPLACED PERSONS

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

The care of displaced persons represents a tremendous problem in coordinating the efforts of a great many governments and of U. N. R. R. A. There are two main problems connected with these displaced persons. The first and most pressing one is the care of them, just taking care of them where they are at the present time.



Mrs. ROGERS. Do you plan to erect hospitals if there are not buildings available, and things of that sort?

Mr. ACHESON. Under the resolution on shelter it indicates that if necessary they will erect temporary structures. It is not the plan of U. N. R. R. A. to do any permanent construction at all. This is a temporary task.

But immediately we have to take care of these people to see that they do not immediately disperse all over the face of Europe, getting into more desperate situations than they are in already, and perhaps carrying typhus and other diseases with them. So first of all they have to be cared for, and then the danger of disease has to be removed.

Then plans have to be made for their return.

Planning for their return is fundamentally the task of the various governments whose nationals they are. Obviously they cannot go back to devastated areas until some preparation has been made for their return. That requires a forum, a meeting place in which all the various governments can meet and coordinate these plans.

Mrs. ROGERS. Is there any plan to send the groups to different countries, such as this country, England, or other countries?

Mr. ACHESON. Not so far as I know, and this is a matter which Governor Lehman and the various governments will have to work out. The first task is to keep the people where they are, care for them where they are, until orderly return and planned return is possible. In doing that, as I said, the receiving government must be ready to receive them and have a place for them to go. In the meantime they are in the territory of some other country. They may be in an enemy territory or in an Allied territory. That government has to be aided in taking care of these strangers who are a great burden upon it in its own territory.

That is one of the first tasks within an enemy country.

#### INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

Mr. VORYS. You were going to give the difference between the Evian Committee and U. N. R. R. A.

The CHAIRMAN. Call it the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Mr. ACHESON. The difference in the function between the Inter-Governmental Committee and the U. N. R. R. A. activities will be first of all that U. N. R. R. A. will take care of these people while they are awaiting their ultimate disposition. If the people are returning within the liberated areas to their former homes, U. N. R. R. A. will assist the governments concerned in caring for them until that happens, transporting them and placing them when they get back. It will be an assistance job. The governments themselves have primary responsibility, and will take the chief load.

There will be some people—not a great number in proportion to the whole lot—who will not want to return to where they lived before the war but will want to settle in other parts of the world. In other words, those people come in the nature of emigrants. Their movement may have started in connection with the war or matters before the war, but they are not people who wish to return to their former place. The task of working out with other governments plans to receive them will be a task for the Inter-Governmental Committee and not for U. N. R. R. A. That is, as it has been in the past, an inter-govern-

mental negotiation for which the Inter-Governmental Committee was established, and it will undertake to do that, U. N. R. R. A. caring for the people and assisting in moving them when ultimate arrangements have been made.

Mrs. ROGERS. You make no recommendations as to where they are to go?

Mr. ACHESON. That is what the Inter-Governmental Committee has been doing for the past 5 years. It is equipped to do it and has been doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what it has been organized for.

I believe yesterday you stated, Mr. Secretary, that there were about 20,000,000 people refugees. I would like to have you give the amount of the refugees that you will have to take care of and that that Committee will have to take care of.

Mr. ACHESON. I cannot give you the figures that the Inter-Governmental Committee will have to take care of. It has been estimated that in Europe there are upward of 20,000,000 displaced persons. In Asia there will be more than that.

Mr. VORYS. They will be the ones that are detailed on the chart. That would approximate twenty million displaced?

Mr. ACHESON. If you add up all the people who are away from their homes on account of the war in Europe it will be twenty million or more.

Mrs. ROGERS. Who is the chairman of the Inter-Governmental Committee?

Mr. ACHESON. I cannot answer that.

The CHAIRMAN. Our representative, or the one in charge, is Mr. Mallon.

Mrs. ROGERS. It is Sir Hubert Emerson, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Emerson was the chairman at that time, but at the Bermuda conference we recommended that we should have paid officers in there. I can give you that information at some later time.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Could it be arranged that we have the figures from that chart as part of the record?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers, are you through?

Mrs. ROGERS. Yes. I just wanted to get that in the record at that point. I would like to have a list of that committee go in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

The list is as follows:

#### DISPLACED PERSONS

#### MEMBERSHIP OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

The following Governments are present members of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees:

Argentine Republic	Cuba
Australia	Denmark
Belgium	Dominican Republic
Bolivia	Ecuador
Brazil	Eire
Canada	France
Chile	Haiti
Colombia	Honduras

## MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE—Continued

Mexico	Sweden
Netherlands	Switzerland
New Zealand	United Kingdom
Nicaragua	United States of America
Norway	Uruguay
Paraguay	Venezuela
Peru	

In August 1943 the following Governments were invited to join the Committee as members:

Costa Rica	Iraq
Czechoslovakia	Luxembourg
Egypt	Panama
El Salvador	Poland
Ethiopia	Portugal
Greece	Spain
Guatemala	Turkey
Iceland	Union of South Africa
India	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Iran	Yugoslavia

It is understood that many of the above Governments have already replied favorably to the invitation but the authoritative list of acceptances has not yet been received from London.

Mr. JOHNSON. I just wanted to reiterate the suggestion made by Mr. Chipfield, that I think this chart is most illuminating in that it gives us a graphic picture of the vast number of human beings who have been what that chart has labeled "the displaced population of Europe," and with that as a predicate I want to ask Mr. Acheson whether or not we had that problem in the last war, of dealing with that vast number of displaced populations of Europe, or whether at any time in the history of the world we have ever had to deal with a problem as gigantic as that.

Mr. ACHESON. No. The problem was very much less after the last war, and I believe that not since the Middle ages has there been any such movement of population as this war has brought about.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chipfield?

Mr. CHIPFIELD. I am through.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. On looking at that chart, I wondered how the rule of having enemy countries pay for the relief within their borders would work out, particularly in reference to that eight million in Germany who are certainly going to need relief and support until they can be safely moved out. How will that work out?

Mr. ACHESON. This requirement, that the ex-enemy countries should pay, is put in in that form. It says that they should pay for this. It was made perfectly clear that no delay or hesitation about caring for these people should occur by reason of any discussion as to whether they could or could not pay for it, and that the organization would go ahead and take care of these people, but insofar as there are funds available in the enemy countries who have produced this terrible

disaster they should be used for this purpose, and insofar as there are supplies available they should be used for this purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Burgin.

Mr. BURGIN. I would just like to ask whether you have the information as to where most of the people are from in Germany.

Mr. ACHESON. I believe that information does exist, Mr. Burgin. I have not got it here. But if the committee wishes it——

Mr. BURGIN. That is the biggest problem. Would that be the most difficult problem, those that are enslaved in Germany?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; that is the greater part of the problem.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, the Chair would like to ask this: Do you not think it advisable at this time, so as to get the complete picture of the whole thing, that you include in the record now the number of people that you have to take care of in other parts of the world, because you are only speaking now of the western part of Europe.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. We will include that. Some figures were put in, highly tentative figures, by the Chinese delegate to the Council. I will get those and give them to the committee tomorrow. They will be the best information that we have.

Mr. VORYS. It just occurs to me that probably this chart represents a complete duplication, in that those that are shown in one place to be out of France are probably shown in another column as being in Germany. Is that not correct?

Mr. ACHESON. I think that is probably true, yes. They appear, probably, in both columns.

Mr. VORYS. To make the thing complete you would have to show where they are out, and they are probably in the other place.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. ROGERS of California. Mr. Chairman, two questions of Mr. Acheson about the chart. Where it says, "All other countries," does that include Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mansfield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. With regard to the question brought up by Mr. Johnson, as to whether or not there has ever been such a cataclysm as this, affecting such a large number of people, it might be well to bring out here, and this is in line with the Secretary's remarks, that in China since 1937, twice 20,000,000 people had been forced to shift from their homes in east China into central and western China. I think you can give just as much attention to the Chinese problem and other related problems as to these which are being emphasized at the present time.

Mr. ACHESON. That is true, and yesterday I brought out the fact that a great many more people had been displaced in the Far East than in Europe. The figures are much less complete.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

#### SUPPLIES AVAILABLE IN ENEMY OR EX-ENEMY AREAS

Mr. ACHESON. The other matter that is referred to in this paragraph 3 is that the Director General should consult with the military



command or other control authority having control of the enemy or ex-enemy areas "with a view to securing information as to any surpluses of supplies from time to time available in such enemy or ex-enemy areas from which relief and rehabilitation import requirements of liberated areas might be met."

We have another chart here which shows the movement of food from all parts of Europe into Germany. We realize, of course, that most of that food has been consumed, but it will indicate that there may well be some surpluses remaining.

Mrs. ROGERS. While that chart is being fastened, speaking of the headlines, as we were, Mr. Mansfield, the headlines carried of the extension of the time for trying Admiral Kimmel and General Short said that they were being given an opportunity for the trial, because the 2 years expired yesterday. The headline is very misleading, because what the action allowed was that they could still be brought to trial.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not want that in this record, Mrs. Rogers, do you?

Mrs. ROGERS. Yes. We had quite a discussion of headlines and reporting. The reporting was correct and the headlines misleading—not intentionally, I think, but through a misunderstanding.

Mr. ACHESON (showing chart). This chart indicates, in the large outer circle in Germany, the amount of food which has been drawn from the occupied areas of Europe by the Germans for their own use. The smaller circles with the same markings in each one of the countries represent the amount which has been taken out of that country into Germany for German use. The reason for bringing this chart up now is in connection with this paragraph 3, to indicate that there may well be, by the time this relief begins, stocks of food, and obviously stocks of other materials, in Germany, which the authorities in control of Germany, presumably the military or the control commission, armistice commission, or whatever it might be, could make available to U. N. R. R. A. for the liberated areas. There has been, as you know, all sorts of material moved out of the various countries. Clearly, in using any material which is in Germany, U. N. R. R. A. cannot prejudice the right of any country to get the return of material taken from that country. If they have stolen machinery or works of art or whatever it may be, the right of that country is paramount in getting it back, but there may be and probably will be large stocks of materials which cannot be identified as coming from any area, and those will be made available for relief.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That would help to lessen the impact of getting materials from the other countries, particularly the United States, and so on.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; if there are substantial supplies.

Mr. BURGIN. You would not depend upon that very much, would you? In making up the food pool you would not count on that very much, would you? They may eat it up and destroy it before we get there.

Mr. ACHESON. You cannot count on it.

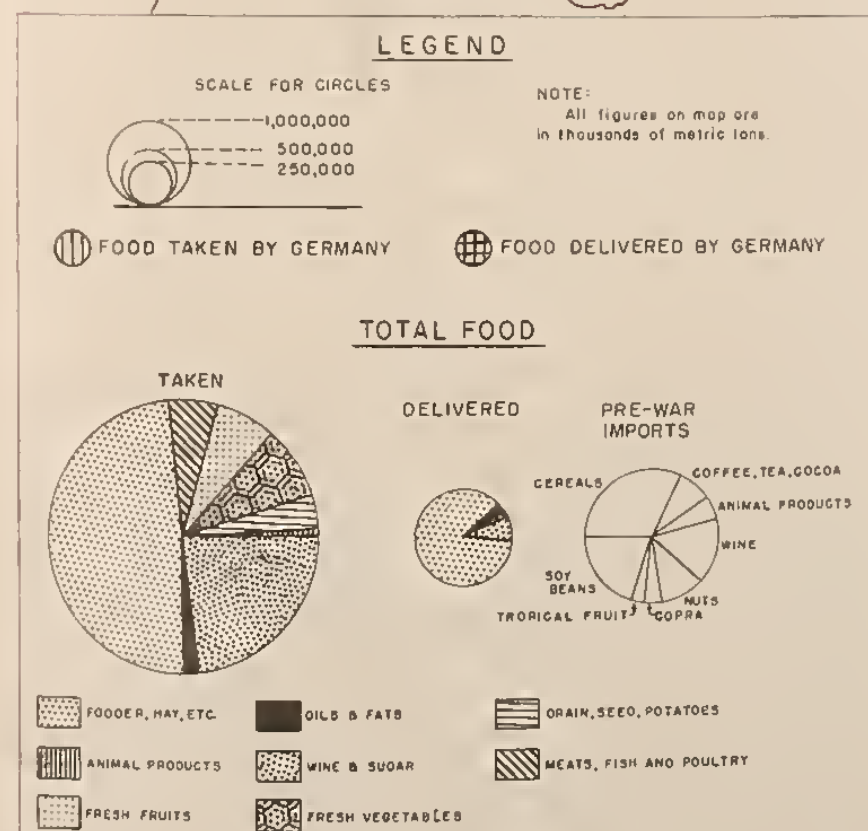
Mr. BURGIN. It is not relied on much in carrying out the policies of U. N. R. R. A., is it?

Mr. ACHESON. No; it is not a great source of supply, but it may be an important one for neighboring countries.

# MOVEMENT OF FOOD BETWEEN GERMANY, ITALY AND OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

(ESTIMATED FOR 12 MONTHS, APRIL 1, 1943 TO APRIL 1, 1944)

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION  
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC WARFARE  
REOCCUPATION DIVISION







Mr. VORYS. Mr. Secretary, do you see those dots with the box-like markings? Do they represent places where the Germans have had to supply foods?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. They are the amounts which have been returned from Germany to the various areas.

Dr. EATON. Can this be put in the record, Mr. Secretary, along with the other?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. We will have that photostated.

Mr. JOHNSON. The latter type of dots are a very, small fractional size of the other dots, I would say.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. ACHESON. The next part of Resolution No. 1, Mr. Chairman, is the part which deals with the range of services which the Administration will provide. We discussed that yesterday and I think it is not necessary to read it. It stresses again the emergency character of the supplies and services which are contemplated by U. N. R. R. A., and the fact that there is no long-range reconstruction involved in the operations of this organization.

#### U. N. R. R. A. AND THE COMBINED BOARDS

The third part of Resolution No. 1 we also went over yesterday, and that deals with the relation of the Administration to the existing agencies for carrying on the war. The first one, (1), provides that—

The activities of the administration in bringing assistance to the victims of war will be so conducted that they do not impede the effective prosecution of the war—

and then it goes on to require that U. N. R. R. A. shall use the war boards and the war agencies so that its activities may be fitted in with the whole war machinery.

Mrs. BOLTON. May I ask this at that point: In paragraph No. 2 that is really the combined boards that is referred to, is it?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Mrs. Bolton; that is correct.

Mr. VORYS. To follow that question up those combined boards have only British and American representation on them, is that not true?

Mr. ACHESON. British, American, and Canadian on the Combined Food Board and Combined Production and Resources Board.

Mr. VORYS. How much of an area of the United Nations, of the 44 nations, do the combined boards control? That is, the products of how much of an area—all of it?

Mr. ACHESON. I believe that the figure is that 95 percent of the commodities which move in ocean international movements at the present time are directly or indirectly controlled by the combined boards, either because they originate within the British Commonwealth, the United States or Canada, or because one or the other of those countries has purchase agreements with the producing countries.

Mr. VORYS. That would mean, then, that as to about 95 percent of the possible sources of relief supplies U. N. R. R. A. would be a claimant before the British and our country and Canada. As a practical matter that is the way it would wind up, is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. For imported materials, as we said yesterday, the great bulk of what will be used for relief will be locally produced within the liberated areas. We are here dealing with the amounts which are imported from outside the whole liberated area.



Mrs. ROGERS. Will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers.

Mrs. ROGERS. My understanding is that some of the governments expect to pay for practically everything they secure.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. We discussed that yesterday.

Mrs. ROGERS. And to pay in raw materials as well as in money.

Mr. ACHESON. We can go over that again, the financial plan. Some of the governments will pay in foreign exchange for their imports; others will pay in their own currency.

Mrs. ROGERS. But they could pay in the raw materials, such as oil or something else?

Mr. ACHESON. Under the financial plan, we are now talking about receiving countries. They will pay either in foreign exchange or in their own currency.

Mrs. ROGERS. Yes; but nothing like oil.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. For the record, how many Combined Boards are there, and what are they?

Mr. ACHESON. The Combined Boards are the combined food board, the combined raw materials board, the combined production and resources board, and the combined shipping adjustment board. There are four combined boards.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. ACHESON. The next part of the first resolution we also discussed yesterday, and that deals with the relationship of the Administration with the military command, and it deals first of all with the advance planning which will go on between the Administration and the military before a country is liberated, with the range of activities which the Administration may be called on to perform during the period of military control.

Mrs. ROGERS. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers.

Mrs. ROGERS. Is it the plan of U. N. R. R. A., for instance the member of the board or whatever it is from our country, to consult with someone like Mr. William Batt, who is the head of our Resources Department in W. P. B., before going ahead, or with the Department of Agriculture, on our exports?

Mr. ACHESON. It will be the plan of the Administration to present to the appropriate combined board the over-all requirements of all the liberated areas. Then either the Administration, in cases where the country does not have foreign exchange, or the country itself if it does have foreign exchange, will present to the combined board a purchase program. In both cases the Director General will be free to comment, recommend, object, or whatever he thinks is necessary in order to get a fair allocation to the whole liberated areas and among the various countries.

Mrs. ROGERS. I meant so far as this country is concerned. That question was asked of me a great deal, and was asked by the Agricultural Committee members yesterday. How will the men on the board from the United States judge as to what we can afford to spare? How will that be done?

Mr. ACHESON. That will be done in the first instance by the boards.

Mrs. ROGERS. The boards decide what we can afford to give?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. The combined boards are simply meeting places of the heads of the British, American and Canadian departments.

Mrs. ROGERS. But they all decide as to what we can send?

Mr. ACHESON. Each country, of course, will present its own point of view. Then, in the combined board, those three points of view are put together.

Mrs. ROGERS. But you would have, undoubtedly, experts. The United States would, the British and the Canadians would, and they would consult with our experts handling our supplies.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; and of course at any meeting of the council or any meeting of the committees of the council the American representative has with him representatives from these various agencies, just as was the case at Atlantic City.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. ACHESON. I think it is not necessary to go further into the question of the relationship with the military. We have gone over that very thoroughly.

Resolution No. 2 is the nondiscrimination resolution, which we discussed yesterday very fully.

Resolution No. 3 deals with the recommendation that the member governments—

take such steps as may be necessary and feasible to facilitate any operations of the Administration within areas under their control, assisting the Administration in obtaining such services, facilities and personnel as may be required to carry on such operations, and arranging to the extent possible that the Administration's expenditures for services, facilities, supplies, equipment, and personnel be minimized so that its resources may be devoted directly to relief and rehabilitation.

(Discussion was had off the record.)

#### RELIEF DISTRIBUTION POLICIES

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. ACHESON. Resolution No. 4 we also discussed yesterday. That is the one which calls on the governments of liberated areas to make it possible for the Administration to make public its plans and activities, and to provide special labels and other designations upon its supplies.

Resolution No. 5 deals with the relations of the Relief Administration to other intergovernmental organizations, and in paragraph 2 it provides—

that the council invite representatives of the League of Nations Technical Organizations, the International Labor Organization, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, and the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture \* \* \*

to attend its meetings and to give it whatever information they can, and to work with it in all its activities.

Resolution No. 6 is a general resolution which is followed up by some specific ones later on calling on the member governments to—

consult with the Director General with a view to avoiding, so far as possible, the subjection of the funds, supplies, equipment, and services of the Administration to economic measures which might diminish the effectiveness of such activities or impose financial burdens on the Administration.

Mr. VORYS. Would you just give us examples of that type of thing? Would that mean tariffs or import duties?

Mr. ACHESON. Later on that is spelled out in more detail in connection with the financial resolutions, which recommend that export taxes should not be increased or imposed or, if they are, that the Government should contribute the amount of the export tax to U. N. R. R. A., and that in liberated areas there should be no import duties imposed on the importation of relief supplies.

The purpose is to avoid any sort of excise, export, import, occupation, or other tax which would divert any of the funds of U. N. R. R. A. to pay taxes. There will also be a great many administrative regulations that would have to be relaxed in regard to furnishing relief within the relief areas.

(Discussion was had off the record.)

Mr. ACHESON. Resolution No. 7 and the four or five which follow it deal with policies in regard to particular aspects of relief work. No. 7 is on relief distribution, and the general scope and purpose of this resolution is to say again that—

at no time shall relief and rehabilitation supplies be used as a political weapon, and no discrimination shall be made in the distribution of relief supplies because of race, creed, or political belief—

and that—

in general the responsibility for the distribution, within an area, of relief and rehabilitation supplies should be borne by the government or recognized national authority which exercises administrative authority in the area.

It then goes on to say—

That distribution should be so conducted that all classes of the population, irrespective of their purchasing power, shall receive their equitable shares of essential commodities. When supplies are sold to consumers, prices should be set at such levels as to facilitate the flow of supplies into the proper hands, and to avoid maladjustments in the price structure of the areas.

Mr. VORYS. At that point, I did not quite get the significance of that as I read it through. It said something about "regardless of their status." I wanted to be assured that the poor will be as well treated as the rich in pricing this stuff, and then I got to thinking that it might mean that the well-to-do would get as much relief as the poor. I wondered just what you had in mind.

Mr. ACHESON. What paragraphs 3 and 4 are both dealing with is this; in fact, paragraphs 3, 4, and 5. Those are the ones we are now talking about. They contemplate that relief will be carried out in two major ways. One is by introducing supplies into the commercial distributing system, the other is by direct relief to people who do not have, even within their own country, purchasing power. If you were doing that, it obviously requires a rationing system. You should not have a system whereby people who have the most money buy the most goods. And paragraph 3 of Resolution No. 7 is put in for that purpose, that the distribution should be so conducted that all classes, irrespective of their purchasing power, shall receive their equitable shares of essential supplies. That calls for a rationing system.

Then it says that when they are sold to consumers, prices should be set at such levels as to facilitate the flow of supplies into proper hands and to avoid maladjustments in the price structure of the areas. That means that we have to take into consideration not merely rationing but



the point system or some sort of a price structure which will allow people who have a ration ticket to get what the ticket calls for.

No. 4 says that it is not enough to have a good rationing system; it has to be vigorously policed and black markets have to be suppressed.

Then you go over to paragraph 5.

Mr. ROGERS. On that particular case, in policing, will any of the policing be done by U. N. R. R. A. itself, or will it be done by the governments?

Mr. ACHESON. Policing will have to be done by the local authorities. All that U. N. R. R. A. can do, since it has no police force or courts or policemen or Army or anything of that sort, is to insist to the government that if the proper steps are not taken, then U. N. R. R. A. will have to stop its contribution. That is the only sanction that U. N. R. R. A. has, to say, "You are not doing a good job here. This stuff is going to the black market and we are not going to participate in that any more."

Mr. VOYTS. There would be one other solution. If the people of that area were in dire enough need, U. N. R. R. A. might say to the government or the committee in charge, "You are either negligent or in some way or other permitting black market distribution. We will just have to do it ourselves." Would that not be another possibility, rather than cutting them off of relief?

Mr. ACHESON. That is a theoretical possibility, but it is not a very likely one. A government is not going to say, "We are incapable of doing a good job." In some cases the government of a country may say, "We would like you to undertake this," and U. N. R. R. A. will have to determine how much of its fund it wishes to spend on that sort of administrative work. It might eat up the whole fund if you undertook to have great numbers of people doing a job which the government really ought to do, and also it puts U. N. R. R. A. in the rather invidious position of having to administer restrictions within a country which really is not U. N. R. R. A.'s job. The local authorities ought to be doing that.

The remainder of the resolution deals with related matters to those that we have been discussing, and I do not believe it is necessary to read those, particularly as the committee is going to go over these this afternoon.

#### HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

Resolution No. 8 deals with health and medical care and tries to outline the responsibility which U. N. R. R. A. will take in that field, and here again it is one of collaboration with governmental authorities and assistance, rather than an attempt to assume a task which may be simply overpowering in its magnitude.

Mrs. BOLTON. What are the standing committees of U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. ACHESON. The standing committees are—

Mrs. BOLTON. Are we coming to that? If it is in here, I will not press that at this point, Mr. Acheson, except to ask you if this health resolution is carried out by the health committee.

Mr. ACHESON. There is a standing committee on health. I was just trying to find that. It is on page 44, resolution No. 26. That provides for a standing committee on agriculture, displaced persons, health, industrial rehabilitation, and welfare, those five subjects. These are



the standing technical committees. Then there are the other standing committees. One is the central committee, the committees for the two areas, the supplies committee, and the committee on financial control.

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you very much.

In this particular field, there again, wherever there are local health authorities those will be the ones that will be used as much as possible.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

2. That the council recommends that governments and recognized national authorities cooperate fully with the administration in establishing at the earliest possible date regional and other emergency agreements and arrangements for the notification within the limits of military security, of diseases likely to become epidemic, uniformity in quarantine regulations, and for other measures of prevention.

Then it comes down in the next paragraph and recommends that suitable personnel be made available by the governments, and then the closest possible cooperation in dealing with infectious diseases, and finally that they facilitate in every way the assignment of their nationals from the occupied countries for technical training, especially in the newer aspects of medical and sanitary sciences.

Mrs. BOLTON. It is conceivable that some of the countries that will be liberated later, maybe, would have no health people to turn to. In that event do we as an international group choose our own people; that is, U. N. R. R. A. people, to go in there and set up such an organization?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; the U. N. R. R. A. organization will have to provide a large section on health and sanitation, and that will have to be available on the invitation of some country to go in and take charge if that is the desire of the local authority during some critical situation.

The last paragraph requires that people be assigned for training purposes so that as quickly as possible you could turn matters over to the nationals of the various countries.

One of the great problems in this field is the one we were talking about in connection with the displaced persons. They will be in areas where there will be some epidemic diseases, and unless they are induced to stay there until preventative measures have been taken it will be catastrophic.

Resolution No. 9 calls for close work between the Director General and various voluntary relief agencies, the idea being that, so far as possible, they will draw upon voluntary agencies who have people skilled in various welfare activities for the personnel which will be used in taking care of children and invalids and in maternity hospitals and things of that sort.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I particularly like the language in section 8 of this resolution, which shows that it is the whole design of U. N. R. R. A. to help those people to help themselves. I think that probably encompasses the whole scope of U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. ACHESON. That is the main idea that runs through all of these resolutions. It is wherever possible not to have U. N. R. R. A. furnish the organization to do something, but to have U. N. R. R. A. help these people to create their own organizations to teach citizens of the country what to do and to turn over as soon as possible going welfare agencies to the various countries.

## VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. BURGIN. Can U. N. R. R. A. receive voluntary contributions as well as help?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; that is provided for in the financial plan, that the Director General may receive contributions from governments which are not members of the council; it may also receive contributions from private organizations or from private individuals. If conditions are attached to those gifts he is given authority either to accept subject to the condition, or to negotiate regarding it, or to reject it because the condition is impossible for him to perform.

Mr. BURGIN. A man may want to contribute something to the relief of different peoples—Greece, and just limit it to that. Could it be done?

Mr. ACHESON. In many cases that can be done, but if it gets too specific, if it has to be devoted entirely to the relief of girls between the ages of 12 and 13 in a particular country, then it becomes impossible. But if it is a gift for Greece there is no reason why that cannot be used for Greece, or for a particular group of people, as long as it does not get too detailed and too technical.

Mr. BURGIN. Should that not be given wide publicity? Here we have a great many institutions in America, different churches, different labor organizations, different groups. Their hearts might bleed for this great segment of human beings that are suffering.

Mr. ACHESON. I should believe that Governor Lehman will work very closely with all the groups who are interested in the relief problem and will give the fullest publicity to this provision.

Mr. VORYS. On that designation of contributions, would it not work pretty much the way a community fund does, that they would permit the donor to designate, but then they would simply cut down the amount that the general fund would apply to that purpose, in that you would not let special gifts put certain classes of people in a better position than others who were just as needy?

Mr. ACHESON. I think the whole idea running through all of this is the importance of a fair and equitable distribution of the relief goods and services throughout the area.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through, Mr. Vorys?

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, as you know a lot of the refugees have been taken to countries of refuge. However, a guaranty has first been given by different organizations and different peoples that these people would be returned to the countries from whence they came, or of which they are nationals. Will those guaranties still be in effect, or how does U. N. R. R. A. come into that?

Mr. ACHESON. I am not sure that I quite understand the question.

The CHAIRMAN. We are taking people now to Mexico. There are people in North Africa who are nationals of Poland and of other countries—France. There are people that we are taking into Mexico that are guaranteed that they will be returned to the country of origin, the country where they came from. The guaranty still exists. Now, U. N. R. R. A. does not take over that guaranty, does it?

Mr. ACHESON. Oh, no. That is something which exists apart from the U. N. R. R. A. organization.

The CHAIRMAN. That will in part answer the question of Mr. Burgin and also Mr. Vorys, that these private institutions or guaranties that have been made to these countries, that the refugees are located in at the present time, will still stay in effect, and U. N. R. R. A. does not pay for that at all; is that right?

Mr. ACHESON. U. N. R. R. A., I suppose, will put its facilities at the disposal of any movement of people that is taking place in accordance with some such decision as you have in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. ACHESON. Resolution No. 10 deals with policies in regard to displaced persons. We have talked about that at considerable length yesterday and today, and I think probably it is unnecessary to go over it further.

Mr. ROGERS of California. Just one clearing up point there. U. N. R. R. A. does not take over any refugee matters until the situation in that area has sufficiently clarified so that U. N. R. R. A. is invited in by the military.

Mr. ACHESON. That is true.

Mr. ROGERS of California. And U. N. R. R. A.'s main problem with refugees and displaced persons will keep increasing until the war is over, and when the war is over they will have a full and difficult problem.

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

#### AGRICULTURAL REHABILITATION

Resolution No. 11 deals with policies in regard to agricultural rehabilitation, and the whole stress in the fifth paragraph of this resolution is on the great importance of getting in the first crop at the earliest possible time, and of maintaining whatever herds and stocks of animals exist in the countries, so that there will be no further depletion. This is primarily an emergency program for agriculture. If the first crop can be gotten in and harvested, and if the existing animals can be preserved by the immediate furnishing of fodder for them, that is the greatest contribution that can be made in agricultural rehabilitation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Burgin.

Mr. BURGIN. Will U. N. R. R. A. direct the kind of a crop that a certain section shall plant?

Mr. ACHESON. Oh, no. That will be done by the local people, and what they must do is to plant the kind of thing that they are used to planting. You cannot suddenly, in a couple of months, teach people to do something different.

Mrs. BOLTON. May I ask a question?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. In passing this resolution, it also includes expansion of the fish industry, too.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mrs. BOLTON. The resolution I had in mind was this: Certain countries who have quite recently shifted from one kind of general agricultural pursuits to another run on the idea that the country shall be as self-supporting as possible would have to accept the suggestions that they, for instance, would have to put a certain amount of acreage for their cattle; would they not?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.



Mrs. BOLTON. Up to a reasonable point, of course.

Mr. ACHESON. I think to some extent the matter that you have in mind is referred to in paragraph 3, which says:

That it shall be the policy of the Administration to integrate to the fullest possible extent its short-run agricultural rehabilitation and food-production efforts with the longer-run reconstruction objectives of the United Nations organization for food and agriculture, and to shape its policies so as not to hamper the achievement of those objectives, which call for the progressive realization in all countries of diets adequate both in quantity and quality.

A great deal of study has been given to the ultimate development of agriculture in various countries, and both at Hot Springs and Atlantic City it was recognized that in this first crop you have got to do the most practicable thing that can be done, but that in doing that, have in mind what the permanent organization has been suggesting for the long-range development, and not do something which will retard it.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. Resolution No. 12 deals with the industrial rehabilitation, and that we discussed also at some length yesterday, pointing out again that the whole emphasis here is on the repair and emergency rehabilitation of plants, transportation, storage facilities, for immediate use, and that again we are not going into any long-run reconstruction or industrial development. It is to fix up what can be quickly fixed up and used, and that emphasis runs all through Resolution No. 12.

Resolution No. 13 is one that I referred to this morning in response to a question from Mrs. Rogers, and this points out very clearly that in the field of shelter it is temporary shelter that U. N. R. R. A. is concerned with, and not permanent rebuilding.

Mrs. BOLTON. In studying that, Mr. Secretary, have the policies been set how those temporary shelters are going to be handled? I have reference to the method used in Poland after the last war, when they had three different types of dwellings, and the idea behind it was that it was very bad to have people think that they were going to be taken care of at the top luxury basis when they should be helping themselves to move into the top luxury basis as their jobs permitted. I am sure you know so well that whole Polish situation.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. I do not believe that Governor Lehman has got to the point of specific policies, but this resolution directs him to proceed on the basis of the most temporary sort of thing, and not to get into the difficulties that you refer to.

Mr. Chairman, that brings us to the Resolution No. 14, on finance, which is quite a long matter. I will go into it now if you wish.

The CHAIRMAN. It is 12:25. I think we had better stop here, and go on tomorrow, when we have more representatives here.

Mrs. BOLTON. It will give us a chance to study it, too.

Mr. ACHESON. I can say for the encouragement of the committee that we are really through most of it. Although there are a number of pages following this, they are rules of procedure of the council, and how you elect chairmen.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. The committee will stand in recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning sharp.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p. m., the committee adjourned until 10:30 a. m. the following day.)





# TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Luther Johnson presiding.  
Mr. JOHNSON. The committee will please come to order.

We have for further consideration House Joint Resolution No. 192.  
Assistant Secretary of State Mr. Dean Acheson will kindly proceed.

## FURTHER STATEMENT OF HON. DEAN ACHESON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

### DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE FAR EAST

Mr. ACHESON. I was asked yesterday to furnish the committee some figures on displaced persons in the Far East. We have made inquiry on that subject, and the best information which is now available has already been put into the Congressional Record. It was contained in the remarks of Dr. T. F. Tsiang, who is the Chinese representative on the council of U. N. R. R. A., who spoke on a radio forum and whose remarks appears in the Congressional Record for December 3, 1943, beginning on page A5661. There is on that page a very excellent statement by the Chinese delegate quoting from the statements of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as to the Chinese attitude in regard to the importance of U. N. R. R. A. I will just read a few sentences from that, because it is very revealing and important.

Speaking of the conversation which Mr. Tsiang had with the Generalissimo before leaving Chungking, he quotes the Generalissimo as follows:

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will be the first piece of international constructive machinery to be set up by the United Nations. If we cannot cooperate on relief and rehabilitation, there will be little else on which we could cooperate. We must not fail.

Dr. Tsiang continues:

The second principle which the generalissimo emphasized at that final interview was to the effect that relief and rehabilitation should be promoted on a generous scale, but on whatever scale, within whatever scope, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration must be world-embracing, for, the generalissimo said: "Distinctions of region, nationality, or religion belong to the pre-war era, and cannot serve as a basis for the new era which, we hope, will come after this war."

Then he went on to speak of the displaced-persons problem and said :

To give you a total picture of China's situation today I give you a few statistics. Of the estimated population of 460,000,000, approximately 200,000,000 have or had their homes in occupied China and the war zones. Two hundred and twenty millions live in free China. Forty millions are what we might call displaced persons. Of the 200,000,000 in occupied China, about 30 percent will need relief; that is, 60,000,000. Of the 40,000,000 war refugees, about 60 percent will need relief; that is, 24,000,000. The total population needing relief comes to a figure of 84,000,000. This is an enormous number, but the Chinese Government has no intention of loading United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration with this big burden. Whatever food, clothing, and shelter can be procured in China with Chinese currency, the Chinese Government intends to procure them itself. Only that part of the supplies and services which China cannot produce and must be procured from foreign sources will be requested of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Mr. JOHNSON. That was in answer to the question asked by Mr. Mansfield yesterday with reference to the number of refugees in the Far East; was it?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. That confirms what he said, that the number of refugees in the Far East exceeds that in the European area.

Mr. ACHESON. That is true.

#### DISPLACED PERSONS

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question? I have another meeting, so I shall likely be gone through some of your testimony.

What plans has U. N. R. R. A. for the moving of displaced persons? I think that is a very important part of U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. ACHESON. That we discussed, Mrs. Rogers, at some length yesterday, and I think I can sum it up by saying, as I did yesterday, that there are two problems in connection with these displaced persons. The first one is the care of the people, wherever they are, at the present moment. Connected with that is the effort to induce them to stay where they are until proper health and medical measures can be taken for the prevention of the spreading of disease and until proper arrangements can be made by the countries in which they live or did live to receive them and start them off in life again when they come back. So that the main problem, therefore, is to care for them so far as food, shelter, clothing, and medical attention are concerned.

The next problem is to make arrangements for their return. The second problem is primarily one which is the duty of their own governments. Therefore U. N. R. R. A. must do two things. It must work with the governments of the countries where these displaced persons are at the present time, in seeing that they are cared for and that they do not wander about causing misery to themselves and spreading contagion and disease in various areas. In the second place, U. N. R. R. A. must work with the receiving governments so that proper arrangements may be made for the reestablishment of these people when the time arrives when they may return home and that U. N. R. R. A. will help those governments in the transportation and doing whatever can be done for them when they can return home.

Mrs. ROGERS. By "receiving governments" do you mean the governments from whence they come?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. These displaced persons are of many categories, but generally speaking they are people who are in a different country from the country in which they belong, and people who are in a different part of the same country. In other words, as the war rolled into France, many people from the north of France went to the south of France. The same thing is true in other parts of Europe. So you have two groups of people, one group who have to be taken from one country back to their own country, another group who have to be moved from one part of their own country to another.

#### RESPONSIBILITIES OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

Mrs. ROGERS. Will any effort be made to send some of those to Palestine?

Mr. ACHESON. That also was discussed yesterday. The Inter-governmental Committee which was established at the Evian Conference has, and will continue to have, the duty of finding places for people who do not want to, or who cannot, return to their original homes. U. N. R. R. A.'s activity in that respect will be merely to assist in the care of those people, but the negotiation with various governments to find a place for new settlers will be the work of the Inter-governmental Committee and not of U. N. R. R. A.

Mrs. ROGERS. I see. But you may make suggestions or act in an advisory capacity?

Mr. ACHESON. Oh, yes. Anybody—U. N. R. R. A. or anybody else—who has suggestions may obviously make them, but the main job in that connection is to negotiate with governments of new areas where these people have not been before in an endeavor to find ways of settling them.

Mrs. ROGERS. I wonder if in your conferences any discussion of that came up. For instance, any question of our suspension of our immigration laws.

#### FINANCIAL PLAN FOR U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. ACHESON. No. There has been no discussion of that beyond the placing of the responsibility, and the responsibility for the settlement in new countries of displaced persons is the responsibility of the Inter-governmental Committee.

Now, Mr. Johnson, we reached yesterday resolution No. 14, which is the financial plan for U. N. R. R. A. This, as I said before, is merely a recommendation by the Council to the member government. The document itself states again, as does the agreement, that the full power of control over any participation, financial or otherwise, rests with the legislative bodies of the various governments. So this is the recommendation which the Council of U. N. R. R. A. makes.

It starts out in section 1 by directing the Director General to prepare, as soon as possible, and submit to the next session of the council, a program of operation which will cover either the whole work of U. N. R. R. A. or some definite part of it.

Section No. 2 tells him to prepare annually a budget covering the estimated administrative expenses.

Mrs. ROGERS. May I interrupt at that point?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.



Mrs. ROGERS. Who paid for the work at Atlantic City?

Mr. ACHESON. It falls into several classes. All of the delegates and their staffs of the foreign countries paid their own expenses. The United States tendered to the Council a secretariat, which was made up of technically qualified men drawn from a great many departments and agencies in the United States Government. The general overhead expenses, paper and the rent of meeting rooms and that sort of thing in the hotel in Atlantic City, were paid for out of funds allocated from the President's Emergency Fund. In other words, the United States, acting as the host government, made available to the Council a meeting place and the necessary supplies to carry on the meeting, and the secretarial staff, but the delegates and their own staffs paid their own expenses.

Mrs. ROGERS. I realized that, but I wondered for our Government from where the funds were taken.

Mr. ACHESON. It was out of the allocations to the Department of State from the President's emergency fund.

Mrs. ROGERS. Do you not feel that as a result of U. N. R. R. A. the amount of money given to Lend-Lease will be considerably lower?

Mr. ACHESON. I think they are in different fields, Mrs. Rogers. I think that the U. N. R. R. A. activities will follow along after the military period, and lend-lease has been and is a war measure. The funds of Lend-Lease are used for war purposes, and so much of those funds as are used for the relief of civilian populations are used in connection with the prosecution of the war.

Mrs. ROGERS. I thought U. N. R. R. A. was going in as soon as possible.

Mr. ACHESON. U. N. R. R. A. may go in at the request of the military while the military are still in control, and to the extent that it does, it will do what you say.

Mrs. ROGERS. Yes. Thank you.

Mr. JOHNSON. Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

I would suggest that if anybody wants to ask questions, it might be best, if it is off this section, to wait until the end of the section is reached. I think your question was germane and proper, but if there is something else that might be on another subject it might be well to wait.

#### BASIS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO ADMINISTRATIVE BUDGET

Mr. ACHESON. I was calling attention to sections 2 and 3, under which the Director General is required to prepare an administrative budget and such supplementary budgets as he may find necessary.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, on this administrative budget, I would like to ask a question.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chiperfield.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. On page 60, I believe it is, there is a table showing the percentages that each country is to pay as its share of the administrative budget. How were those percentages arrived at?

Mr. ACHESON. The figures on page 60 are part of resolution 38, beginning on page 59, which approved the administrative budget in the amount of \$10,000,000 for the 13 months beginning December 1, 1943, and going to December 31, 1944, and then made the apportionment in the percentages shown on page 60. Those percentages were deter-

mined, first of all, by taking the income of all the countries for the year ending June 30, 1940, which was the last year for which any figures at all were available for many of the countries, particularly the occupied countries. Then certain adjustments were made in respect of certain of the occupied countries, taking into consideration the fact that they were occupied in whole or in part, and that therefore their resources were reduced by that enemy action. Consideration was also given to changes in general economic conditions since 1940.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Would it be proper to make public the incomes as of 1940 of the countries? I have tried very hard to get figures of national income on all these countries, and I have not been able to do so yet. I think it would be helpful if we could have in the record the last available figures of the national income of these various countries.

Mr. ACHESON. I shall be glad to inquire, and ask whether any of the figures which were furnished were confidential, and if they are not we will be glad to furnish them to you.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Thank you very kindly.

Mr. ACHESON. You will discover, as I say, that there have been adjustments made in respect of the percentages of certain countries here which have been occupied, and therefore it would be obviously unfair, in view of the fact that they were occupied, to assess their contribution for administrative expenses on income which they no longer receive.

Dr. EATON. I wonder why a great country like Brazil would have such a low percentage.

Mr. ACHESON. That is Bolivia which is one-tenth of 1 percent. Brazil is one and one-half.

Dr. EATON. Excuse me!

Mr. ACHESON. I think that all those percentages are strictly in accordance with the national income for the year 1940.

Mr. JONKMAN. Do you know why one basis was used for the contribution for administration and another basis for the contribution for the actual work?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Mr. Jonkman. In respect of the contribution for administrative expenses, all the countries were requested to, and wished to, make a contribution, whether they were occupied countries or unoccupied countries. Therefore a basis had to be found which would permit some sort of a figure for the occupied countries. There are no figures of the income of those countries available after their occupation. Most of the occupation took place in the year 1940. Therefore the figures for that year represent the last available figures.

In order to get some basis of apportioning this amount to everybody, we took that last available statistical basis.

Mr. JONKMAN. On that basis we are contributing 40 percent, and in the actual work our basis is very close to 60 percent, is it not?

#### BASIS OF CONTRIBUTIONS FOR SUBSTANTIVE EXPENSES

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. We contribute a smaller percentage of the administrative expenses than we would of the substantive expenses. That comes about for several reasons. One is the fact that the occupied countries are not asked to contribute except for the administrative expenses. Therefore there are fewer countries contributing for

the substance of the work than there are for the administrative expenses, and secondly, for the substantive contribution we have taken the latest year, because since the contribution is to be made as soon as possible, it seemed right and fair that it should be based as nearly as possible upon current income, rather than on some past period.

Mr. JONKMAN. Of course there is a certain fallacy there, in that our income has been tremendously increased as the arsenal of democracy, on which our income is based, and is therefore, fictitious.

Mr. ACHESON. That is a subject on which there can be, and has been, a great deal of discussion. It is perfectly true that to some extent the point you have made is valid. Of course that operates the same way with many other countries, too. Their income has also been increased by the war and war purchases.

Mrs. BOLTON. Would the gentleman yield for just a moment?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mrs. BOLTON. Are the other countries, like Brazil and the Latin-American countries, on a basis of 1940 or current?

Mr. ACHESON. There are two bases, Mrs. Bolton. One is for the administrative expenses. Everybody is on the same basis for each contribution.

Mrs. BOLTON. That is, in the administrative we are all on a 1940 basis?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, and on the other we are all on a 1943 basis.

Mr. JONKMAN. The only objection is that it amounts to double taxation. In the first place our help is already given, and then we are being taxed on the basis of the income from that help.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I will be glad to yield.

Mr. JOHNSON. While we are getting the income and helping, there is a financial income of which somebody is getting the benefit—some of the people in our country; maybe not all of them, but the income of a country is recognized, is it not, as a criterion or basis by which you can determine the wealth of that country during that year. Is that right, Mr. Secretary? You have been a financial expert as well as a lawyer and a diplomat. You used to be in the Treasury Department, so I think your judgment on that might be very good.

Mr. ACHESON. I think the answer to most of these questions, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Jonkman, is that the objective was to try and find a simple rule which had a large amount of equity and justice in it. A great many proposals were discussed at Atlantic City. Some of them were very complicated and objections were made to all of the proposals, including this one, and the objections had a great deal of merit. It was pointed out, for instance, that in the case of this flat one percent formula, we were not recognizing some of the doctrine which is in the theory of progressive income taxation. In other words, one percent for a very rich country was less of a proportionate burden than one percent for a very poor country, and that was true. That is absolutely true. That criticism was valid.

However, when an attempt was made to work out some basis of progressive contribution, you got into the most complicated arrangements, which then began to raise all sorts of questions such as you were suggesting: Should you take into consideration the effort a country has already made in the war? Once you got into that it was



hopeless. Should that effort be viewed from a financial point of view or a military point of view? And finally, after almost a week of very, very careful discussion of this whole matter in the Committee on Finance, everybody came back to this as the simplest of all devices, and the most equitable in the long run.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I do.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Each country determines for itself the amount of its national income, does it not?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. And our contribution, including administrative expenses, will amount to \$10 for every man, woman, and child, in this country. Is that not right? It is \$1,300,000,000, and there are about 130,000,000 people.

Mr. ACHESON. That is true. That is correct.

Mr. JONKMAN. I would like to say, in answer to Mr. Johnson, that it is true that the individual income must, in the final analysis, form the basis, but that income is offset when our debt reaches \$300,000,000,000 by an indebtedness of \$2,200 for every man, woman, and child, in the country, also, that we will have to face sometime.

That is all, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much.

(Mr. Bloom now presiding.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. ACHESON. I think the attitude of all the delegates at the U. N. R. R. A. conference was that this was a job which had to be done. We had to raise some money somehow. It was not approached on the basis of putting down some figure and then saying what the result would be, but of trying to reach a fund which would be adequate to do the job, not so large as to be burdensome upon anybody but which would see us through this very critical period, and this seemed to be the best method of reaching that result.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NON-MEMBER GOVERNMENTS AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL SOURCES

Mrs. ROGERS. How will the private relief, private donations, figure in this? Will they be in addition to this amount or will they lessen the amount?

Mr. ACHESON. That is covered in section 9 of the financial plan, which I will get to. I think we were now on section 3. Let me jump to section 9 and answer the question.

Section 9 says:

The Council expects that contributions will be received to the work of the Administration from nonmember governments or nongovernmental sources. Such contributions may be accepted in accordance with the rules and regulations established by the Director General in conformity with general policies of the Administration.

The CHAIRMAN. The rules are to be established. The rules are not laid down yet.

Mr. ACHESON. They are to be established.

The CHAIRMAN. Will that answer your question?



Mrs. ROGERS. I'm sorry; my mind was on something else. I was not listening. Will you repeat your answer.

Mr. ACHESON. Section 9 says:

The Council expects that contributions will be received to the work of the Administration from nonmember governments or nongovernmental sources. Such contributions may be accepted in accordance with the rules and regulations established by the Director General in conformity with general policies of the Administration.

Mrs. ROGERS. It does to a certain extent, but it does not say what they will decide to do, so we do not know whether it will be an addition or a deduction.

Mr. ACHESON. They will be in addition to what the governments give. These will be contributions from nonmember governments and nongovernmental sources. Those are in addition to what the member governments will do.

Mrs. ROGERS. It would be helpful, would it not, if the amount could be lowered rather than increased as a result of that? Do you need more than you are asking for now, really?

The CHAIRMAN. Would not that money, Mrs. Rogers, if we get \$100,000,000 in contributions, be in the Treasury, so the Commission would have that left over? In other words, if they do not spend it all, it would be there, and that would be subtracted from the appropriation made by the different governments.

Mrs. ROGERS. Of course, that is what we do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. They do know. The money is going to be there. If they get contributions of a certain amount, the money would be left in the Treasury and it would be deducted from the amount contributed.

Mrs. ROGERS. I thought the Secretary said it would be left up to the Council to decide.

Mr. ACHESON. Well now, let us be clear on that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Council does not decide on what is going to happen to the money.

Mrs. ROGERS. You are only going to give a certain amount of money anyway, is that it?

Mr. ACHESON. The member governments are asked to make contributions. A recommendation has been made to the member governments as to a yardstick which they might use in measuring their contributions. They are entirely free, the sovereign powers, to accept that recommendation or take some other course. This is merely a recommendation. Whatever they do is within their own power and will be gratefully received by the Administration.

In addition to what member governments do, it is expected and hoped that nonmember governments will also make some contributions, and it is expected and hoped that nongovernmental sources, private individuals or private associations, will make contributions, too. Therefore, we are looking forward to contributions from three sources—the member governments, nonmember governments, and private associations and people.

You ask whether the contributions made by private people will be deducted from the governmental contribution. The answer to that is no. The Chairman points out that if at the end of the operation U. N. R. R. A. has not expended the governmental contributions they

would presumably go back to the governments. My profound belief is that the need here is so colossal that all the amount that is contributed and more could be very usefully employed. We are trying to restrict the operations to the narrowest possible scope to keep them within the bounds of practicability, but that does not mean that additional amounts will or could not be very profitably used.

RELATION OF UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTIONS TO U. N. R. R. A. TO UNITED STATES WAR EXPENDITURES

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Secretary, do you have any figures of what this war is costing us?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir; I was asked to produce some sort of an estimate of that sort yesterday, and I have here something which I would like to mention in connection with paragraph 4 of the financial plan. That paragraph reads:

As to the amount and character of the contribution of each member government, to be determined by its constitutional bodies as provided for in article V of the agreement, the Council recommends that each member government whose home territory has not been occupied by the enemy shall make a contribution for participation in the work of the Administration, approximately equivalent to 1 percent of the national income of the country for the year ending June 30, 1943, as determined by the member government.

The Council recognizes that there are cases in which the recommendation above may conflict with particular demands arising from the continuance of the war or may be excessively burdensome because of peculiar situations, and therefore recognizes that the amount and character of the contribution recommended is subject to such conditions.

Now the recommendation, as Mr. Vorys pointed out yesterday, is for a contribution of 1 percent of 1 year's income. It is not recommended that you pay 1 percent of every year's income. It is a once-for-all contribution.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Secretary, do you mean you will not be back if you get this full amount?

The CHAIRMAN. Do not promise that!

Mr. ACHESON. I most certainly could not promise that. What we are doing is making a very determined effort all the way through this document to put the scope of the activity, in the nature of the work that U. N. R. R. A. may do, in the amount of the contribution which is asked for, and in the requirements for payment by various receiving governments, so they will all hang together, and they are of such a character that we hope very strongly that this emergency can be got over under the plan that we now have.

Answering Mr. Chiperfield's question as to the cost of the war to the United States, and I assume he had in mind the relation of this contribution to it—

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. ACHESON. I have here a memorandum which says that the United States' contribution to U. N. R. R. A. under the finance plan adopted at Atlantic City would be 1.9 percent of the war expenditures for the fiscal year 1943 and 1.5 percent of the estimated war expenditures for the fiscal year 1944, as indicated in the following figures:

The recommended United States contribution would be \$1,350,000,000. The war expenditures for the fiscal year 1943, as determined by

the Treasury Department, were \$72,100,000,000. The war expenditures for the fiscal year 1944, as estimated by the Bureau of the Budget, are \$92,000,000,000. The United States' contribution would be 1.7 percent of total budget expenditures for the fiscal year 1943; that is, the total expenditures, war plus everything else, and 1.9 percent of the war expenditures for 1943. They would be 1.4 percent of the total estimated budget expenditures for 1944 as indicated in the following figures:

The total budget expenditures for the fiscal year 1943 were \$78,100,000,000. The estimated budget expenditures for 1944 are \$98,100,000,000.

Therefore may I add this, that on the basis of the estimated war expenditures for the fiscal year 1944, the contribution recommended to U. N. R. R. A. is equal to our expenses of the war for a little more than 5 days.

Mr. VORYS. Right at that point, I have been trying to do mental arithmetic here, and I cannot see how \$1,000,000,000-plus can be 1 percent of something less than \$100,000,000,000.

Mr. ACHESON. It is not. It is 1.9 percent, which is nearly 2 percent—1.9 and 1.5.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you finished?

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chipperfield subyielded the floor to me and I yielded it back to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chipperfield, will you continue?

#### USE BY U. N. R. R. A. OF LOCAL CURRENCY

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. The other day, Mr. Secretary, you told about how the countries would pay for material in their own currency. When U. N. R. R. A. receives that currency, what do they do with it?

Mr. ACHESON. What does U. N. R. R. A. do with it?

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. That is referred to in section 19. Under that section, which I read the other day, it is recommended that the governments which do not have gold or foreign exchange with which to pay for their imports should make available to the Administration in whole or in part the local currency proceeds from the sale of supplies furnished by the Administration.

It shall be the policy of the Administration to use any such local currency for relief and rehabilitation work, including the care and movement of displaced persons, and for such other purposes as may be agreed upon with the Government. Programs for the utilization of such local currency shall be formulated by the Director General and the member government involved.

Generally speaking, what the Administration will use that currency for is all the expenses of the Administration within the area putting up the currency. That will include transportation, warehousing, office space, the hire of any local clerical staff. That is one category. Another category would be quite a large body of expenditures which would be comprised in the care within the country of orphans or sick people or displaced persons and their return to their homes.

Finally, programs may be worked out between the government and the Administration by which this currency can be used for the purchase within the country of any surplus of any consumable article



which might be needed in some other area. Those are the general purposes.

#### TOTAL IMPORT REQUIREMENTS OF LIBERATED AREAS

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. When this terrific demand for relief and rehabilitation commences, what do you think will be the result on our domestic economy? I mean, the impact of all those purchases all over the world—50,000,000 tons, for example, that is suggested by one reliable source to be needed in the first 6 months.

Mr. ACHESON. That estimate, of forty-five-odd-million tons, I believe it is, includes all the import requirements for the first 6 months after the complete liberation of all the European Allied countries, excluding the Soviet Union. It includes imports from one European country into another as well as from overseas.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Including some, maybe, from Germany, as you suggested.

Mr. JOHNSON. Within all the areas?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

The figure which Mr. Chiperfield has in mind is the total import requirements of the liberated areas of Europe other than the Soviet Union. That figure was taken from the so-called Leith-Ross report. It does not mean that that amount of material is to be purchased in the outside world and transported. Those figures, for whatever validity they have, go on to say that, I think, only 23,000,000 out of the forty-five-million-odd tons would require ocean transport, and of those a large part would be drawn from the Mediterranean area and the United Kingdom, and there would be about 14,000,000 tons which they look forward to shipping from the Western Hemisphere, the non-Mediterranean area of Africa, Australia and elsewhere. So that reduces the amount considerably so far as transport is concerned.

Mrs. ROGERS. Were you going on on that subject?

Mr. ACHESON. I was going on a little bit to then point out that under the arrangements which have been worked out and which we discussed yesterday and the day before yesterday, the allocation of the purchases will go through the whole machinery which we have established for making allocations and purchases during the conduct of the war, so there will not be competing demands which will put up prices and cause general dislocation. Therefore the purchasing will be as orderly as it possibly can be made.

In the second place, by the time U. N. R. R. A. comes into the picture, there should be a good deal of tapering off as to some of the war demands. Of course the war in the Pacific and the war in the West may well have different dates of termination. But by the time a very large part of these areas are liberated it will probably mean that the war in the west is very close to its finish if it is not already finished. That will release a great deal of productive capacity for the sort of thing that we are talking about now, and I should suppose that this would have a beneficial rather than a harmful effect.

Mrs. ROGERS. Did that have anything to do with the creation of U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. ACHESON. No; the sole purpose of the creation of U. N. R. R. A. was to meet the job which had to be done.



## DETERMINATION OF SOURCES OF SUPPLY

Mrs. ROGERS. U. N. R. R. A. will have a good deal of power, will it not, in deciding what countries shall receive the orders and the benefit of the profit that occurs from the ordering and purchasing?

Mr. ACHESON. I do not think I follow your question.

Mrs. ROGERS. Will the council decide where these tremendous purchases will be made?

Mr. ACHESON. Oh, no; I was just pointing out that the whole object of the earlier resolutions which we went over yesterday was to require the allocation to be made by the allocating agencies established for that purpose by the nations now bearing the burdens. U. N. R. R. A. is a claimant agency and not an allocating agency. U. N. R. R. A. will apply to the combined boards and their constituent elements just the way the Army does, the Navy does, the civilian population of this country and all other countries.

Mrs. ROGERS. Under what law was U. N. R. R. A. created?

Mr. ACHESON. U. N. R. R. A. was created by the agreement of November 9.

Mrs. ROGERS. What legislation made it possible?

Mr. ACHESON. There is no legislation except the one before you now.

Mrs. ROGERS. This covers the whole story? If we pass this bill we shall enact the agreement.

Mr. ACHESON. This is the only legislation to date in this country concerning U. N. R. R. A. However, Congress does not enact the agreement; this is merely a resolution authorizing appropriations.

Mrs. ROGERS. Thank you. I wanted to be sure, because I have heard it argued both ways, and I wanted to have your opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Schiffler.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Mr. Secretary, in giving a figure of \$92,000,000,000 as the war cost for 1944, does that include lend-lease or is that exclusive of lend-lease appropriations?

Mr. ACHESON. This is a figure which was prepared by the United States Treasury and the Bureau of the Budget, and I assume that it includes all expenditures of every type in connection with the war.

## DISPOSITION OF EARMARKED CONTRIBUTIONS

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Under section 9 of this particular article the term "nongovernmental sources" is used. If U. N. R. R. A. was offered a gift or bequest as a contribution that was earmarked for a particular area or group, would it accept that contribution or gift?

Mr. ACHESON. That is left in the hands of the Director General, subject to rules and regulations to be established by him in conformity with the general policies of the Administration. We discussed that matter yesterday, and I said that I could not speak for the Director General but that it would seem reasonable that a gift which did not have conditions attached to it which were onerous and difficult of administration, or which were discriminatory or for any reason undesirable, would be accepted by the Director General and carried out according to its terms.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Which would carry out the earmarkings of the gifts if it were possible to do so?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. I would say, as 1 member of the Council of 44, that I would see no reason in the world why people who were tremendously interested in relief in one country should not make contributions for that purpose. It was pointed out also by Mr. Vorys that the Administration will have to be careful to see that it adheres to the rules of fairness in the distribution of relief and that therefore it would not wish people in one country, by reason of personal appeals on the United States, to be put on a much higher standard than people in some other country.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I think that is all at this time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. The question I wanted to ask was immediately after Mr. Chipperfield had asked the witness to get the figures which he presented today, the proportionate cost of U. N. R. R. A. as compared to the cost of the war. I think he has brought out a very fine point here. It indicates this, as I understand from his answer, that the cost of U. N. R. R. A. that is, the United States' part of the contribution to U. N. R. R. A., would amount to only 5 days' expenditures, the expenditures of 5 days of the cost of the present war. Is that right?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. JOHNSON. That means that U. N. R. R. A. is to spend, in trying to save life, 5 days of what we spend in trying to destroy it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am assuming that those figures will be made part of the record.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; I will give them to the reporter.

(Discussion was had off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Richards.

#### CURRENCY STABILIZATION

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Secretary, is it anticipated that the administration will use any of these funds to stabilize currencies in these various countries? Have they the power to go into that?

Mr. ACHESON. No; it is not anticipated that they will. There was a resolution which we will come to later on, Resolution No. 25, which says that the Administration, or one of the committees of the Council, is called upon to study the effect of what the Administration does with its local currency upon the general problem of inflation. The idea of that was that the Administration not do things which will accentuate inflation, but it was not the intention that the funds shall be used for other purposes than those mentioned in the resolution.

Mr. RICHARDS. But it is reasonable to suppose that if the currency of one of the member countries goes to pieces it is supposed to protect itself, and the Administration will have to take some kind of action in the premises to protect its own fund.

Mr. ACHESON. It would have to take whatever action it could under the circumstances you suggest. It might be pretty difficult for anything to be done to protect it.

Mr. VORYS. Does not section 21 on page 28 answer that question?

Mr. RICHARDS. I just want to ask one more question about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Continue, Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. I want to ask again, since we are on this, you do not intend to have a 44-nations bank or Administration bank or what you might call an international bank in the organization itself, do you?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys!

Mr. VORYS. My interruption was merely to state that section 21, on page 28, I thought would tend to cover that question, in that it forbids any distribution of gold or convertible currency except for purchases of essential supplies and services, which would, in my limited financial knowledge, appear to forbid any currency transactions for the purpose of stabilization, or any other purpose than the purchase of supplies and services.

Mr. ACHESON. I think it might well have that effect, Mr. Vorys. What that was put in for was to make it absolutely clear that U. N. R. R. A. was not going to get contributions from governments and hand those out in gold or money to various countries. What U. N. R. R. A. is doing is financing the purchase of supplies for people who cannot finance those purchases themselves. It is not distributing cash around the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers!

Mr. ROGERS. I just want to ask, Mr. Chairman, whether the idea of having Mr. Crowley come was to give this his blessing or to answer questions.

The CHAIRMAN. He will give it his blessing and answer questions, and we will have the chaplain here give his benediction.

Dr. EATON. Mr. Crowley at some point in the proceedings might be induced to curse as well as bless it.

Mrs. ROGERS. That might be well. I think perhaps it would have been better for lend-lease if we had done a little differently. I think the open and free discussion is the democratic way of doing things.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers, we are going to sit here to hold hearings as long as the committee wants to have hearings. We are going to take our time. It was arranged that we would adjourn tomorrow, after hearing Governor Lehman, and the committee would have Monday and Tuesday, and perhaps Wednesday, to read over the papers and get acquainted with what the testimony here has been, and then we would come back and hear Mr. Acheson and the other members if there are any further questions that we want to ask them, and we are going to take our time.

Mrs. ROGERS. It was our understanding that you were going to do that. We understand that.

The CHAIRMAN. We took all the time necessary on every piece of legislation we have had here, and it is agreed that we are not going to rush this legislation; until we have finished our hearings and everybody is satisfied we are not going to report this legislation out.

Dr. EATON. There will be no meeting of the committee on Monday?

The CHAIRMAN. On Monday or Tuesday. If you want it, we will meet on Wednesday. It was understood that the members wanted to read the different papers they have before them, and then we will come back here and hear Mr. Acheson or anybody else that you want to hear.



## UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTIONS FOR RELIEF AFTER THE LAST WAR

Mr. BURGIN. I think the Secretary has answered it for the record, but I was not here a moment ago.

What contribution was made by our Government for this kind of work after the last war?

Mr. ACHESON. We have those figures in the record, Mr. Burgin. I have not got them with me this morning.

Mr. BURGIN. Approximately?

Mr. ACHESON. As I recall it, the total cost to us of financing relief and rehabilitation in continental Europe during and after the last war was approximately \$2,600,000,000. This amount was about 4.1 percent of our national income for 1919, although the problem after the last war was infinitely narrower than it is today, and will be tomorrow—the devastation was less, there were fewer displaced people, and the geography of the problem was less global. In short, the cost of relief during and after the last war was four times greater in proportion than the estimated cost to us of our share in United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Of that \$2,600,000,000, some \$2,300,000,000 represents United States Government loans directly or indirectly for relief and rehabilitation. Approximately \$1,000,000,000 of the \$2,300,000,000 were loans directly for relief purposes, primarily for foodstuffs. The remaining \$1,300,000,000 was spent by foreign governments for relief and rehabilitation supplies against general credits established by the United States Treasury. Only about 10 percent of the \$2,300,000,000 of loans was repaid; the remaining 90 percent was, in effect, a gift. There was also about \$340,000,000 in gifts from private agencies and \$37,000,000 in Government gifts.

Mr. BURGIN. Comparing the work that was done then with the work that will be necessary or that seems to be necessary to be done now, how much greater or less is it than it was before?

Mr. ACHESON. The task is very much greater this time. The approach to it is different, and it is being planned further in advance. It is hoped that instead of dragging out relief over a long period of time, if this organization acts promptly during the emergency and critical period, and acts in the way these resolutions have indicated, that countries will be put on their feet and will start off again and the relief period will be very much shorter. That is the hope and expectation and the plan on the basis of which this organization has been created. It is all in the future. It may be successful or it may not.

Mr. BURGIN. How many countries participated in the program before?

Mr. ACHESON. There were comparatively few.

Mr. BURGIN. And this time it is all embraced in the 44 nations?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Mr. BURGIN. That is all.

Mr. VORYS. One question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.



## ALLOCATION OF SUPPLIES AVAILABLE TO LIBERATED AREAS

Mr. VORYS. I have a number. They can be delayed. This one is with reference to who does the allocating. I understood, up until a short time ago this morning, that while the Combined Boards would allocate 95 percent of the materials that might be imported into the liberated countries, U. N. R. R. A., itself, would have the responsibility and duty of allocating relief supplies that would arise in the liberated countries or the neutral countries for distribution. How about that?

For instance, in the Leith-Ross report there is something like 7,000,000 tons of lumber and 11,000,000 tons of coal which would, if brought across the ocean, be very bulky and require a lot of shipping, and there is a lot of coal and lumber, we will say, in Europe. It was my thought that U. N. R. R. A. would be doing the relief buying of, say, coal and lumber, to parcel out in Europe, and would be itself doing the allocation, and that for such materials the Combined Boards would have no jurisdiction.

How does that work out, or is it determined yet?

Mr. ACHESON. It works out somewhat as you have suggested, Mr. Vorys. I think it is a little bit more complicated than your question suggests.

## ASSISTANCE TO LOCAL PRODUCTION

As I said, I think, on the first day, the great bulk of the materials which will furnish the supplies for the liberated areas will be obtained from within those areas themselves. As to production and consumption within an area, U. N. R. R. A.'s job is to do whatever it can to make that production possible.

Let us take food, which is the simplest illustration. You remember yesterday we went through the resolutions on agricultural rehabilitation, and there the whole emphasis was on U. N. R. R. A. doing whatever it could to get the first crop in the ground and harvested. It will do its best to supply seed. It will do its best to supply agricultural implements and fertilizers and things of that sort.

When the crops are sown and harvested, they will be within the various liberated areas, and presumably they will be consumed within those areas unless situations result where there is a surplus. If there is a surplus, that will be highly desirable and very important.

U. N. R. R. A., theoretically, and perhaps actually in most cases, will have local currency of these various countries at its disposal. It certainly will in those countries where it has furnished supplies which have been sold by the Government. U. N. R. R. A. can then purchase these agricultural surpluses that may exist in France, Denmark, Holland, or wherever they may exist, and transport them to other areas. But probably for the first period most of the goods purchased within an area will be consumed within that area. There will be some situations where that is not true. There will be a product such as coal, which will be produced in surplus in some areas. There will be fertilizers, which will be produced in France, which may be purchased and taken to other areas.

You were quite right, that in respect to that sort of production the Combined Boards will not be operating, except that they will take that production into consideration in allocating external materials to those areas.

Mrs. ROGERS. What wages will be paid to the workers, our wages or the wages of the foreign area?

Mr. ACHESON. I have no idea about that, Mrs. Rogers. I have a feeling that that would not be an U. N. R. R. A. job. That would be a local responsibility. The farmers in France or some other country will employ people and make their own arrangements with them.

Mrs. ROGERS. Do you plan to spend the U. N. R. R. A. money for the manufacture of clothing, boots, and shoes in those areas?

Mr. ACHESON. What U. N. R. R. A. will do is to see whether it is possible and desirable to repair or restore some factory which has been closed. If that is a more efficient way, a cheaper way, of getting something done than attempting to transport these materials when they are in short supply, it will do that. If it is not, then it will not do it. There will be, we hope, Army supplies which will be available for resale to U. N. R. R. A. and for distribution in these areas. All the available supplies will have to be totaled up and set against the total needs, and then whatever supplemental action is necessary within the countries will be taken.

Mrs. ROGERS. Then, instead of spending a good deal of the money of our contribution in this country in purchasing supplies, that money will be spent, really, as relief in giving employment, in raising food and growing food, and also in the manufacture of things as an added relief to the areas that need relief?

Mr. ACHESON. I should think that was not the case. My guess will be that what is needed in order to bring about rehabilitation is the necessary supplies for rehabilitation from the outside. That is what U. N. R. R. A.'s prime duty is, to get things into a country which do not exist there. Therefore, if the difficulty with a factory is that some parts of the machinery have been broken or stolen by the Germans, the job will be to replace those broken or stolen parts, and U. N. R. R. A.'s part in the rehabilitation will be to see that those are procured and transported; but the running of the factory will be something that the local authorities or the local individuals will do themselves.

Mrs. ROGERS. But no consideration will be given to the nations contributing the large amount? It would be helpful if we could secure something back in a business way?

Mr. ACHESON. Are you coming back to oil and coal?

Mrs. ROGERS. I am not going to mention those just now. I think you see my point.

Mr. ACHESON. I think I see your point, but I think what we have been saying all along here is that countries which can pay for these supplies will pay for them in gold or foreign exchange; those which cannot will pay for them in their local currency, and insofar as direct application of supplies and services has to be made to displaced persons and people who have to be taken care of directly, then U. N. R. R. A. will do that directly.

Mrs. ROGERS. But no special consideration will be given to giving us back something, if possible, in the way of labor, business, and so forth?

Mr. ACHESON. Well, no. U. N. R. R. A. is an international organization to which we are making a contribution.

Mrs. ROGERS. It is a gift with no idea of getting anything back?

Mr. ACHESON. In one sense that is correct. But there is no way of telling now just what part of their relief needs can be met by the

liberated areas themselves, either as a matter of supply or as a matter of finance. The 44 nations are trying to guarantee that the minimum job gets done, that is all.

Mrs. ROGERS. I mean, it is a humane thing to do. We want to be sure that we are doing the humane part but unnecessarily weakening our country too much. That is my feeling, and I think you agree with me there.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. I think we have pointed out that it is a humane, moral and righteous thing to do. It is also a highly intelligent thing to do, because we may have the world going to pieces around us if we do not do it.

Mrs. ROGERS. We want to see that it goes for that purpose.

Mr. ACHESON. That is the responsibility of Governor Lehman. The Council will continually observe what he does and get reports from him, and try to aid him along that course.

Mrs. ROGERS. Will reports be made to the Congress on what he does?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. This resolution requires quarterly reports.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Acheson, as this resolution is now drawn, it is what we term a blanket authorization bill. You are familiar with that phrase. There are no maximum limitations at all on the expenditures insofar as your authorization is concerned. Of course there is a limitation growing out of the formula adopted at the Atlantic City meeting.

I wonder if you could tell the committee whether it is the intention of the State Department, in appearing before the Appropriations Committee, to ask for the full amount of the authorization as it goes under the formula, at one fell swoop, or to ask for a portion of it in the first instance.

Mr. ACHESON. That responsibility, Mr. Mundt, will fall primarily on Mr. Crowley, and I believe he proposes to talk about it when he appears before the committee today. I would rather not anticipate that.

Mr. MUNDT. I will ask him that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Secretary. Mr. Crowley will be here in a minute or two.

#### FUNDS FOR EXPENDITURE IN COUNTRIES OTHER THAN THE CONTRIBUTING COUNTRY

Mr. ACHESON. We had just discussed section 4. Section 5 we mentioned the other day, which provides that it is recommended to the various countries that not less than 10 percent of the amount which they decide to contribute should be made available in the form of currency which can be expended in areas outside of the contributing country. The purpose of that is to furnish funds available for the work of the Administration which can be used to make purchases in countries other than the contributing country.

If you did not have a provision of that sort, this plan would then mean that each country must make available a credit in its own area which would have to be expended solely within that area, and that would limit the Administration to getting goods solely from the contributing countries and solely in the amount of the contributions of the contributing countries. This gives an additional flexibility so that, for



instance, if the contribution of Cuba were exhausted and you needed more sugar from Cuba, you have some available funds which could be used to purchase it.

It is also very important from the point of view of the United States, as I pointed out the other day, to leave this entirely without any limitation, because if that is not done, then the supplies will have to be drawn solely from the United States and will further decrease the amount available for civilian consumption in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Eaton.

#### PRINCIPAL SUPPLYING NATIONS

Dr. EATON. Mr. Secretary, you mentioned in the course of your testimony the principal supplying nations. Could you name those for us, the principal supplying nations where we can use this 10 percent for that purpose?

Mr. ACHESON. The principal supplying nations who are members are on the committee on supplies. The quickest way to get that would be to turn to the resolution on the committee on supplies and see who they are. That resolution says that the committee on supplies shall consist of the members of the council or their alternates representing Australia, Belgium (that is on account of the Belgian Congo, which is a great source of supply), Brazil, Canada, China, the French Committee of National Liberation including all the French Empire in Africa, The Netherlands, New Zealand, the U. S. S. R., the United Kingdom, and the United States. Those are the principal supplying countries who are members.

Of course, Argentina will be a very large supplying country, but it is not a member of the council.

The CHAIRMAN. Members of the committee, Mr. Crowley is here now, and you will take a recess, Mr. Secretary, for a little while.

Ladies and gentlemen of the committee, I am honored to present to you Mr. Crowley, who would like to be heard on this resolution, House Joint Resolution No. 192. Mr. Crowley, you may proceed with your statement. Would you like to read, or do you just want to talk and then answer questions?

#### STATEMENT OF HON. LEO T. CROWLEY, FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATOR

Mr. CROWLEY. It is with pleasure that I appear before this committee.

I am glad to give my earnest support to the resolution now before you authorizing the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

This resolution is not an appropriation. It authorizes a later appropriation. Although questions regarding the manner in which the funds will be administered will naturally arise before the Appropriations Committees, I feel that this committee should be fully informed about what the executive branch of the Government now contemplates with respect to operations under this resolution:

1. The resolution before you contemplates that any appropriation authorized will be made directly for expenditure by an agency of the



United States Government. It is not intended that the Congress will be requested to appropriate any funds directly to U. N. R. R. A.

2. It is expected that after the resolution before you is enacted by the Congress, a request will be made to the Congress through the Appropriations Committees for a specific sum to be appropriated for an agency of the United States Government to carry on the operations to the end of this fiscal year—July 1, 1944.

3. It is anticipated at this time that the amount to be requested will be only a part of the total fraction of our national income recommended by the Council. In all probability the amount to be so specifically requested will be about \$500,000,000 to finance the proportionate contribution of the United States until July 1, 1944.

4. It is expected that in May or June 1944 detailed presentation will again be made to the Congress through the Appropriations Committees of what further amounts are necessary in the light of the experience to that time to carry on the emergency task. At that time, of course, the Congress will review in detail what has been done, and decide, as a matter of legislative policy, what additional funds should be appropriated to complete the emergency job.

5. If the appropriation is made to an agency of the United States Government the contribution by the United States to U. N. R. R. A. will be largely in the form of supplies. Some of the United States contribution will, of course, have to be in funds to cover our share of the administrative expenses, to provide a working fund for purchases of relatively small amounts of supplies, and to constitute the 10 percent or more of free funds to be available for expenditure outside the United States. In connection with the latter, I should like to point out that the larger the proportion of such free funds the smaller will be the burden on limited United States supplies.

6. Since the allocating agencies of the United States Government will continue to determine the amounts that will be available for export from the United States, the United States will continue to control its productive capacity and those materials which are in short supply in the most efficient manner consistent with the conduct of the war and with its participation in the work of U. N. R. R. A.

7. If present experience is any guide, it is not likely that supplies made available for the liberated areas will have a major effect on our supply program or be a primary cause for rationing or the continuing of rationing in the United States. The major part of the supplies to be made available to the liberated areas will come from their own resources and production. The supplies coming from the United States and the other United Nations to assist the liberated areas will be those necessary to supplement the home production to meet minimum requirements in the emergency period. The U. N. R. R. A. plan, in fact, by drawing more directly on resources of other countries, will in effect reduce the present call on the United States.

8. If the Congress approves, the Foreign Economic Administration will be the American supply agency that deals with U. N. R. R. A. I can assure you of our wholehearted cooperation with Governor Lehman in the most practical possible way. Governor Lehman and I have discussed the problem of arranging for American participation in U. N. R. R. A. Our staffs will work together in constant association, especially in the development of programs. It is clear from our dis-

cussions and the resolutions passed by the Council of U. N. R. R. A. that the relationships between U. N. R. R. A. and the Foreign Economic Administration will be such as to avoid duplication and overlapping.

Secretary Hull, in his letter to your chairman, and Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson have told you the need for a United Nations organization, the history of the organization and the policies of U. N. R. R. A. I can add nothing to what they have said on the significance of this great project as a war machine and as an essential step in carrying over to the peace the habits of cooperation which we have developed during the war. But of my own field—supply operations—I should like to say this:

To my mind, the organization of U. N. R. R. A. establishes a sound and practicable way for the nations together to solve a supply problem which necessarily concerns them all. U. N. R. R. A. faces an emergency task, which must be done well. If U. N. R. R. A. fails, lives will be lost. People in urgent need of medicine, food, and the other necessities of life will die if they don't get medicine, food, and these other necessities in time. Chaos and disease will spread if the United Nations cannot perform together a task which each of the member nations has recognized to be vital. Our will to build the foundations of a sound peace is too strong to admit failure. As Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, I pledge myself to do everything in my power to help make U. N. R. R. A. a success.

I will be very happy, Mr. Chairman, of course, to answer any questions that the committee may wish to ask.

I am sure that the committee will not want to spend as much time with me as they have with the Assistant Secretary of State, because I do not know as much about this as he does. My concern, as I visualize it, is to carry out the job of obtaining American supplies required for U. N. R. R. A.'s work.

First I want to say that I do want to endorse this joint resolution. I believe it is something that is very worthy of your favorable consideration. The detail of it, of course, has been explained to you by Mr. Acheson.

#### RESPONSIBILITIES OF F. E. A. FOR RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

I like to think of U. N. R. R. A. as a sort of international corporation. This country will have a representative on its Council which I like to think of as a board of directors, and you might say that that representative will represent the stockholders of this country. F. E. A., as I understand it, will be the United States procurement agency cooperating with the U. N. R. R. A. staff in working out and executing the program, so far as American supplies are required.

The requirements of the liberated areas, whether presented in the United States by U. N. R. R. A. or by countries which procure materials for cash, should be centralized and coordinated in an orderly fashion. This can only be done if one United States agency is designated to be the supply line to the liberated areas.

At the Atlantic City conference there was considerable discussion as to the amount each country was to put in. It will be my suggestion when we appear before the Appropriations Committee that whatever

is appropriated, and to whomever it may be appropriated, that it only be made up to July 1, 1944. I should think that in between now and July 1 of next year it probably will not be necessary for us to ask for an appropriation of more than \$500,000,000. That will give us an opportunity to have a few months' operation so that we can come back to the Congress, explain to you the scope of our work, and then ask Congress for whatever additional appropriations may be necessary to carry on. That, to my mind, would be better than requesting \$1,000,000,000 or \$1,300,000,000 for the United States share of carrying on U. N. R. R. A. work.

My experience with congressional committees is this, that if they have the facts and they are familiar with one's operations, it is much easier for them to understand one's requests. I feel very definitely that if our request before the Appropriations Committee were for an amount sufficient to take care of us through June 30, 1944, in the latter part of May we could come before the Congress again for an appropriation for the balance of the year.

I will be very happy to answer any questions. In substance, Mr. Chairman, that is our position.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Crowley, I want to commend you for your very clear and, I think, illuminating statement as to what part your organization, the Foreign Economic Administration, will play in the handling of these funds. I think that is a very wise provision, because as you say, U. N. R. R. A. is a world-wide organization with 44 governments participating. The United States is only 1 of the 44 and has only 1 vote in it, as has any other country, so it seems appropriate that, instead of going to U. N. R. R. A. direct, we should go to some organization of our Government to handle those funds and to see that you are the contacting agency between our Government and U. N. R. R. A.

Also at this time—and this is the first time, I think, you have appeared before our committee—I wish to say that I personally feel the President did a very wise thing when he consolidated all of these various agencies in dealing with foreign countries in an economic way by placing them under one organization rather than having duplication, and I have said to your back and I will say to your face that I am glad you were chosen to head it.

Mr. CROWLEY. Thank you.

Mr. JOHNSON. I believe that is all I have to say, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That is very good. Dr. Eaton, you say "Amen" to that?

Dr. EATON. Amen.

The CHAIRMAN. And what else?

Dr. EATON. Very little, except to say that I, for one, as a citizen, was greatly pleased when Mr. Crowley entered this picture, for the simple reason that he is as good inside as he looks outside, which is the highest compliment I could pay him.

Mr. CROWLEY. Thank you.

Dr. EATON. Mr. Crowley, as I understand your position, or the position of your organization, no money can be appropriated directly to U. N. R. R. A. by our Congress; it must be appropriated to your organization as the over-all distributor of largess to the world, conse-



quently when U. N. R. R. A. needs money it will come to you for it, and you have the funds. You are the bank.

Mr. CROWLEY. What we would have, Doctor, would be the money to buy what supplies U. N. R. R. A. might request, and then we would work with the Combined Boards to determine whether those supplies could be furnished or not.

Dr. EATON. Yes. You were going to ask for \$500,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That is to the end of this fiscal year.

Dr. EATON. That fund will then be in the possession of your organization and under your jurisdiction?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is correct.

Dr. EATON. So that when U. N. R. R. A. requires any portion of that \$500,000,000, then they will come to your organization, explain their needs, and you decide whether their prayers will be granted, or do you hand the money over?

Mr. CROWLEY. It will be our job, within the limitation of supply, to provide the American share of the supplies required by U. N. R. R. A. for the liberated areas.

Dr. EATON. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Crowley, I think the people are very glad that you were selected for the position that you have. I am going along the line of the others.

I think, Mr. Crowley, you are competing with the Speaker. I understand he is taking the floor downstairs just at the moment, within a few minutes. Would you be willing to come back and answer questions at a later date? There are one or two I would like to ask now, if it is the plan of the committee to sit.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Crowley is here. Proceed.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Crowley, how many of the materials for this rehabilitation program will come from America, I mean our resources of raw materials?

Mr. CROWLEY. Let me get the question again.

#### UNITED STATES AS A SOURCE OF SUPPLY

Mrs. ROGERS. How many of the materials for this rehabilitation program will be given by the United States? I am speaking a good deal of the natural resources, such as iron, copper.

Mr. CROWLEY. I do not think that could be determined yet, until you first determine the needs, and then determine the best possible place to get the source of supply.

Mrs. ROGERS. I knew that you were looking out for our country, and protecting it in the matter of its natural resources.

Mr. CROWLEY. I do not think you can make any decision on that until you find out what the demands of Mr. Lehman may be.

Mrs. ROGERS. But so long as you are there that protection will be given to the country?

Mr. CROWLEY. So far as I can.

Mrs. ROGERS. Do you know of any way that the resources of this Nation coming from the mines all over the country can be replaced?



Mr. CROWLEY. No.

Mrs. ROGERS. Since they cannot be replaced, do you think it is wise as a national policy to contribute our natural resources for the use of any other country?

Mr. CROWLEY. I think whatever is in our own national interest, and in the interest of our Allies, should be provided for the liberated areas.

Mrs. ROGERS. Do you believe that the strength of a nation, regardless of any political world organization of the future, depends very largely on its source of natural resources?

Mr. CROWLEY. Do you mean the strength of our own country?

Mrs. ROGERS. I am speaking of any nation now. Our special interest is our own Nation.

Mr. CROWLEY. That is right. I believe that this Nation should support U. N. R. R. A.'s work in the liberated areas as a matter of obvious self-interest and security.

Mrs. ROGERS. Is there not a possibility that this Nation will become weakened to the extent of actually threatening its security by foolishly giving any of its natural resources?

Mr. CROWLEY. No; I do not believe there is any such possibility. The amount recommended by the Council as the United States share is well within our capacity to provide. There will be no foolish giving while I have any part in the program.

Mrs. ROGERS. What nation is to supply the labor for the rebuilding?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is in Mr. Lehman's hands.

Mrs. ROGERS. Thank you very much. I have further questions but I will ask them later.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers reserves the balance of her time.

Mr. McMurray.

Mr. McMURRAY. No questions, except that I might also pay a compliment to Mr. Crowley on the successful job that I know he is doing. I might boast a little before the committee. I suppose all of you people know that Mr. Crowley comes from Wisconsin.

The CHAIRMAN. I was waiting for that. When I saw you go out I was worried.

Mr. McMURRAY. We are very proud of the fact.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chipperfield.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. I have. I think, only one question: It is not clear in my mind when U. N. R. R. A. requests funds from you, whether you have the final decision or not whether those funds shall be granted.

Mr. CROWLEY. I think this, that the Combined Boards and the United States constituent agencies have the final decision on the supply questions; but certainly we will work with the Combined Boards and the United States allocation agencies to determine whether we can spare that material, and whether it should be procured here and so on and so forth.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. And of course that advice would carry great weight probably with the Combined Boards' decision?

Mr. CROWLEY. I would think so.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. Thank you very kindly.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rogers.

Mr. ROGERS of California. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.

## ROLE OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION IN RELIEF AND REHABILITATION OPERATIONS

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Crowley, I share the high regard that others have mentioned, and you have my deep sympathy and high hopes that you can make some sense out of something here that I confess I cannot see through.

You are the head of Foreign Economic Administration?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is right, sir.

Mr. VORYS. And under you is lend-lease, and do they still call it O. E. W.?

Mr. CROWLEY. It is all consolidated now in Federal Economic Administration, but that did include O. E. W.

Mr. VORYS. But the functions of our Government that were conducted under O. E. W. and B. E. W. are under you?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is right.

Mr. VORYS. Do you still have under you O. F. R. R. O.?

Mr. CROWLEY. Yes; that has been consolidated in Foreign Economic Administration.

Mr. VORYS. Are we still going to have O. F. R. R. O. along with U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. CROWLEY. No. You see, O. F. R. R. O., O. E. W. and Lend-lease have all been consolidated into one agency. All their functions are in one agency.

Dr. EATON. Will the gentleman yield?

What is that first?

Mr. CROWLEY. O. F. R. R. O., Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is gone now.

Mr. VORYS. Have we still any function such as O. F. R. R. O.?

Mr. CROWLEY. When the Office of Foreign Relief was set up, there was no U. N. R. R. A. After U. N. R. R. A. is organized, a large part of the functions of O. F. R. R. O. will be transferred to it.

Mr. VORYS. A large part? One hundred percent, is that not true?

Mr. CROWLEY. Yes; practically 100 percent.

Mr. VORYS. Why not 100 percent? Are we going to furnish foreign relief and rehabilitation in addition to what U. N. R. R. A. does any place in the world?

Mr. CROWLEY. No; not after U. N. R. R. A. is fully organized and functioning, but you will have certain coordination and things like that in the various offices of Federal Economic Administration. But as far as distributing relief is concerned, all of the distribution, as I understand it, is probably to be made through U. N. R. R. A., the armed forces, or national government or authorities in conjunction with U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. VORYS. This coordination is the thing that stumps me. Are there still going to be any employees in your organization who are dealing with foreign relief and rehabilitation analyzing, coordinating, or doing anything else about that after we have U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. CROWLEY. Undoubtedly a part of our organization will be used in handling these requests that come from U. N. R. R. A., but not in the distribution of any of this relief. That is all under Governor Lehman and U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. VORYS. Well, you are going to——

Mr. CROWLEY. Let me say this to you. I think you want to keep your country in a position to make its contribution on the same basis as England and the other member governments-participating in U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. VORYS. As I understand it, we have a member of the Council on U. N. R. R. A., a very distinguished member, who was the chairman of U. N. R. R. A. at Atlantic City, and he comes from the Department of State, and that is Mr. Acheson.

Mr. CROWLEY. That is correct.

Mr. VORYS. I would imagine that he would be our representative in U. N. R. R. A., and a very competent one and very capable one, both protecting our interests and seeing that U. N. R. R. A. got ahead. Now, does he have to screen through your organization?

Mr. CROWLEY. What do you mean, by screening through?

Mr. VORYS. That is what I am trying to get straight. U. N. R. R. A. says we need some money, or we need some stuff, and they turn to a country, and I would think they would go through and present the thing first through a member of the Council of U. N. R. R. A. Is that not correct?

Mr. CROWLEY. Certainly the members of the Council of U. N. R. R. A. are the men who are going to formulate the general policies of U. N. R. R. A. just as any board of directors would create the policies for any corporation. They are the ones who are going to pass on the policies.

Mr. VORYS. Then U. N. R. R. A. goes to the Combined Boards to get stuff, is that not right?

Mr. CROWLEY. Yes. Now let me say this to you, so you may understand my position. There is no difference of opinion between Mr. Acheson and myself. I feel very definitely that there should be and must be one uniform foreign policy in this country, and that should be established by the State Department.

Now, there is a difference between foreign policy and foreign economic operations. F. E. A. has been set up to deal with operations. The question of procuring materials in this country is not a State Department function. It should be done by an operating agency by F. E. A. or some other United States operating agency. F. E. A. will not do any procuring, you understand, until the Director General of U. N. R. R. A. makes a request. The Combined Boards do not represent this country exclusively. They represent all the nations.

Mr. VORYS. No; they represent just two nations.

Mr. CROWLEY. But they do not represent just us alone.

Mrs. VORYS. But the Combined Boards are made up of the British, and us, except in certain instance where it is British and Canadians and us, is that not right?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. VORYS. And U. N. R. R. A., representing 44 nations, is in many aspects a claimant nation before the Combined Boards, which represents two nations. Now, I thought that U. N. R. R. A. would present its claims to the Combined Boards through Governor Lehman. Now I find that U. N. R. R. A. is to present it to the Combined Boards through you. Is that correct?



Mr. CROWLEY. U. N. R. R. A. will go directly to the Combined Boards but we, of course, will be working closely with the Combined Boards.

Mr. VORYS. All you are is a claimant agency before the Combined Boards in deciding or in pleading what resources shall be distributed.

Mr. CROWLEY. We certainly will get a chance to advise the Boards as to whether we believe the United States should supply any commodities of any considerable amount.

Mr. VORYS. Well, when Governor Lehman, the head of U. N. R. R. A., says we need certain materials for all of U. N. R. R. A. that can only be obtained, we will say, in the United States, and he appears before the Combined Boards as a claimant on behalf of 44 nations, he is asking for something for all of the nations, and the Combined Boards are, we hope, thinking of our total needs as balanced against the world's needs. Now, do you appear there either to oppose or to support his claim?

Mr. CROWLEY. First, let me see if I can get your thought.

Mr. VORYS. I am just trying to find out how the thing is supposed to work.

Mr. CROWLEY. The Congress will make an appropriation for the United States' share for participation in the work of U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mr. CROWLEY. As I understand it, when it comes to the dollars and cents, it is likely to be about \$1,400,000,000 as against \$2,200,000,000.

Mr. VORYS. Is it going to be discretionary with F. E. A. as to whether we make our contribution to U. N. R. R. A. after the Congress, we will say, appropriates money for the American contribution to U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. CROWLEY. I think this, Congressman, that there are going to be a number of agencies in Government—War Food and others—that are going to have to be consulted as to materials and food that are to be acquired in this country for shipment to U. N. R. R. A. F. E. A. will be a kind of a clearing house on supply and related questions. You will have one agency in this country that acts as a clearing house on such supply and related questions.

Mr. VORYS. But the Combined Boards have representatives of W. P. B. and War Food and so forth on them, do they not?

Mr. CROWLEY. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. So that we have this anomalous situation of where 44 nations are asking for stuff, where we put up four-fifths of it, yet we have to get the consent of the British, that is the Combined Boards' operation, but we still have on the Combined Boards representatives of all of the American interests. Now, what I cannot see is, if that is a good thing, and if that protects our interest, why we need another agency to come in there, not as a claimant, because U. N. R. R. A. will be the claimant, but as a kibitzer to tell these people who already are presumed to represent our interest, and the people who already represent the foreign interests, what should be done as far as the United States is concerned. If the Combined Boards adequately represent us, we do not need you. If they do not adequately represent us, then we had better get rid of them. That is the thing that is in my mind.

Mr. CROWLEY. I did not intend to indicate that they should be got rid of at all. I think they perform a very useful service.



Mr. VORYS. I have wanted to get your explanation and your recommendations because I have a high regard for your opinion.

Mr. CROWLEY. I do want to say this: if you are going to use F. E. A. at all, I would like to have it definitely understood as to what its responsibilities are, because I do not want to be in the position of coming before this group and before the country and getting an appropriation and not knowing what our responsibilities are in connection with U. N. R. R. A. If F. E. A. is not to be used at all, that is perfectly all right, and if it is only to be a claimant agency, that is perfectly all right as long as it is spelled out.

Mr. VORYS. As to F. E. A., according to the Executive order creating it, its policies are all to be determined by the State Department.

Mr. CROWLEY. Matters of foreign policy are to be determined by the State Department, but not F. E. A.'s operating policies.

Mr. VORYS. That is the part I do not get through my head. You certainly would never organize a business on that basis.

The suggestion is made in the U. N. R. R. A. formula that at least 10 percent of every nation's contribution be made available for foreign exchange. Would it be your rule that the United States should limit its contribution to 10 percent available for foreign exchange and 90 percent available for domestic use, or what would be your view as to what our position would be?

Mr. CROWLEY. I do not think, Congressman, that I am in a position to answer that, because I do not think I am familiar enough with it. I am sure Mr. Acheson could answer that. I could not.

Mr. VORYS. I think that is all.

Mr. EATON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yielded to everybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I want to say first of all, Mr. Crowley, that I agree 100 percent with your statement that if you are to be the man coming before Congress asking for the money, you should have something to say about how it is going to be spent, because I think responsibilities should go with authority to handle these funds.

I am a little bit confused, I think perhaps as Mr. Vorys is, as to just how that responsibility is to be exercised. I wonder if it would be possible for you to furnish our committee with an administrative action chart as to just how, in your opinion, this whole procedure will work. Could you do that?

Mr. CROWLEY. I think so, but I would prefer to submit this explanation in the form of a statement rather than as a chart. It is too soon as yet to have this procedure completely formalized in a chart.

(The statement appears on page 218.)

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION AND STATE DEPARTMENT

Mr. CROWLEY. Let me say this to you gentlemen: In my experience in Government there is not any law or any Executive order that can operate any more efficiently than the spirit behind the people who are trying to make it operate. If everyone sits on his rights in government, you cannot get anything done at all.

I want to make this clear on our relationship with the State Department. Mr. Vorys said that he would not do this in business. As far as the State Department and F. E. A. are concerned, there is the closest kind of cooperation. As I view it, there are two distinct fields of action for F. E. A. and the State Department. Certainly they are interlocking and there must always be a very close relationship, because almost every move that F. E. A. would make might in some way affect the position of the State Department. F. E. A. is concerned with the administrative and operations end. But insofar as I am concerned, and insofar as Mr. Hull and his associates, we do not propose that F. E. A. would have a foreign policy of its own or go off the deep end. If the State Department said that it did not want us to adopt a particular program it would affect our foreign policy, certainly insofar as I would be concerned, I would be guided by its advice. We are the operating end of their foreign policy.

#### CONTROL OVER ALLOCATION OF UNITED STATES SUPPLIES TO U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Crowley, from the congressional standpoint it is equally important that we as the custodians of the public purse can look to one individual to hold him responsible, and it would not be fair to you for us to hold you responsible for the \$500,000,000 and the additional money as it comes along unless you did have something to say with regard to its expenditure. I think you are quite right in your position that if it is to be channeled through your office, and you are to be the man making the representations to Congress, you should have some authority, certainly, and responsibility with that expenditure.

Now, let me see whether this would be approximately how it would operate. Suppose U. N. R. R. A. decided that \$100,000,000 should be spent for wheat for the purposes of this act, and that our share figured up to be shall we guess, \$70,000,000, so that Mr. Acheson, or the Director General, would come to you, as I conceive it, and say, "Mr. Crowley, as Administrator of F. E. A., we need \$70,000,000 for this wheat." And you and your staff of experts would survey the representations that they make, and conclude that \$100,000,000 was too much for that purpose, that \$80,000,000 was enough, and that our portion, therefore, would be \$60,000,000. Is it your interpretation of the way this act would operate that you would be authorized to say, "You get only \$60,000,000 for that purpose?"

Mr. CROWLEY. Well, no. I think that if the Congress appropriates \$500,000,000 as our share of the contribution to U. N. R. R. A., the Foreign Economic Administration would not have any particular voice in the dollars and cents expenditures, Congressman. But supposing that Mr. Lehman said he wanted 1,000,000 bushels of wheat. We have the problem of wheat for lend-lease, and Mr. Jones has the problem of wheat for consumption in this country. Then certainly we would say to the Combined Boards, "Here is our recommendation on wheat, and this is what we think it ought to be." I feel the same way about iron ore, or any other commodity. Governor Lehman's job, as chairman of U. N. R. R. A., is to get all that material from wherever he may get it; it does not make a particle of difference to him where he gets it, because he is an international representative. His job will not be to

worry whether he takes too much wheat from us and not enough from someone else.

Mr. MUNDT. Then your control, as I understand it, is the exercise only as to the sources from which these materials are drawn, not to the amount of money—

Mr. CROWLEY. The United States control will be exercised through our representation on the Combined Boards.

Mr. MUNDT. The Board having determined that 100,000,000 bushels of wheat—to go back to the wheat in terms of bushels—are necessary, and the Board having determined that 70,000,000 bushels of that wheat should come from this country, and you with these other factors all before you having determined that we could ill afford to let loose of more than 50,000,000 bushels of wheat, there would be 2 sets of recommendations. Which, in the final analysis, would prevail?

Mr. CROWLEY. I don't believe there would be two different views, since the Combined Boards would not recommend any amount with which the American supply agency concerned would not agree.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; and to emphasize your judgment, is it not true that the only means you have of influencing that decision would be to withhold funds?

Mr. CROWLEY. No; because you understand that if we are the claiming agency we would be the ones to purchase the supplies. You see, undoubtedly this country will not give to Governor Lehman's organization a great deal of cash. It will be materials; and we will use the contribution from the Congress to pay for the materials.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will you yield right there?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. As I understand, your answer to Mr. Mundt is that your organization would determine whether or not this country could wisely afford to permit that volume of wheat to be taken from here without upsetting our own domestic economy?

Mr. CROWLEY. Well, that would be done, as I have explained, through the Combined Boards and the constituent United States allocating agencies working with F. E. A.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Mundt, would you yield for just one comment?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If you are going to yield to the member, Dr. Eaton and Mrs. Rogers have been waiting here.

Mr. MUNDT. It is up to the chairman; I am willing to yield. If it is just a short comment or question, I will be happy to yield.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to say that was a straight "no quorum" call, so we have time.

#### OFFICE OF FOREIGN RELIEF AND REHABILITATION OPERATION FUNCTIONS ASSUMED BY FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION

Dr. EATON. It was Mr. Vorys that I wanted to yield to me, though I am glad if Mr. Mundt will yield, because there is one point that was not cleared up. Mr. Vorys raised a question of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.

Now, Mr. Lehman was the head of that, and the purpose of that was to feed people abroad. That organization has been placed under Mr. Crowley's organization and authority. What I want to find out,



is that just a skeleton in the closet of Mr. Crowley's home, or is it a real living organism, and if it is a living organism, is Mr. Lehman still the head of it, and if so, then Mr. Lehman will have to appeal first from himself sober to himself drunk or vice versa. Can you clear that up, Mr. Crowley?

Mr. CROWLEY. Governor Lehman, as you say, was the head of it. When the office of Foreign Economic Administration was set up, then the Governor resigned, just prior to going to the Atlantic City meeting, and his Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations was placed under me, and it is under my direction now.

Dr. EATON. You are the head of it?

Mr. CROWLEY. Yes, sir.

Dr. EATON. Thank God. Is it going to function?

Mr. CROWLEY. I hope so.

It will function until Governor Lehman starts operating in U. N. R. R. A.

Dr. EATON. Then it will pass into the place where so many of these organizations go.

Mr. CROWLEY. That is right.

Dr. EATON. Thank you.

Mrs. ROGERS. Your testimony has made me more glad than ever that you hold the position that you do. Is there anything we could do by placing an amendment in this bill that would strengthen your hand? I see you as the one hope in the protection of our national resources and of our economic welfare.

Mr. CROWLEY. I appreciate that, Mrs. Rogers.

Mrs. ROGERS. In this whole set—

Mr. CROWLEY. I do not think there is any necessity for any amendment to the resolution.

Mrs. ROGERS. You feel you have the power you need at the present time?

Mr. CROWLEY. Yes.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. As I understand the situation, then, you will appear before the combined boards as a friend of the court on behalf of the United States?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is right, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON. From the economic angle.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

#### U. N. R. R. A. PLAN WILL REDUCE DEMANDS UPON UNITED STATES SUPPLIES

Mr. MUNDT. I wish you would give us a little detailed information as to the facts upon which the following statement from your printed remarks is made, Mr. Crowley: "The U. N. R. R. A. plan, in fact, by drawing more directly on resources of other countries, will in effect reduce the present call on the United States." My question being this: Is it your belief that under the operation of U. N. R. R. A. there is going to be less demand upon the resources of this country than as of the present?

Mr. CROWLEY. I would think that what is meant by this, Congressman, is that as rapidly as U. N. R. R. A. can get functioning in getting people back to producing for themselves, that you will lessen certainly the demand from the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Oscar Cox.



Mr. Cox (general counsel, Office of Foreign Economic Administration). In addition to that, as far as the supplementary aid for the emergency period is concerned, the other 44 united and associated nations will be making contributions direct, either in terms of supplies or funds or both, which would mean that the call on the United States, both in terms of supplies and funds would be proportionately reduced to the extent that the other 44 nations contribute.

Mr. MUNDT. To what fund will those savings accrue, to lend-lease, or to this O. F. R. R. O.

Mr. Cox. No; the savings to the United States would accrue because less money and less resources would be contributed by the United States. In other words, if Brazil makes a contribution of food supplies direct to U. N. R. R. A., it reduces proportionately the contribution made by the United States and the other contributing nations from the supply and financial end. If a nation does not have the supply and contributes the funds of U. N. R. R. A. to a third country other than the United States, it would reduce the effect on the United States two ways, one in terms of the dollar expenditures appropriated to an American agency for the use of U. N. R. R. A., the other from a supply standpoint, in that the supplies would be procured in a third country. Even from the standpoint of the noncontributing country, if a country such as France, as the indications are, is able to pay in dollars, it would reduce the financial call on the United States.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I am not entirely clear on the administrative position or relationship as yet between Mr. Crowley and the Congress, but I do not believe we can clear it by this kind of questioning. I think it would be very helpful if Mr. Crowley would prepare this chart that I have mentioned, and trace an action clear through for us. Then we can understand it better.

Mr. CROWLEY. The statement will be prepared for insertion in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to state there, Mr. Crowley, that of course we are to give the Appropriations Committee the authorization to enable the funds to be appropriated. Of course, this committee, before they can give the authorization, as you see from the questions that have been asked, ought to get that information so that we can authorize the appropriation to be made, and that is what is in the minds of the members of the committee.

The Chair would like to state at this time, being that the bells have rung and we will have to be on the floor, Mr. Crowley, you have an idea of what is in the minds of the gentlemen here that have asked these questions, and we will recess until tomorrow morning at 10:30, when Mr. Lehman will be here, and then will you kindly come back at some other time to give any information to this committee that we ask for?

Mr. CROWLEY. I will be glad to do that, to put that statement in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear it.

At 10:30 tomorrow Mr. Lehman will be here. Kindly be on time. We will start promptly at 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:50 o'clock the committee adjourned until 10:30 a. m., the following day.)

# TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will kindly come to order.

We have as our guest this morning Hon. Herbert Lehman, Director General of U. N. R. R. A., and the Governor has a statement which he would like to read, and then he will be very pleased to try to answer any questions that the members of the committee would like to ask him. Governor Lehman, proceed, please.

## STATEMENT OF HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN, DIRECTOR GENERAL, UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Governor LEHMAN. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, it is with great pleasure that I respond to your invitation to appear before you and to speak about the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The Council of U. N. R. R. A., at its first session which closed recently at Atlantic City, did me the honor of appointing me Director General. By that act, they delegated to me the executive authority of U. N. R. R. A. and made me responsible to the member governments as a group for the conduct of relief and rehabilitation operations. I come before you, therefore, not as an individual or as a representative of the United States alone, but as the representative of 44 united and associated nations—nations from all quarters of the globe, of all races and creeds, and ranging in size from the more than 400,000,000 people of China to the 140,000 people of Iceland.

The purpose of the conference at Atlantic City, to which all of these countries sent their delegates, was to work out the implementation of the agreement which was signed at the White House on November 9. In the course of its three weeks of deliberation the Council established the basic policies which are to guide the operations of U. N. R. R. A. It is now the opportunity and the responsibility of the executive of U. N. R. R. A. to see that these policies are carried out and that adequate preparations are made for the succor of the millions

of victims of Nazi and Japanese barbarism. I have a great sense of this responsibility in addressing you.

#### IMPORTANCE OF U. N. R. R. A.

The importance of this enterprise for the relief and rehabilitation of the victims of war needs no new emphasis from me. The concern which we all share for its success goes without saying. If the problem of relief and rehabilitation were isolated, without implication or bearing upon other problems, the responsibility for its successful solution would still be staggering. But it is not and cannot be isolated. The success of U. N. R. R. A. will not only immediately affect the lives of millions of human beings but will also have repercussions on the conduct of the war and upon the peace and economy of the world after the war.

The peoples of the occupied countries have been encouraged to continue their heroic resistance to the enemy by the hope that upon liberation their urgent needs will be recognized and met. The contribution which their resistance has made and will make to the actual waging of the war is incalculable; they know and will follow the plans which have been made and the steps which have been and will be taken to prepare for the relief of their sufferings and the rehabilitation of their lives.

The success of our undertaking will, moreover, be a demonstration that cooperative action by all the United Nations and associated governments is possible. For the first time, a definite program of joint action has been outlined. The delegates of the governments have with unfailing goodwill and in a harmonious spirit of collaboration agreed upon operating principles. These, however, are but the frame within which action is to be taken. The steps to be taken now will determine whether this undertaking will succeed; they may also determine whether any common enterprise of the United Nations can succeed, can progress from the talking stage to the acting stage. If U. N. R. R. A. succeeds, the world will know that international co-operation is possible, that common interests can be stronger than separate differences. Having done it once, the United Nations will have more confidence that they can do it again. The habit will have been formed. If U. N. R. R. A. should fail, there is grave doubt that any collaboration of the United Nations can survive the test of practical application.

#### MAGNITUDE OF THE TASK

The magnitude of the task that confronts us is, as we all know, unprecedented. The enormous suffering and privation already visited upon the occupied countries have been described many times. I will not attempt to describe it again. I will only point out that the destruction, suffering, and privation will undoubtedly increase in intensity as the Axis hordes withdraw step by step before the liberating armies of the United Nations.

It is not only quantitatively, however, that the economic needs of the liberated areas are and will be unique. Both individually and as a group their needs will be qualitatively different from those countries



which have not known the horrors of occupation. The latter will continue to function within the general economic setting in which they have been functioning. The liberated areas in contrast will have to be amputated from their economic ties with the Axis and immediately grafted into the economic orbit of the non-Axis world. Quite aside from the repairs to their productive apparatus that will be necessitated by the ravages of the enemy, the whole structure of their economies, their productive patterns, distributive mechanisms, credit institutions, monetary systems, and so forth, will have been disrupted and will need reorientation if they are to serve the primary needs of their debilitated populations and the United Nations war effort. Economic dislocations so vast are unique in the history of the world. The major effort to reconvert the liberated areas from an integral part of the Axis war machine to their former state as part of a peaceful world economy must of course come from within the liberated areas themselves. But this effort must have immediate outside assistance if it is to succeed in a way that will best promote the interests of an interdependent world economy.

It is to assist in meeting these needs, both quantitatively and qualitatively unique, that the United Nations and associated governments have created a special agency charged with the framing of policies for the relief and rehabilitation of the liberated areas and with the translation of these policies into action.

You have before you copies of the resolutions embodying these policies which were adopted by the U. N. R. R. A. Council at its first session. These resolutions, 41 in number, show in detail U. N. R. R. A.'s approach, the approach of the 44 member governments as a group, to the problem of relief and rehabilitation. I should like at this time to indicate in brief outline the guiding principles which lie behind this approach, the functions which U. N. R. R. A. is to perform in translating the policies into action and the approach into achievement, and finally the organization which has been and is being established for this purpose.

#### U. N. R. R. A.'S GUIDING PRINCIPLES

At the outset I want to stress three of U. N. R. R. A.'s guiding principles. The first is that U. N. R. R. A. must at all times help others to help themselves. Without exception, the nations which have suffered the direct devastation of war do not want charity; they want only the chance and the means to work out their own problems. We must all recognize that the life and strength of these countries can be restored only if they rehabilitate themselves, through their own efforts. The second guiding principle is that U. N. R. R. A.'s resources, greatly limited as they will be in relation to the ravages wrought by years of modern war, must be used only to meet the most pressing needs. They must not be dissipated in financing long-range reconstruction projects, however sound and praiseworthy they may be. The third guiding principle is that the success of U. N. R. R. A. must be measured by the speed with which it is able to liquidate itself; the sooner it becomes unnecessary, the greater will have been its accomplishment.



## TYPES OF ACTIVITY

The two principal types of activity in which U. N. R. R. A. will engage are, one, obtaining or assisting in the obtaining of relief and rehabilitation supplies, and, two, furnishing or assisting in the furnishing of technical and expert services.

So long as the war continues, and for some period afterward, the world demand for supplies of all kinds, food, clothing, medical supplies, agricultural equipment, fuel, and so forth will exceed the amount available. Everyone recognizes that the materials needed for direct war purposes must have first priority and that the essential needs of the civilian populations that are directly supporting the war effort must be met. It will be the work of the U. N. R. R. A. to try to see that the largest possible amount of supplies is made available for relief and rehabilitation purposes, and that the supplies so available are fairly and equitably allocated to and among those who need them. Some of the occupied countries are in a position, financially, to pay for a large part or all of the relief and rehabilitation supplies which they will need. Others have very limited financial resources now available and therefore will depend directly upon U. N. R. R. A.'s financial assistance. U. N. R. R. A.'s purpose, recognized by all member governments, is to assure that available supplies are allocated to and among the liberated areas according to need, not according to ability to buy without outside financial assistance. The importance of this should not be overlooked; it is an extraordinary step by which the occupied nations have subordinated their competitive positions to the common good of all nations.

As a necessary part of its undertaking, U. N. R. R. A. will collaborate with the governments of occupied areas in compiling estimates of the basic relief and rehabilitation requirements of those areas. Much work of this type has already been done, and the accuracy of the estimates is constantly improving as more information filters out of the occupied territories. Such estimates will be transmitted to the combined boards so that the needs of liberated areas may be considered in conjunction with all other global needs, military and civilian. This procedure has two great advantages: first, the needs of all liberated and to be liberated areas can be computed according to a common standard, thus insuring equality, and second, prospective needs will be before the allocating agencies to guide them in planning production and allocation.

## PROCUREMENT OF SUPPLIES

The activities of U. N. R. R. A. in relation to the actual procurement of supplies will be more limited. Those countries which will be in a position to do their own buying will do so, both in the United States and elsewhere, through established channels and, where appropriate, under allocations of the allocating agencies. Their programs will be communicated in advance to U. N. R. R. A., which will make any comments or objections which seem appropriate in order to make those programs conform to the principle of equitable treatment for all. Such comments or objections will be made to the appropriate control bodies, and those bodies will take them into account in acting on the proposed purchase programs. U. N. R. R. A. will be directly

concerned with procurement in only two types of cases, one, procurement for countries which have no funds or facilities with which to do their own purchasing, and two, procurement or over-all stock piles in advance of liberation to be immediately available when need arises in any particular area after its liberation. In no case will U. N. R. R. A. buy directly if appropriate national agencies exist to perform this function; it will act through such agencies.

#### NECESSITY FOR CREATING STOCKPILES

The necessity for creating now appropriate stock piles of some urgently needed goods cannot be too strongly emphasized. The dangers of too little and too late are nowhere greater than in the field of relief supplies. A typhus epidemic will not wait while supplies are accumulated, a starving child will not be helped by a promise of food in a few months. Food cannot be grown and transported, clothing cannot be manufactured, medical supplies and soap cannot be made available in a few days or in a few weeks. The experience of war production has shown that many months are needed to fill the pipe lines to the front. The time lag between a decision to provide supplies and their delivery is long. It is only by advance planning and procurement, by having supplies ready when and where they are needed, that an effective job can be done. Further, the need for relief supplies may not evolve gradually but may come suddenly in great volume. A rapid collapse of the war in Europe must be taken into account as a possibility, with its attendant needs for large quantities of supplies. The impact of such needs must be spread over as long a period as possible, and this can be done only by advance procurement and gradual accumulation of supplies.

In addition, it must be recalled that these countries which have been in a position to buy supplies against their future needs have largely foregone the building up of their own stock piles, relying upon the establishment of over-all reserves to be available for all as need arises. U. N. R. R. A. and its member governments must keep faith with them. Some work has already been started toward the accumulation of such reserves, but it is only a start. Much more must be done if they are to be ready when the need arises. For this reason, the Director General is directed, by a resolution of the U. N. R. R. A. Council, to consider the creation of available reserves of supplies as "one of his first and most important tasks."

With regard to U. N. R. R. A.'s supply activities, I need only add one more point, that they will relate not only to direct consumer goods, like food, clothing, and medicine, but also to supplies needed to reestablish essential production in liberated areas, such as seed, fertilizer, fishing equipment, machinery and spare parts. Only with such supplies can the liberated territories be placed in a position to help themselves at the earliest possible date. Only through them can U. N. R. R. A. liquidate itself in the shortest period of time.

#### EXPERT AND TECHNICAL SERVICES

The other principal type of activity of U. N. R. R. A. will be in the field of expert and technical services. During the period prior to liberation experts on U. N. R. R. A.'s staff can play an active

part in formulating careful plans for the technical aspects of the relief and rehabilitation work and in the training of necessary foreign personnel and nationals of the areas to be liberated so that they can carry out those plans when liberation comes. Thus, with U. N. R. R. A.'s assistance, men and women can be schooled in advance in the techniques of epidemic control, sanitation, and other public health measures, of essential relief and welfare services for the care and feeding of children and other dependent groups, of agricultural rehabilitation and other measures designed to restore production for essential relief needs as quickly as possible.

After liberation, experts on U. N. R. R. A.'s staff and those trained by them can go into the liberated areas, advising and helping in the many technical problems that will be presented. In some areas U. N. R. R. A.'s staff need act only in an advisory capacity, making available when requested the latest and best technical information and practices. In other areas, U. N. R. R. A. may find it necessary to establish and maintain for a temporary period a sizable field force to engage in direct operations until enough local personnel can be trained to take over their work.

With respect to displaced persons particularly, assistance of U. N. R. R. A.'s staff will be urgently required. The end of the war will find many millions of such persons, men, women, and children—forced laborers, the homeless, the persecuted. Plans must be formulated and procedures coordinated for their repatriation or return to their homes. No group is an easier prey to epidemics than a horde of refugees who necessarily lack even the rudiments of shelter or sanitation facilities and often will be without adequate clothing. No one element could cause more confusion than these people if, in an unplanned, uncoordinated way, they all started to return to their homes. U. N. R. R. A.'s technical staff will be available to assist in caring for these people until they can be returned and in formulating plans to assure that their return can be effectuated as quickly as possible.

#### RELATIONS WITH OTHER AGENCIES AND THE MILITARY

One point I wish to make clear. U. N. R. R. A. will make a constant effort to avoid and prevent any overlapping or duplication of functions with agencies and facilities already in existence. Thus, in any area or country in which the local authorities are able to handle matters, U. N. R. R. A.'s activities will be at a minimum. Complete cooperation and integration of functions will be established, moreover, with the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture, the Red Cross, and the many voluntary relief organizations that are preparing to conduct operations in liberated areas.

No description of the relief and rehabilitation functions to be performed by U. N. R. R. A. would be complete without relating them to the functions to be performed by the military forces within the areas liberated by them. During the period of military operations and while military necessities exist, the primary responsibility for any activities in a liberated area will be that of the military forces. U. N. R. R. A. will render all possible assistance to the military in the development of relief and rehabilitation plans for the military period,



making available whatever information and facilities it may have at its disposal. If the military forces should call on U. N. R. R. A. for personnel or other assistance, it will be furnished to the extent practicable. If U. N. R. R. A. should be asked to take over responsibility for certain activities within a liberated area during the period of military control, it will do so if it can. It is recognized that an orderly and smooth continuance of relief activities in an area requires that a harmonious integrated plan be developed between the military command and the civilians who will take over responsibility when military necessities have ceased. To this end U. N. R. R. A. will plan for and will be prepared to operate in the period when the military has relinquished control, standing ready in the meanwhile to be of whatever service it can when requested by the military authorities.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF U. N. R. R. A.

The organization which has been and will be established to perform the functions that I have been describing is provided for in the U. N. R. R. A. agreement, together with the Council resolutions now before you. The foundation of that organization is the Council which is to meet not less than twice a year and which acts in general as a policy-making body defining the broad principles to govern U. N. R. R. A.'s activities. In Atlantic City the Council performed much of its work through a series of committees and subcommittees, all having a wide international representation. The successful way in which those committees and subcommittees performed their work, the thoughtful resolutions which they developed through prolonged discussion and exchange of ideas, hold forth great promise for future Council sessions and indeed for all international collaboration.

By way of example I should like to refer to the resolution and report that was developed by the subcommittee of the council on policies relating to agricultural rehabilitation and other means of raising food essential to relief. The chairman of the subcommittee was a member of the Soviet delegation, the vice chairman was the member of the Council for Costa Rica, the rapporteur or drafting officer, a representative of the United Kingdom. Representatives of 35 other countries sat upon the subcommittee, with the representatives of the United States, China, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, France, Canada, Australia, Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador, Poland, and Ethiopia taking active part in the discussion. Each paragraph of the report, on which the resolution was based, was discussed line by line. All were heard; the final version had the approval of all. The report and resolution, therefore, constitute an expression of the combined wisdom of the United Nations concerning just what should and what should not be attempted by U. N. R. R. A. in programs for the restoration of essential food production in the liberated areas.

During the period between sessions of the Council provision has been made for continuing international cooperation of this type through the establishment of standing committees of the Council. These include the Central Committee, which is empowered to make emergency decisions when the Council is not in session, the Committee on Supplies, the Committee for Europe, and the Committee for the Far East. In addition to these, which are specifically provided



for by the agreement, a number of standing technical committees have also been established. These are the committees on financial control, agriculture, displaced persons, health, industrial rehabilitation, and welfare. It is expected that each of these committees will consist of representatives of the member governments who are particularly experienced in the technical field with which the particular committee is concerned.

While these committees can be expected to be of continual help in bringing to bear the accumulated experience and skill of many nations upon the problems that lie ahead of U. N. R. R. A., they will confine their activities largely to the formulation of policy proposals. It is recognized that the policies so developed cannot be successfully brought to fruition by committee action. It is for this reason that under the agreement the Director General is vested with the executive authority of U. N. R. R. A., having full power and authority to carry out relief operations "within the limits of available resources and the broad policies determined by the Council or its Central Committee."

As Director General, I am now setting out to build an administrative organization to carry out the policy decisions of the Council and the responsibilities placed upon the Director General by the U. N. R. R. A. agreement. I shall attempt to assemble for this purpose the most competent staff available. It is my hope that this staff will be truly international, representing in its make-up the diverse skills and experience of the various member governments.

#### IMPORTANCE OF THE TASK

Let me in conclusion once more emphasize the importance of the task that confronts us. Part of our opportunity is to help speed the victory. While the fighting continues, the relief of civilians in liberated areas—and the assurance of relief to civilians in areas yet to be liberated—is a vital military necessity.

But the war will not be over when the last gun is fired. Just as those of us who have suffered no physical harm have the highest obligation to care for and rehabilitate the men in the armed forces who have offered their lives and given their blood for our protection, so the nations which have not undergone the direct sufferings of war have a continuing obligation to assist in binding up the wounds and reestablishing the lives of those countries which have suffered enemy occupation and have undergone the hardest ordeal for the common good while we were spared. We owe it to ourselves, it seems to me, to attempt to preserve the great human resources of all the United Nations for participation in a genuinely free society. We must provide opportunity for those who have suffered to return to at least minimum standards of health, efficiency, and confidence if chaos, anarchy, and new tyrannies are to be avoided.

Economic aid to the liberated countries is, furthermore, essential to the long-term economic security of all countries. The interdependence of all countries is such that it would imperil the prosperity and security of all if the areas liberated by our armies continued rife with unemployment, inflation, unrest, disease, and other consequences of economic and social disorganization. Despite existing tem-

porary shortages in supply, markets must be created and maintained for our greatly expanded industrial and agricultural production. Normal channels of world trade must be restored and expanded as quickly as possible if we are to have a world of free men engaged in free enterprise—an economy producing and consuming to the full extent of its potentialities and its needs.

U. N. R. R. A. is finally, as has been stressed above, the first great test of the capacity of the present world partnership of the United Nations and associated governments to achieve a peace-time goal. It represents a first bold attempt to the free peoples to develop efficient habits of working together. It is now up to all of us to prove that it is not only for war and destruction but also for help and healing that nations can be united to act for the common good. Then will peace have her victory no less than war.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, I want to compliment you on that speech.

I regret, Governor, very much, that you have covered the subject so well that you just destroyed all possibility of some of the members asking any questions, but we are going to try anyway.

Mr. JOHNSON.

Mr. EATON. Why do we not begin with the chairman asking questions?

The CHAIRMAN. So far as the chairman is concerned, now that you ask that question—and that was not arranged between us, Governor—I am ready to vote. I do not want to ask any questions, so far as I am concerned. No; we will start off with Mr. Luther Johnson, because he has been in the habit of doing these things. Say some nice things!

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I think you have already said the nice things, and, I feel sure, reflect the feeling of all the membership of this committee in complimenting Governor Lehman upon his very fine statement in describing so graphically and so eloquently the scope and aim of this international organization of which he is the head.

I want to say, Governor Lehman, that it was my privilege, as one of the members of this committee, to attend the last session of the Council in Atlantic City, and I heard the speeches made on that occasion, and I want to express to you personally what I have said when you were not present, that I was very much impressed by the speech which you made describing the work which is to be done.

There is one sentence of your speech that you made there that I shall always remember, because I think it in one sentence describes the purpose and aim of U. N. R. R. A., and that is that "It is to help people help themselves." That is the quotation from your speech in the closing session of the U. N. R. R. A. Council.

I am impressed by your statement this morning with reference to the necessity for early action with reference to setting up our participation in U. N. R. R. A. As you have so well pointed out, the psychological effect right now of getting this thing started is going to be very fine upon the people of the occupied countries in knowing that the rest of the world is interested in their welfare and their rehabilitation, and to help them to have strength to carry on until liberation comes.

Furthermore, that we must be prepared, when the end comes, to furnish this relief and rehabilitation, because, as you say, when the last gun is fired the war is not ended. There is an interim there in which chaos and confusion will reign unless some such organization as this is set up to take care of the gigantic problems that will confront us with these millions of people away from their homes to be restored, and the threat of disease.

Personally, I think that the more you study the question of U. N. R. R. A. and what its plans are, the more we are impressed with not only its necessity but the necessity for immediate and early action by our Government. I am glad that you have been chosen as Director General of this great humanitarian organization.

I believe that is all I care to say, Mr. Chairman. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you wish to answer that?

Governor LEHMAN. I express my appreciation.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you would want to say "yes."

Dr. Eaton, what can you do?

Dr. EATON. What can anyone do who comes after the king?

I want to express my personal delight as a citizen in having the privilege of listening to the penetrating and lucid analysis of this whole world situation which the Governor has given to us today. Personally, I consider this U. N. R. R. A. proposal one of the great historic events of human history. It is the first time that 44 nations have united for a humane object, and after destroying the accumulated wealth of a thousand years and the cultures of 2,000 by the processes of war, how wonderful it is that they are beginning to get together upon the basis of a humane objective.

I rejoice in that, even though I am a Republican and have the narrow views characteristic of that cult.

How was that, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Dr. EATON. Thank you. I appreciate the exercise of American freedom.

Mr. Governor, you mentioned several times indirectly and once directly the question of liquidating U. N. R. R. A. About how long do you think U. N. R. R. A. will have to proceed before liquidation begins?

Governor LEHMAN. Of course, it is impossible to make an estimate with accuracy, but I would hope that the major part of the work would be completed within 2 years.

#### PROCEDURE FOR PROCURING SUPPLIES

Dr. EATON. Now just a practical question. Yesterday we had a distinguished gentleman come before this committee. We seem to have a plethora of distinguished gentlemen coming before this committee. Yesterday Mr. Crowley left us in rather an uncertain condition of mind—at least he did me—as to just who is the final authority in the purchase of these supplies. He admitted with pleasure that the organization of which your distinguished self was the head, the objective being to feed people, had been absorbed into his new organization, and I was asking him if it was there as a skeleton in the



cupboard or as a living reality, and if it was a living reality if Governor Lehman was still the head of that and the head of this, and then in my bemused condition I could not quite follow him. He had various boards that had to be approached, and then the supply of your new organization would have to be decided upon by his organization before you could get the supplies.

I would like to see this U. N. R. R. A. liberated from the hateful red tape of bureaucracy, just as the Lord said when He took the man out of the grave and said, "Loose him and let him go." I have confidence enough in your great ability and experience to steer the ship into good waters and a safe haven. Will you tell us just how you are going to get these supplies and how many bosses you are going to have?

Governor LEHMAN. Well, possibly I could read from this resolution our policy—

Dr. EATON. Oh, we have been reading from that for the last 3 days, and we have had a very skilled interpreter.

Governor LEHMAN. It sets forth the procedure that was adopted at Atlantic City. It is on page 4, resolution 1.

It will be an essential part of the functions of the Administration to secure a fair distribution of goods which are in short supply and of shipping services to and among the various areas liberated or to be liberated. For this purpose the Administration must have full knowledge of all the relief and rehabilitation import requirements of such areas, whatever arrangements may be contemplated for procurement or finance. Therefore, member governments shall keep the Administration fully informed of their requirements and programs of intended purchases. The Director General may present to the intergovernmental allocating agencies such recommendations or objections as he may deem necessary to obtain a fair distribution to and among both liberated and to be liberated areas. The Director General will present before the intergovernmental allocating agencies the over-all requirements for relief and rehabilitation of all areas liberated and to be liberated in order to permit a global consideration of these needs with all other needs. He may also present the particular requirements of any country for which the assistance of the Administration has been requested. It is anticipated that the Director General and, where necessary, the Chairman of the Committee on Supplies, will be fully consulted by the intergovernmental allocating agencies when any matter touching the interests of the Administration is under discussion.

In order that the supplies allocated by the appropriate intergovernmental agency against requirements presented and supported by the Administration may be procured expeditiously and without duplication of effort, the Director General, after consultation, where necessary, with the appropriate intergovernmental agency, will make use wherever possible of the established national agencies concerned with the procurement, handling, storage, and transport of supplies. The member governments to which such national agencies are responsible would agree on their part to put the services of such agencies at the disposal of the Administration. Such additional responsibilities would form part of those already undertaken in prosecuting the war effort of the United Nations.

Now, of course, I want to make it clear that as an international official I have no right to suggest to any government, this or any of the other members, the manner in which they should procure supplies or provide the finances necessary for the procurement of supplies and services. The procedure as outlined, however, would be that all requirements come to U. N. R. R. A. in the first instance. These are combined so that a clear picture can be had with regard to the requirements for relief and rehabilitation within all the areas liberated or to be liberated. These requirement schedules will then be presented to the intergovernmental allocating bodies, known as the Combined



Boards. In the case of those countries which will require financial assistance from U. N. R. R. A., or in the case of efforts to secure stock piles in advance of liberation for use in any area after its liberation, the requirements will be presented by U. N. R. R. A. to the Combined Boards.

In the case of those countries which have resources of their own in the form of convertible foreign exchange and which can pay for the goods, their requirements will also be submitted, in the first instance, to U. N. R. R. A., for comment and recommendation to the allocating boards. Thereafter they will be presented to the Combined Boards by the countries themselves, with U. N. R. R. A. appearing for the purpose of presenting its comments and recommendations within the framework of allocation made by the Combined Boards, those countries which can pay will then proceed to procure the goods in such manner as may be desirable.

In the case of goods for stock-piling purposes, and in the case of the goods which are paid for out of U. N. R. R. A. funds, U. N. R. R. A. will appear before the Combined Boards and they will say to U. N. R. R. A., after viewing these needs in relation to the global needs, "Such and such part can be obtained in the United States. Such and such part can be obtained in Canada, in Mexico, in the United Kingdom, in Argentina, or in any of the other countries."

With regard to those supplies which are to be produced in the United States, the United States agencies, which may be designated by Congress or the President, will be used for the procurement of the supplies within the boundaries of the United States.

In the case of supplies to be procured in the United Kingdom, they will be procured through the offices of the various supply ministries; so, also, in Canada and Australia. The exact form of the procurement machinery within any one country, of course, rests with the country itself.

I do not know whether I made that clear.

Dr. EATON. You are making it clear.

We have two things here. First of all, you appear as an international officer of an international organization, and our Government cannot be asked to appropriate money for this international organization, even though it has so distinguished an American citizen as yourself at the head of it. Consequently Mr. Crowley will appear before the Appropriations Committee and he will ask for this appropriation of \$500,000,000, as he said yesterday, and he will then have the money which you, the head of the international organization, will require. Then you will go to Mr. Crowley for what you need. Is that right?

Governor LEHMAN. We will go to Mr. Crowley to secure the supplies which have been allocated for procurement in this country.

Dr. EATON. I am surprised that you take your eye off of money and put it on supplies at this point. It is the money that I am questioning about. It will be placed in the custody of Mr. Crowley, that \$500,000,000.

Governor LEHMAN. I was under the impression that in this resolution the money is appropriated to the President for expenditure through such agencies as might seem desirable.

Dr. EATON. And Mr. Crowley will have to go to the President and you will have to go to Mr. Crowley?

Governor LEHMAN. Again I want to emphasize that I recognize that it is exclusively within the province of this Government to set up such machinery as may be desirable for the procurement of supplies. It is confidently expected that when goods have been found practicable of procurement somewhere in the world, and a part has been allocated for procurement within this country, that those goods will be purchased for U. N. R. R. A. to the extent that financial resources are available.

Dr. EATON. I have just one thought in mind, and that is to free you and your organization as completely as possible to meet this tremendous challenge to your resources, brains, and character, so that the money will be there and the supplies will be there, and you will know where to get them without having to sit around in an outer office indefinitely for some bureaucrat to tell you what you can have.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask the Governor at this point, you, as Director General, do not buy anything, do you?

Governor LEHMAN. We certainly will not buy anything in this country. It is possible that in some countries where no national supply agencies have been set up that we may wish to buy directly. But that will constitute undoubtedly only a very small part of the supplies that are needed.

The CHAIRMAN. Then none of this money that is to be authorized to be appropriated under this resolution comes under your control at all, does it?

Governor LEHMAN. Except as the wording of this resolution determines, as I see it:

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time to time to the President such sums as the Congress may determine to be appropriate for participation by the United States (including contributions in funds or otherwise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations—

and so forth.

Therefore, I understand that whatever moneys are appropriated by the Congress will be specifically used to make the contributions on behalf of this country to the support of the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

I also want to draw attention to this one provision of the resolution of the U. N. R. R. A. Council, and I have no doubt that it will be taken into account by the Appropriations Committee in due course:

Subject to the provisions of article V, paragraph 1, of the agreement, the Council recommends that as much as possible, but not less than 10 percent, of the amount contributed by each member government as recommended in section 4 hereof, shall be in such form of currency as can be expended in areas outside of the contributing country; and that the balance thereof shall be in the form of a credit in local currency which shall be available for the purchase of the contributing country's supplies and services.

That is an important thing, because there will be supplies that cannot be provided by this or any of the other main supplying countries, and there will be need to secure and pay for some such supplies

from other countries. These will not necessarily be covered by the contribution of the other countries, and yet it may be very necessary that we have the means to purchase such supplies which would not or could not be obtained to good advantage here or in some of the other countries.

That is one, and the main need for these free funds in an amount up to 10 percent of the contribution.

But there are other needs. Take the question of handling the problem of displaced populations, of health and medical care. There will be, of course, some supplies needed for that, but there will also be a great deal of personnel needed, technical services which will have to be paid for, of course, quite aside from the supplies needed.

Then there is the question of administrative expenses, which will also have to be in free currency and which, of course, are under the financial plan approved in Atlantic City, not a separate part, not the subject of a separate appropriation by the governments, but part of their general appropriation.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Richards?

Mr. RICHARDS. Governor, I do want to congratulate you on your very able appearance.

Following up the questions of Dr. Eaton and the chairman, I want to ask one or two other questions along that line.

Mr. Crowley said yesterday that he would come later on before the Appropriations Committee of the Congress and ask for, say, a billion dollars. I want to get that straight in my mind, too. I am befuddled on this thing. Mr. Crowley, as Administrator of this Foreign Economic Administration, does not come before Congress and ask for anything insofar as this bill is concerned, does he?

Governor LEHMAN. No. As I understand it, there is no request for an appropriation contained in this bill. It is simply an authorizing resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean eventually?

Mr. RICHARDS. Eventually, following up this authorization.

As I understood it, his organization is just what you said it was just now, for purchasing and things like that, and when you ask for this article of supply or the other articles of supply, he will try to furnish that to you, he will try to get that, will he not?

Governor LEHMAN. Of course, I do not know what the procedure will be in the presentation of this request for an appropriation—

Mr. RICHARDS. Yes.

Governor LEHMAN. By this Government. The United States Government is represented on the Council of U. N. R. R. A. by a permanent member. I do not know what the United States member on the Council will have in mind with regard to submitting the needs of U. N. R. R. A. to the appropriating bodies of the United States Government. Whether that will be done entirely by Mr. Crowley or by the representative of the United States Government on the Council, or by other agencies, I, of course, do not know.

Mr. RICHARDS. But from what we have heard here, it is anticipated that the Foreign Economic Administrator, Mr. Crowley, would act as an agent of U. N. R. R. A. That seems to be the general plan.

Governor LEHMAN. May I put it this way: U. N. R. R. A., in respect of all supplies furnished by this Government, would expect and



intend to maintain the closest relationship with the national procurement agencies, one of which, of course, is Foreign Economic Administration. So far as the procurement of supplies paid for by American funds and secured within this country, I think that in all probability the actual process of procurement would be handled by Foreign Economic Administration. But the supplies procured would, of course, be in accordance with the allocations made by the inter-governmental allocating agencies, such as the Combined Food Board, the Combined Production and Resources Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board and Combined Shipping Adjustment Board.

Mr. RICHARDS. Thank you, Governor. I had got the idea from what had been said that so far as the United States and its contributions were concerned, to U. N. R. R. A., possibly the Foreign Economic Administration was going to be the tail wagging the dog before this thing was over, so far as the United States was concerned.

Governor LEHMAN. I would hope not. I would hope that no government will attempt to wag the dog. U. N. R. R. A. represents all the nations.

Mr. RICHARDS. I understand that, but the United States is the biggest contributor—

Governor LEHMAN. There is no doubt about that.

#### APPROPRIATION TO U. N. R. R. A. CONSIDERED AS AN INVESTMENT

Mr. RICHARDS. And the initiator in this movement, and there is a lot of criticism in this country today about overlapping organizations with contradictory authority and those things, and the people would like to be clarified on that. I understand that it is difficult right now to say what agency you will use or whether you will use it totally or in part.

There is another thing about which I want to ask you. I am sympathetic to this legislation, but the United States is going to have the largest public debt ever known, that any nation ever had, after this thing is over, and our contribution to U. N. R. R. A., the proposed contribution, is no small thing. The people are going to ask what this nation is contributing and what the other nations are contributing, and already some very responsible people in the United States are saying that we cannot bind ourselves to feed every Hottentot on the face of the earth. That is just the situation we face, and when we get up on the floor of Congress on this thing, and when we go back home, people are going to want to know the why and wherefores of it and what is in it for the United States.

I understand that the humanitarian ideal is behind the whole thing, and properly so. I understand that. Now, Governor, you have had a lot of experience in the business field, as a banker and so forth and so on. What do you think of this contribution as an investment on the part of the United States. I am thinking about the financial security of the United States. I would like to hear from you on that.

Governor LEHMAN. As I tried to set forth in my memorandum which I have just read, I think it is a splendid investment for the United States. I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that. I do not think that it is going to bring any return immediately in dollars and cents, but in bringing about the restoration of a normal economic and social life in the countries with which the United States is going



to have to live and work and deal, it will in the long run bring a return to the United States which will far exceed in value the amount invested. I think it is a necessity and that it is a sound investment from every standpoint.

Mr. RICHARDS. And so far as the legitimate businessmen and the taxpayers of this country are concerned, is it your considered opinion that if the United States does not lead and contribute in a movement of this kind, in the long run it will cost the United States much more than the appropriation here sought?

Governor LEHMAN. That is my considered opinion.

#### RANGE OF SERVICES U. N. R. R. A. WILL PROVIDE

May I emphasize one point that occurs to me by reason of a remark that you made. It is not the intention of U. N. R. R. A. to feed everybody in the world. The scope of U. N. R. R. A. is really, by action of U. N. R. R. A. itself, a very limited one. I would like to read into the record the scope of U. N. R. R. A. as adopted by the Council. I am reading from resolution 1, page 3:

II. The range of services which the Administration will provide.

The supplies and services of which the Administration will seek the provision fall under four heads:

1. *Relief supplies.*—Essential consumer goods to meet immediate needs, such as food, fuel, clothing, shelter, medical supplies.

2. *Relief services.*—Such as health and welfare; assistance in caring for and maintaining records of persons found in any areas under the control of any the United Nations who by reason of war have been displaced from their homes and, in agreement with the appropriate governments, military authorities, or other agencies, in securing their repatriation or return; and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.

3. *Rehabilitation supplies and services.*—Materials (such as seeds, fertilizers, raw materials, fishing equipment, machinery, and spare parts) needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas, and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.

4. *Rehabilitation of public utilities and services.*—So far as they can be repaired or restored to meet immediate needs; such as light, water, sanitation, power, transport, temporary storage, communications, and assistance in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions.

I want to point out that that is a narrow field. It covers the essential needs, I believe, but only the essential emergency needs.

Every one of these matters really relates directly to satisfying the urgent and most immediate needs on a minimum standard of health and subsistence.

Not only is there nothing in this declaration of the scope of U. N. R. R. A. which would indicate that U. N. R. R. A. is going to undertake any long-range reconstruction, but it is specifically prohibited in these resolutions. That is pointed out as going beyond the scope of U. N. R. R. A. These are purely the immediate and urgent needs which I have described here of these countries.

Furthermore, I want to point out, and I think it is wise to correct an impression which is possibly more or less widely held. People have an idea that U. N. R. R. A. is going to supply all the food, all the necessities, for these countries. In other words, that when we talk about feeding people with an average of 2,000 calories a day, U. N. R. R. A. will ship in from the outside all of the food making up those 2,000 calories. That is entirely incorrect. All that

U. N. R. R. A. is going to do is to supplement the existing supplies or the potential facilities of these countries with such amounts as may be necessary to carry on a minimum level of subsistence.

The CHAIRMAN. Just the difference between the two?

Governor LEHMAN. Only the difference. Every one of these countries will have resources of its own, agricultural and other resources. Those will, in my opinion, in volume and in value, far exceed anything that U. N. R. R. A. will attempt to do. All that U. N. R. R. A. is going to do is to make up the difference between what is available and a subsistence level of food or clothing or other necessities.

We have emphasized at Atlantic City, and I have emphasized in every statement, that one of the very immediate important things to be undertaken is the providing of essential seeds, fertilizers and agricultural machinery so that these countries can again raise and harvest their own crops. The sooner we can help these countries to plant and harvest their crops, the less will be the impact of their relief needs on the economy of this country and of all the other countries which have escaped invasion. That is one of the most important things.

The amount that will be required will depend obviously to some extent on the date on which liberation takes place; in other words, whether we can get the first crop harvested at an early date, or whether we will lose a crop season. But the bringing in of the crops in most of these countries will make a tremendous difference in my opinion on the entire relief picture.

#### U. N. R. R. A. AS A BUSINESS INVESTMENT

Mr. RICHARDS. Governor, summing up, in my last question, and leaving relief out of it—and some people want to leave suffering humanity out of it—the money sought here would be a good investment on the part of the United States in our economic structure if considered from the selfish standpoint alone. Do you think so?

Governor LEHMAN. I think quite aside from the humanitarian consideration, which weighs heavily with everybody around this table I know as it does with me, I believe that from many standpoints this is a positively good investment for the United States, and that failure to go along with it would lead to a situation which would be contrary to the advantage of this country.

Mr. RICHARDS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you finished, Mr. Richards?

Mr. RICHARDS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, before I begin I have a suggestion to make, and I wonder if it would meet with the approval of the committee, and that is that at the end we have a round-up of the witnesses, so we can tell if they are getting together and how they feel the bill will be administered.

The CHAIRMAN. I have been trying to round up the witnesses for several weeks and I have not been able to succeed yet. If you can do that, we will have that round-up.

Mrs. ROGERS. Governor Lehman, I had the pleasure of attending the first session of U. N. R. R. A. and also the last one, and I was very much impressed with your speeches there and the facility and

the rapidity with which the Council was conducted. The members told me that they had never seen such an expeditiously run conference as that in Atlantic City.

I am very much interested in reading the proposed joint resolutions, particularly paragraphs (b) and (c) of article VIII which appears on page 14 of the committee print in the third line:

The amendments involving modification of article III or article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the Central Committee. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by Council by a two-thirds vote.

It seems to me that this practically gives the Council authority to change the law.

Governor LEHMAN. I think I could answer that, but I think that as long as a member of the Council is here, and I imagine you will call on him as the American member of the Council, it would be well to ask him that.

Mrs. ROGERS. I wanted to ask you your feeling about it. I see that you have not a vote in Council.

The CHAIRMAN. He is an international director.

As Director General, Mr. Lehman, you have no vote?

Governor LEHMAN. The Director General has no vote either in the Council or in the Central Committee. The Central Committee is the body that acts between meetings of the Council. The Director General serves as chairman of the Central Committee, without vote.

#### THE DIRECTOR GENERAL IS AN INTERNATIONAL OFFICIAL

Mrs. ROGERS. Then as Director General you really are serving for U. N. R. R. A., rather than as representative of the United States? You are a creature of U. N. R. R. A. and must follow instructions of the Council.

Governor LEHMAN. I want to make that very clear.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Chair wants to make that clear, too.

Governor LEHMAN. I am not here at all as a representative of the United States. I again want to repeat that I certainly do not wish to express my opinion in regard to or offer any advice to the United States Government. I would not feel that I should do that any more than in offering advice to the British or the Canadian Government. I am here exclusively as an international official, representing the forty-four member governments as a group.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes to state that in introducing Mr. Lehman he was introducing a guest of the committee merely who is now testifying as the Director General of U. N. R. R. A. Governor Lehman is not testifying as a representative of this Government. He is an international director of the entire U. N. R. R. A. organization.

Mrs. ROGERS. So in a way you have to carry out the directions of U. N. R. R. A., rather than any directions of the United States, and follow U. N. R. R. A.'s wishes.

Governor LEHMAN. Absolutely. I am bound by the policies adopted by U. N. R. R. A. at its Council meeting.

Mrs. ROGERS. Governor, will you be allowed freedom in your selection of deputy directors in the occupied areas?

Governor LEHMAN. The Director General is allowed full freedom in the selection of all such personnel.

Mrs. ROGERS. That gives you an opportunity to select the persons that you want?

Governor LEHMAN. Quite true.

#### HELPING PEOPLE TO HELP THEMSELVES

Mrs. ROGERS. As you know, it was suggested that this was embarking upon a sort of international W. P. A. I would like to ask, Governor, if in giving the relief, you have any plan of having the people that you give the relief to work for it? You know under W. P. A. the people worked. They did that where there was an opportunity for them to work.

Governor LEHMAN. Mrs. Rogers, I do not think that you can possibly set one pattern for the administration of this thing. Conditions are going to differ radically.

Mrs. ROGERS. That is why I asked the question.

Governor LEHMAN. I would hesitate at this moment to express any opinion as to the exact procedure that U. N. R. R. A. is going to follow in connection with this work. It is so varied and so comprehensive, and will have so many phases and cover so many points, that I would hesitate very much to express any opinion as to the administrative policies.

Mrs. ROGERS. You laid such stress every time I heard you speak and today on helping people help themselves. I wondered whether you would consider that a part of helping people to help themselves.

Governor LEHMAN. I can say to you categorically, without any reservation, that I believe that this organization, if it is going to be successful, must unfailingly follow the policy of helping people to help themselves. I doubt if I have ever made a speech or a statement in which I have not included that, and that is my sincere belief.

Mrs. ROGERS. I noticed that.

Governor LEHMAN. In whatever way, and through the many channels which we will have to follow, whether in dealings with governments or dealing with individuals within governments. I can assure you that everything will be done to adhere to that principle of helping people to help themselves.

#### PAYMENT POLICY

Mrs. ROGERS. Everybody is anxious to get the food and supplies to the starving children. Are you going to take, Governor Lehman, into consideration where the countries do not have money that they could pay for the foods, the commodities, with, for instance, oil or gasoline that we need so much in this country?

The CHAIRMAN. Oil is out, Mrs. Rogers.

Mrs. ROGERS. It is out of this country. I think the Governor touched on that in his speech.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think the Governor said "oil."

Mrs. ROGERS. I think the Governor will answer himself, Mr. Chairman. I think he can speak for himself. I have always found he could.



Governor LEHMAN. It is not intended, when we ship these goods to a country that is not able to pay for them, that all the goods will be given away. Some will be given away through soup kitchens and bread lines and many other relief activities. But so far as practicable, it will be the policy of U. N. R. R. A. and of the governments interested to sell these goods to the people. Where that is done, the payment, of course, will be in local currency, and it is within the authority of U. N. R. R. A., in consultation with the Government, to use funds thus accumulated for the carrying on of other relief and rehabilitation activities within that country, providing they come within the purview of our policy.

Mrs. ROGERS. What I am trying to get at is, if they have not money, would it not be possible to pay for the goods in a commodity such as oil, or some natural resources that we are short of?

Governor LEHMAN. It is possible that that might be worked out in certain instances, of course, always taking into account that it should not be the policy of this organization, which is trying to help the countries again get on their feet, to denude them entirely of the means of their recovery.

Mrs. ROGERS. No; and neither must we be denuded of our natural resources, and people think we are.

What I am trying to get at is, as Director General and an officer of the U. N. R. R. A., your job is to go out and get what is needed, rather than to analyze just what is going to affect the United States.

Governor LEHMAN. I do not know to what extent that can be done but I can again say to you that I believe that there will be occasions, possibly many occasions, where, through barter of one country with another, the needs of both countries will be satisfied.

Mrs. ROGERS. Those of a country which is giving so much. I know, of course, your feeling is a very fine feeling as a patriotic citizen of the United States, that you would want to protect the United States.

There is one thing I would like to ask, and that is, in the Council, does the United Kingdom have one vote, or every country in the United Kingdom?

Governor LEHMAN. The United Kingdom has one vote. Did you mean Scotland and Ireland? The United Kingdom has one vote. The Dominions, of course, have votes.

Mrs. ROGERS. That is all, thank you, Governor.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jarman.

Mr. JARMAN. Governor, as you pioneer along this new, broad, and uncharted course, which seems so pregnant with possibilities, your hopes are high, which attitude is shared not only by the membership of this committee but by the whole people of the United States and of the world. I simply wish to indulge the hope that in the final analysis it will develop that your expectations, yes, even your ambitions of this moment, may be abundantly fulfilled.

Governor LEHMAN. Thank you very much.

May I say to you that my hopes are high. I believe that this is a historic undertaking on which we are embarking, and one that has great possibilities, but I have no illusions whatsoever with regard to the difficulties. They will be very great and very numerous. I am very very alive to that fact.

Mr. JARMAN. You will note that my realization of that probability caused me to differentiate between expectations and ambitions. I said "expectations—even your ambitions."

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all?

Mr. JARMAN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Very good.

Mr. Chipperfield.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. Governor, I too want to express my appreciation of your fine statement here this morning.

Would you say U. N. R. R. A. is the blueprint for future post-war planning? For example, if it is a success, a similar organization could try to work out other post-war problems.

Governor LEHMAN. I certainly could not express any opinion as to whether it is a blueprint for future organizations. That will depend on the various governments themselves, for which I cannot speak. I can only say this to you, that I believe that the success or failure of U. N. R. R. A. will have an effect on future efforts toward collaboration of all countries.

Mr. CHIPPERFIELD. That is what I gathered from your statement.

That is all, thank you, Governor.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Burgin.

Mr. BURGIN. Governor Lehman, you have convinced me that you are conscious of the grave responsibilities you are assuming under this, and I wish to compliment you as a member of this committee and a citizen of America.

I would like just to ask you one or two questions: This is in keeping with the spirit of America; is it not, in your opinion?

Governor LEHMAN. I do think so.

Mr. BURGIN. Have we not always responded, and it is nothing new for the citizens of America or the American Government to respond to calls that came in great crises?

Governor LEHMAN. That is, of course, true.

Mr. BURGIN. And then, as to the amount of our contribution, under the circumstances and the necessities, is that alarming, that amount, \$1,300,000,000. I believe it is, that we are considering?

Governor LEHMAN. I do not think, personally, it is at all alarming, but, of course, the decision with regard to the appropriation, both as to amount and character, will have to rest with the Congress.

Mr. BURGIN. I understood that, but you as an American citizen are interested in that feature, I take it, as we all are.

The amount of our contributions after the last war, for relief anyhow, whether it was rehabilitation, was a greater percentage than the amount we are called on for in this resolution. Is that not true?

Governor LEHMAN. That is true.

Mr. BURGIN. And this has the cooperation of all the United Nations. In other words, it is a combined effort. Before we did not have that, as I remember. I have forgotten now.

Governor LEHMAN. That is quite true.

Mr. BURGIN. I would like to ask you a practical question, but as you said, you would not want to offer that, but I will anyhow. If we would fail in this—if we did not ratify this resolution as it is, would that endanger in any way the agreement entered into by the other United Nations at Atlantic City?

Governor LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. BURGIN. They would have to revamp their propositions to their governments?

Governor LEHMAN. I do not think there is any doubt of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. STEARNS.

Mr. STEARNS. Governor, I want to thank you for your very effective and businesslike statement of the case.

As an Amherst graduate, I am very glad to know that Williams College can provide so distinguished an alumnus.

In your reply to Mr. Richards, you spoke of the fact that this was a sound investment from the United States. The talk was primarily of the economic aspect of it. But is not the political importance of it equally significant? I mean, is not the necessity of this for world stabilization quite as important as the economic aspect, the dangers of revolution, and so on?

Governor LEHMAN. Very definitely. I think that from the standpoint of an economic investment it is sound for the long pull, but the long-term political advantages for this country are certainly at least as great if not greater.

Mr. STEARNS. You feel, in the main, that U. N. R. R. A. is going to do nothing except what we would find ourselves faced with the necessity of doing in order to stabilize the world, and that the unique feature of U. N. R. R. A. is advance planning and international cooperation?

Governor LEHMAN. That is right, and furthermore we are not going to do anything for these countries that they can do themselves.

Mr. STEARNS. But we would have to do it under any circumstances?

Governor LEHMAN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all?

Mr. STEARNS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gordon.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment Governor Lehman on his statement and on the scope and the machinery of U. N. R. R. A. I have no other questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

#### CHARACTER OF CONTRIBUTIONS

Mr. MUNDT. Governor, I am not exactly clear in my own mind as to the administrative manner in which U. N. R. R. A. is going to function from the standpoint of the expenditure of the budget which is anticipated as a result of the Atlantic City meeting, and to which we are going to contribute in the final analysis \$1,300,000,000, the first installment of which is \$500,000,000 and which Congress is going to be asked to appropriate as the first step in the program.

Brazil is a member of this compact. Is that correct?

Governor LEHMAN. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. Let us assume, for the sake of discussion, that Brazil's contribution will amount to \$200,000,000. It might be more or it might be less. I am just trying to determine in what manner, for example, will Brazil make its contribution to U. N. R. R. A. Will it provide some treasurer in your organization with \$200,000,000 in the final analysis, and then your organization will expend that \$200,000,-

600 as best you can to provide the necessary supplies and materials and clothing, and so forth, for the needy areas? Is that the way it operates?

Governor LEHMAN. No; I do not know that it would. It would operate the same in Brazil as in this country. In other words, the U. N. R. R. A. Council recommended to the member countries that they make available for the purposes of U. N. R. R. A. an amount equal to 1 percent of their income for the year ending June 30, 1943, of which not less than 10 percent should be in convertible exchange, which can be, of course, expended outside of the limits of the contributing country. The balance is to be used for the purchase of supplies within the country, just as in this country 90 percent of whatever appropriation is made by the Congress can be, if it is deemed advisable, used for the purchase of goods within this country. It does not need to be. They can make more than 10 percent available. But whatever is not made available in cash can be used for the purchase of supplies within the contributing country.

Now, in the case of Brazil, there will be many supplies that can be purchased for the use of U. N. R. R. A. There is quite a category of supplies that probably will be procurable in Brazil, and which will work into the program very well indeed.

Mr. MUNDT. U. N. R. R. A., then, will levy upon the obligation which each country assumes in terms of commodities and products, rather than in terms of money, is that right?

Governor LEHMAN. No, in terms of money; but, if 90 percent of a country's contribution should be in local currency and 10 percent in foreign exchange, the 90 percent will be used within that country for supplies and services to be provided from the resources of that country.

I do not know whether I make that clear.

Mr. MUNDT. The 10 percent will be a sort of a cash payment that you will have as a revolving fund to meet emergencies that you can spend quickly in any place that you want to in any place that your Council decides?

Governor LEHMAN. That is true. It can be used, as I said, for goods purchased outside of that country. We do not know exactly where we will be able to get all of our supplies. It can be used to defray the expenditures in connection with some of the services that we will render, such as displaced persons, medical care, development of agriculture, exclusive of the supplies that are furnished in connection with those activities. I again want to emphasize that each country can pay over more than 10 percent, but if they do not want to pay over more than 10 percent, the 90 percent will be expended within that country.

Mr. MUNDT. Each of the 44 nations, then, will have to have some office similar to our F. E. A., and some administrator doing the same type of work that Mr. Crowley will be doing in this country, to make the actual purchases of material and turn them over to your agents and associates to distribute; is that correct?

Governor LEHMAN. In the main supplying countries that is correct. I think in most of those countries they already have machinery. I am thinking now about countries like the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia. I do not know whether Brazil would have that machinery or not. I assume that they would. But if not, in cer-



tain countries where the machinery is not in existence or will not be set up by the Government, then unodubtedly some form of small purchasing mission will have to be sent there, unless we can make the purchases through existing agencies of the United States or other United Nations, which I think in many instances will be the case.

But generally speaking, there will have to be a channeling between U. N. R. R. A. and the Government in these countries.

Mr. MUNDT. I am thinking in terms of expediting the relief and rehabilitation work. Frequently those needs, if they are to be adequately met, have to be met with at least a reasonable amount of dispatch. Delay means loss of life, suffering, and so forth, and it looks like a bewilderingly tremendous task to break down all these different commodities and go to each of these foreign economic administrators, as we call them, and tell them, "Your share of this quota of wheat is so many bushels," "Your share of the clothing is so much," if all you have is just a little 10 percent jack pot to utilize from the standpoint of getting results quickly in a definite area.

Do you expect, therefore, to accumulate stock piles in advance some place in some of these countries and store them up ready for call, or do you anticipate that the call for need will come first, and then you begin the break-down of the levies upon these countries?

Governor LEHMAN. We hope to have some stock piles ready for call on a common pool. Of course, in most of these countries they already have the machinery set up—I mean the procurement machinery. In Great Britain, for instance, they have their Supply Ministries, which will be called on for these supplies.

Mr. MUNDT. What is your plan for transferring the materials to the point of need? Does a member country fulfill its obligation by making the material available at the port of export within its own country, or does it have the obligation of delivering that to the point of need? Is the expense of shipping part of the contribution each country makes?

Governor LEHMAN. If the supplying country pays for shipping, that would be part of its contribution, yes. Or another country might provide shipping as part of its contribution.

Mr. MUNDT. Then would shipping costs come out of the 10 percent jack pot?

Governor LEHMAN. I would not say that it necessarily would come out of the 10 percent, but the cost of the transportation would be counted as part of the contribution of the country that supplied it or whose money paid for it.

Mr. MUNDT. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Eaton just wanted to say a word because he has an important message and has to leave.

Dr. EATON. Governor, I am very sorry that I have been called downstairs. I would like to get back before you leave, but in case I do not, I want to express for myself my wonder, joy, and surprise to find that there is left in this country one gentleman of your magnitude of mind and heart who still believes that no government ought to do anything for a man that he can do for himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McMurray!

Mr. McMURRAY. Dr. Eaton ought to listen to this.

Since, perhaps unfortunately, I think I understand the administration of this proposal, and since I think it is thoroughly justified on humanitarian grounds, because it is a hard-headed business proposition for Americans, and because it is an absolute political necessity in our world, and since I have confidence in the U. N. R. R. A. Council and in the American representative on that Council, and because I have complete confidence in President Roosevelt and his Foreign Economic Administrator, Leo Crowley, and particularly because I have confidence in Governor Lehman personally and officially as Director General of this organization, I am ready to vote "aye" on this proposition right now.

The CHAIRMAN. It is too bad we are not voting.

DR. EATON. The gentleman could aptly describe himself as a confidence man.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jonkman.

MR. JONKMAN. Governor Lehman, I think the country is to be congratulated, not only on the splendid organizational work that has been done at Atlantic City but especially upon the selection of yourself as Director General, and I say that mainly for one reason. There are many other reasons, but that reason is the spirit that you epitomize in that statement: "My sole object is going to be to help people to help themselves." I think that is going to give confidence to the people of our country. That is the only basis upon which you can succeed from two points of view—first, because of limited supplies, and secondly, you will not be able to help them unless you help them to help themselves.

I sincerely hope you will be able to carry out that objective and that you will have all the cooperation you can get.

#### FINANCIAL PLAN

I have one question. It probably is not very important. That is with reference to the obtaining of supplies and the distribution, the selection from the various countries. For instance, Resolution No. 22 provides that the Committee on Supplies shall have authority in the first instance, at least—I do not have it before me, but I can state it substantially—to recommend adjustments of any differences in valuations placed by the member countries upon their contributions. I do not quite understand what that means, and I wonder if you have given it some thought.

I have this in mind, for instance. Will the 90 percent be drawn in the nature of supplies from the individual country after it contributes 10 percent? I say that for this reason. For instance, the Committee on Supplies will make allocations. Supposing, which is probably true, that it could buy butter for 30 cents a pound in Australia and for 60 cents a pound in the United States. Will they have the power to say "All butter shall come from Australia, and the United States shall make cash contributions"? With countries having a lower standard of living, I can easily see where we would have that problem bobbing up.

Governor LEHMAN. I can answer that in a minute. There is another point that is tied up with yours. It is continued in section 13 of the financial plan, which is Resolution No. 14.

That section was adopted so that U. N. R. R. A. could not draw just from one country and leave the other countries not having provided their fair share.

The other thing is that, as you know, the contributions are made, as I have explained it to you, in the form of cash, foreign exchange, to the extent of not less than 10 percent. The balance is in local currency, which will be used to purchase supplies or services within that country for use by U. N. R. R. A.

Now, of course, we cannot allow an inflated valuation to be placed on supplies that are furnished by any country, thus reducing the effectiveness of its contribution. In other words, if an article that had a valuation of 10 cents a pound was charged to the fund that was provided by a certain country at 30 cents a pound, it would naturally not be fair to the general fund and would give an advantage to that country. So that the Committee of Supplies of the U. N. R. R. A. Council is empowered, under paragraph 6 of Resolution No. 22, to review the valuations that are placed by each country on its contribution of supplies which will be charged against its contribution in local currency. But it would not have the right to take any arbitrary stand. All it can do is to make sure that these supplies, or the valuations placed upon these supplies, which represent part of the contribution of the country, are not excessive.

Mr. JONKMAN. In other words, not excessive as compared with the standard prices in that country. But after all, a pound of butter is a pound of butter, and if U. N. R. R. A. can get it for 30 cents in Australia, why should it pay 60 cents in the United States?

Governor LEHMAN. I think we will certainly try to obtain supplies to the best advantage.

Mr. JONKMAN. But the point I am making is, that we are making a very substantial contribution. I am in accord with that. But after all, that is based also upon our prices and our income, a higher standard of living and a higher cost than that of any other country. If, for instance, 90 percent of our contribution is purchased in this country, we will have the profit from that, while if it is purchased in other countries they would have the profit from it. Would U. N. R. R. A. be empowered to make discriminations of that kind?

Governor LEHMAN. Well, you see, in answer to that question, by reading from section 13, Rate of Contributions, which I referred to above—

The Council recommends that, insofar as it is consistent with efficient operation, contributions of all member governments for the work of the Administration shall be called upon at an approximately equal rate.

In other words, we would not, under that provision, be able to buy in one country a disproportionate amount of goods in relation to its contribution.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is always equivocal—a disproportionate amount. Would it be confined to the amount contributed by each country? In other words, you could not buy more than 90 percent of any country's contribution in that country?

Governor LEHMAN. No, I think we could. I think to the extent of that 10 percent plus of each country's contribution which is to be in foreign exchange, we could buy wherever we wanted.

Mr. JONKMAN. Then, of course, you would have the old question that you would be buying in the low-producing and low-standard-of-



living countries at the expense of the high-cost-of-production countries.

Governor LEHMAN. Well, of course, the amount that is going to be involved is not so great, because that 10 percent will have to cover a great many administrative and other cash expenses, so the entire amount involved, spread out among a number of countries, will not, I think, be significant.

Mr. JONKMAN. It would be equal to \$1,000,000,000 in foreign trade to this country.

Governor LEHMAN. I am not sure that I follow you.

Mr. JONKMAN. Because we would pay, for instance, out of \$1,300,000,000, \$130,000,000 in cash, and the balance would be in goods that we shipped out, that were bought by the Government from private interests, and be in the nature of foreign trade. If that were taken away from us and it was bought in Australia, we would be losing that much profit, upon which our contribution is based.

Governor LEHMAN. But, of course, so far as the supply situation permits, the Combined Boards, which are the allocating agencies, would allocate to each country as nearly in proportion to its ability to supply as possible.

Now, I can perfectly well conceive that it would be to the advantage of this country for more than 10 percent of its contribution to be used to purchase supplies in other countries. In other words, during a period of very short supply, when so many items are rationed, it would be advantageous to the United States for U. N. R. R. A. to purchase as much of its supplies as possible in other countries.

Mr. JONKMAN. That was to be my very next question. That would be a way of getting around that. The United States could save half of its contribution by buying through F. E. A. and making its contribution in goods purchased at half price. Supposing you wanted \$100,000 for wheat purchased in the United States, and they had not enough wheat to go around as it is, and it is \$1 a bushel, when they can buy it in the Argentine for 50 cents a bushel. With \$50,000 they can make good their \$100,000 contribution.

Governor LEHMAN. Of course, if 1,000,000 bushels of wheat were required, that requirement would go to the Combined Boards. They would allocate that wheat to be purchased in this country and in other countries, undoubtedly. The United States as a supplying country would receive its fair share of the allocation. On the other hand, I think that there may be some cases where it will be to the advantage of this country to have all the goods of certain types purchased outside, simply so that we do not put an added strain on an already overtaxed supply situation. I do not know whether that will happen or not, but I think it is quite conceivable.

I do not think, specifically, to answer your question, that it is going to be possible for the United States to go out and buy goods at a lower price and then furnish those goods to the general pool. I do not see how that would be a practicable thing under any circumstances, even if they wanted to do it.

Mr. JONKMAN. Would it not be more equitable, then, to provide that the contributing countries could provide in cash or goods as demanded, as they saw fit?

Governor LEHMAN. The only way I can answer that is—and I do not know that this question is going to arise frequently at all—that I



think that each government has the right to determine the manner in which it is going to furnish supplies, and if this country wanted to go out and buy goods at a lower price and bring them in as part of its contribution, I suppose it could do so.

Mr. JONKMAN. That answers my question.

Mr. JARMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I have finished.

Mr. JARMAN. It would have to bring them into this country.

Governor LEHMAN. Not necessarily. It could ship them where they were needed.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rogers.

Mr. ROGERS of California. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Governor, we deeply appreciate your coming here this morning. It brings all of us a sense of closeness to you and gives us an additional amount of confidence in the whole U. N. R. R. A., which is such a new feature in the world.

We are cognizant, I think, as no other group is, of the responsibility of the United States in her entrance into an international arrangement of this kind. For myself, I am deeply grateful that U. N. R. R. A. saw fit to put you in charge. I have the greatest respect and admiration for your judgment, your integrity, and your fairness, which I cannot say of everyone.

Governor LEHMAN. Thank you.

#### RELATIONS WITH MEMBER GOVERNMENTS AND AUTHORITIES IN LIBERATED AREAS

Mrs. BOLTON. We discussed here several times a question which a remark of yours, if I did not misinterpret it, brings up again. You said that there was a political angle to U. N. R. R. A. I had asked whether it would be possible, whether there was not a conceivable danger that, having the member governments, those that are signatories, have the funds and the relief particularly, to give to their countries, it might not freeze an exiled government on a people who might not want it. We had a very interesting elucidation from the American member, and came to the conclusion that the recognized governments are recognized governments, and if there is difficulty later, there will then be another recognized government.

I think some of us will feel a very real confidence in having you at the helm, knowing that you will do everything in your power should a break occur in that country between the present signatory and a possible new government that the people may develop, that you would see to it that in some way or other relief would continue; that there would be not a break because there was a break of government. The people still need the food. Can you conceive of a possibility of that kind? I do not see any method of considering the two together, because that is still in the imaginary period, but would it seem possible to you that relief could bridge the gap that might occur in the time that might elapse between those governments?

Governor LEHMAN. I want to say in the first place that U. N. R. R. A. intends to keep out of politics completely.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes.

Governor LEHMAN. It does not intend to support or oppose any government.

Mrs. BOLTON. No.

Governor LEHMAN. It must necessarily keep itself entirely above the level of politics.

U. N. R. R. A. will not go into any of these countries until either they are called on by the Army or, if the Army is not there, there is a government or authority in administrative control of the area. U. N. R. R. A., of course, will have absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with recognizing governments. That is on a plane entirely different from U. N. R. R. A.

If there should be a change in government and there was that interim period to which you refer, I think we would make every effort to continue our work, and our ability to continue our work, I think, would depend to a great extent on the amount of chaos and disorder that existed. We might be able to continue it; we might not be able to continue it if there is no authority in control. But we certainly would make every attempt.

Mr. JONKMAN. Will the gentleman yield at that point? We have a concrete illustration of that in the morning papers. The Allied Governments say that they are going to help Tito as against Mihailovich and the King Peter Government, while of course the King Peter Government is a member of U. N. R. R. A. You would have your difficulties right there. Of course U. N. R. R. A. would continue to act through the recognized government, but I can see where there would be a difficulty with the Allied Nations already supporting Yugoslavia.

Governor LEHMAN. It is always the government or authority in administrative control of an area with which U. N. R. R. A. will deal in the distribution of supplies. I believe that you will find that to be provided throughout all the resolutions.

Mrs. BOLTON. I was really emphasizing the conceivable period between difficulties.

#### ROLE OF WOMEN ON U. N. R. R. A.'S STAFF

My other question, Governor, is this thing which is involving the thinking and feeling and the questioning of women all over the world, and I say that advisedly; I use my words carefully. It is the fact that very few women were part of the Conference. That was commented on in a great many countries by the women. We women have the very great responsibility of caring for the children of the world. That is our job in life. America did have two splendid women at the Conferences. I believe there were two others.

Frankly, groups of us, international groups of us, who have met together and discussed it, were much amazed that some of the countries who use women everywhere as much as they do men, and in the same categories, did not bring women with them to the Conference.

I was wondering whether it is even of moment to ask you—you are appointing the personnel—whether it is your sense of the situation that women with experience and training (and no one should be even

considered unless she has these) will be used freely, especially in those realms that have to do with health and what is blanketed in the term "welfare," in which we have worked a great deal, in medicine, and so on—whether we can hope for an emphasis on such appointments on the personnel of the U. N. R. R. A. groups, naturally international groups.

Governor LEHMAN. I can only say this, that I can assure you that I am going to appoint the staff exclusively on the basis of merit and qualifications. I shall be very glad to include women wherever it is possible to do so in those activities or particular undertakings in which they are trained and qualified. I think that that covers a pretty broad field. Moreover, I would like to point out in this connection that, in its resolution on personnel policies, the U. N. R. R. A. Council has recommended that U. N. R. R. A.'s staff should be selected "upon the basis of individual competence, character, and integrity, without discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, nationality, or creed." It is hard to say, however, that we are going to have a certain percentage of women.

Mrs. BOLTON. I was not asking that.

Governor LEHMAN. You cannot do that, but certainly it would be my hope that there will be many women included in this work.

Mrs. BOLTON. I felt I could not let this opportunity to speak with you in this way pass without expressing what I know to be an international feeling among women that we of many countries feel that it is not recognition we want, it is the opportunity to do the job for which we are really part of life.

I thank you very much for your graciousness.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Schiffler.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Governor, I have been deeply impressed by your statement and by your recognizing the realities of the problems at hand.

Another thing that is consoling is the fact that you can not be fired except with the consent of our own Government.

Governor LEHMAN. That would not necessarily be a guaranty.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. In addition to that the grant, of course, is not made directly to U. N. R. R. A., but to the President of the United States, who in turn allocates it to U. N. R. R. A. for distribution, or for the purposes for which U. N. R. R. A. is created.

#### DEFINITION OF "REHABILITATION"

I have no difficulty with the term "relief" and I recognize and believe it is the universal thought of this country that relief must be administered immediately the war is concluded, or immediately the opportunity presents itself for such relief to be administered.

The term "rehabilitation" is, I think, going to cause considerable confusion, and I believe that is going to be the stickler in the entire situation. In your testimony, as well as in the testimony of others who testified here, we have talked about the expenditures and the purposes for which such expenditures may be made, and the capacity to pay from either the existing funds or currencies or securities. I wonder if any thought has been given to the question of payment from earning capacity in the future for benefits of a permanent nature that

might be supplied to any of the countries under the rehabilitation element of this agreement, such as, for instance, you may construct an electric power line or a railway. It may have a long-range value over many years, and your program probably goes over only a 2-year period. The present capacity is not there, with currency or with securities or with gold, to pay for that.

Is there any thought given as to how we may be reimbursed for those long-term benefits that immediately are urgent, but nevertheless are long-term in their range of service to the particular country or community in which they are created or furnished?

Governor LEHMAN. By the very nature of the resolution adopted at Atlantic City, U. N. R. R. A. would not be able in any way to engage in undertakings such as you mentioned. We have limited the rehabilitation activity very definitely to two kinds: one, repairs or reconstruction to meet immediate needs, and two, rehabilitation such as agricultural rehabilitation, which is calculated to increase the productivity of the country in connection with relief.

I say that while the reconstruction of a great railroad system may be necessary—not only may be but undoubtedly will be—or the complete rebuilding of power lines other than repairs that would permit us to meet immediate needs is also necessary, that would not come within the functions of U. N. R. R. A. How that will be handled in the future I do not know, frankly.

I realize that there is great difficulty in defining rehabilitation accurately. It has been in my mind and the minds of many other people for a long time, and because of that difficulty and because we realized that we were going to deal with limited funds, and that we should not permit ourselves to be involved in long-range undertakings, the Council itself defined the kind of things that could be done and the manner of their financing.

For instance, in paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12, you will find this paragraph:

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction, it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the agreement.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I do not mean any great trunk line, but suppose you built a spur 20 miles in length, of a railway that was necessary for the transportation of a large segment of that population to exist, or where that 20-mile spur may be necessary to make a connection with a trunk line and you did build that spur. That may cost 2, 3, 4, 5, or maybe 10 million dollars, and would be of permanent benefit to that particular community.

Would there be any effort made to have that community reimburse U. N. R. R. A. for that?

Governor LEHMAN. I think that in a case such as you mention the question might be a close one as to whether it is going to have an immediate and indispensable effect on meeting the emergency relief needs of the country in connection with relief or rehabilitation, that is, whether it is rehabilitation as defined by the U. N. R. R. A. Council or constitutes long-term reconstruction. I think each one of those ventures will have to be considered on its merits.



But I would like to point out this fact to you—that whatever supplies and services are furnished by U. N. R. R. A. for a purpose such as you have described will be paid for by the government of the country receiving the benefit of such supplies and services.

The financial plan, Resolution No. 14, provides in section 16 that it is the policy of U. N. R. R. A. not to deplete its available resources for the governments in a position to pay in foreign exchange for their relief and rehabilitation. Under this provision it is contemplated that governments which have foreign exchange resources will either buy supplies directly or will reimburse U. N. R. R. A. for any relief and rehabilitation supplies and services which it has bought and then resells. This provision would, of course, permit U. N. R. R. A. to finance supplies and services on a short-term basis, provided that such financing would not have the effect of depleting U. N. R. R. A.'s available resources, but would be merely using them for a short time, on a revolving fund basis.

Turning now to section 19 of the financial plan, the Council there recommends that even those governments which cannot pay in foreign exchange for their relief and rehabilitation should make available to U. N. R. R. A. the local currency proceeds realized from the sale of supplies furnished by U. N. R. R. A. In the case which you present, I would visualize that the government of the area in which the spur track was built would reimburse U. N. R. R. A. for the cost of the supplies and services furnished by it. Such payment might be either in foreign exchange or in local currency.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Suppose we take that and apply it to a situation that existed in our own country only a few years ago, in which we established the Farm Resettlement. You go into a given country and supply, among other things, tractors, and those are going to be at least a 5- to a 10-year benefit there. What, if any, reimbursement is to be paid back for the supplying of farm machinery, tractors, or any other things that may be necessary?

Governor LEHMAN. I believe that the policies which I described above would be equally applicable to those situations. To the fullest extent possible there would be reimbursement in foreign exchange or in local currency. In some cases U. N. R. R. A. might in effect be extending short-term financing assistance to the Government or authorities in control of the area. U. N. R. R. A. would not, however, enter into long-term financing arrangements.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Will there be collaboration, if and when established, with the International Bank, whereby that community, local government entity, or whatever unit it may be, may be able to issue its securities and discount those, or sell them to the International Bank, who, in turn, will credit U. N. R. R. A. with the proceeds of that?

Governor LEHMAN. I would answer that in this way: We certainly will want to cooperate with every agency which can be helpful to the work of U. N. R. R. A. or to whose work we can be helpful. But the exact nature of that cooperation I do not know at this time.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I merely suggested that as a part of the machinery whereby U. N. R. R. A. may have returned to it part of its investments, and if at the end of a 2-year period it does have those investments, a redistribution to the governments in proportion to their contribution might be made on those things which were of permanent

benefit. I am distinguishing that from relief, because I realize that relief involves fundamentally coal, fuel, medical care, for which we cannot and should not expect reimbursement. I am thinking only in terms of the permanent benefits.

Then again, in relation to how we have treated our own people with respect to the same subject.

Governor LEHMAN. Undoubtedly each one of these countries could use benefits of a permanent character which will be eminently useful, but I do not think U. N. R. R. A. will have the means to provide them.

I do want to emphasize this one thing. U. N. R. R. A. will deal exclusively with governments. It will not deal with individuals. Therefore, when it supplies certain goods or services it can work out an agreement with that government by which that government will pay, if not in foreign exchange, in which it may be lacking, then in local currency, and that local currency, of course, can then be used as a revolving fund for other purposes within the country.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Of course, I had had that in mind. I recognized you do not deal directly with individuals, you deal with the government which, in turn, has its transactions with the individual on whatever you may be furnishing the government.

That was the most perplexing part. I do not think there is any other part of this arrangement that has perplexed me except as to where the line of demarcation is as between relief and rehabilitation or the furnishing of property that might be of permanent value, and where the discrimination might come in as between the way we have treated our own people in the past and, now, those of other countries.

That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mansfield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. No questions. I should apologize for being late.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.

#### POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF RELIEF

Mr. VORYS. I will bet I am the first person in America who has quoted your remarks here today. I was here at the start. I went out to make a speech, not on the floor but in Washington, at a conference here, and I quoted with great approval parts of your speech.

This question came up there, and has come up here: U. N. R. R. A. is by its resolutions, divorcing itself as far as possible from any political power or activity or influence. That is quite true, is it not?

Governor LEHMAN. Yes, absolutely.

Mr. VORYS. I mean, international political activity, or domestic, also.

I was asked who is to make the political decisions if U. N. R. R. A. does not. It had been my thought that if you, as the director general of an international organization, were faced with a choice between two groups who represent themselves as the government of a country which obviously needed relief, and there were a dispute between the member governments, you would perforce leave the ultimate decision to the vote of the council and the central committee. Is that correct, or how would you solve a problem like that, which would involve a political element and which I hope you will never have to face? How would you handle the question of what group or government or organization you would cooperate with in a situation like that?

Governor LEHMAN. In the first place I want to make it clear that U. N. R. R. A. will, in the first instance, deal either with the Army or with governments exercising administrative authority in certain areas. U. N. R. R. A. will not take any action either in the recognition of governments or in opposition to governments.

The CHAIRMAN. As an organization or individually.

Governor LEHMAN. As an organization or individually.

Now, if a situation arose such as you have mentioned and Mrs. Bolton mentioned before, where there was no government at all, we still would insist upon maintaining our policy of noninterference or of not acting either in recognition of or in opposition to governments. If conditions permitted, if there was not too great chaos, U. N. R. R. A. would try, through its own administrative staff, to carry out its task of providing relief, but that would be entirely apart from supporting any particular governmental bodies or groups.

Mr. VORYS. That is, if as a practical matter you could cooperate with one or both, and get the relief where it was needed and not cause an internal or international political disturbance, but otherwise you would not do anything that would cause such a disturbance?

Governor LEHMAN. We certainly will not. We certainly will keep ourselves just as completely removed from any political implications as we possibly can. If we do not, of course, our work will be wrecked before we start.

Mr. VORYS. One other question, which you may have answered.

In a situation where repairs or reconstruction, immediate needs, would result in a permanent benefit to a particular country, such as a mine or factory or utility, as I understand it your idea is never to make a loan. Is that not correct?

Governor LEHMAN. Never except a short-term credit. We might do that, where we were quite certain that we were going to be repaid, but no long-term loans. We would not do that.

Mr. VORYS. There is another dilemma that I have been considering. You might have a situation where the something that was needed as the efficient and wise way to provide relief supplies was some reconstruction or repair job which, when it was finished, would be of a permanent benefit to that community and to the owner of the property, and there might not be anybody there who could pay for it at the time. How would you work a thing out like that? Would you attempt to obtain the local currency for it from the Government, or how would you do that?

Governor LEHMAN. Let me put it this way: We would measure every undertaking of that kind by the yardstick of what will it contribute to the relief effort within the country. You brought up just now the question of restoring a mine to operation that had been damaged. If we felt that the restoration of that mine—a coal mine, let us say——

The CHAIRMAN. That is what he meant.

Governor LEHMAN. Would make it possible for that country to obtain coal immediately for its relief needs, for instance, rather than compelling us to bring coal in from long distances, thus using up shipping and other facilities, we would probably feel that that was justified expenditure. In the case of countries that have gold or other foreign resources we would expect that country to pay for it. In a country that did not have that we would expect them to pay in local



currency, just as we would expect them to pay in many instances for the supplies that we send in, the food or clothing or otherwise.

But we are going to measure these things exclusively by the yardstick of usefulness in the relief and rehabilitation picture, rather than as part of an effort to bring about permanent reconstruction within a country, although such reconstruction might well be very necessary. I want to emphasize the necessity of that in many instances, but we just cannot do it in U. N. R. R. A. because we will not have the means, and that is not what we have been set up to.

I want to say this, too, that I was greatly impressed at Atlantic City with the reasonableness of the occupied countries. They did not come in and ask for the moon. They seemed to appreciate that they were dealing with limited resources and that public support would not justify going beyond a certain point, and therefore they were satisfied and showed a cooperative spirit and a reasonable spirit. I was impressed by that.

Incidentally, I want to say that, as an American, I was deeply impressed with the spirit, and I was proud of the way our American representatives conducted themselves down there, our permanent chairman and our delegate. I think we have every reason to be satisfied.

The CHAIRMAN. And the delegates we sent down from this committee, too.

Governor LEHMAN. Yes. I was very happy that you were down there.

Mr. VORYS. There are other questions that you have no doubt answered, but I do not want to yield until I say that you have our good wishes and my good wishes in tackling a job that is of momentous importance to this planet, and I hope you are going to make good. Good luck to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you ready to vote, too?

Governor LEHMAN. May I say I appreciate very much the nice things that you have said, and your congratulations. What I want is your good wishes. I hope to have your congratulations in about a year or a year and a half.

May I make one correction on the record, please? I think in response to Mr. Stearns or some other Congressman the question was asked whether this thing had political significance in addition to humanitarian significance, and my answer was "Yes." I am so anxious to keep all political implications out of this that I would like to reemphasize that in answering your question in that way, I did not have in mind any narrow use of the term "politics." I really mean sociopolitical implications, the development by governments of effective habits of working together for peacetime objectives.

Mr. STEARNS. I should like to say that that was the sense in which my question was put.

Mrs. ROGERS. The spending of large sums of money, of course, brings a certain political power.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, you will have every opportunity to correct the record and anything that you want to add to it, any information that you think the committee ought to have, you have the permission of the committee to insert in the record.

Governor, I am not going to try to add anything to what the members have said. They have said much nicer things when you



were not here. When they heard you were coming up here they started to say very nice things, and I thought maybe you were running for office again.

But I can assure you, Governor, it was a great pleasure to have you here, and I know that what you have said and the information you have given to the committee will enable them to legislate upon the resolution that we have before us, and I also feel satisfied that when the information you have given here is publicized and goes out to the country at large the people of this country will be satisfied that what we are trying to do here is a worth-while thing.

We appreciate your coming here, and we wish you Godspeed in your efforts.

Thank you very much.

Governor LEHMAN. Thank you for the opportunity to appear before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting stands adjourned. I believe the next meeting will be on Wednesday morning at 10:30 o'clock.

(Whereupon the hearing was adjourned to reconvene at 10:30 a. m. Wednesday, December 15, 1943.)

# TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. The committee has under further consideration House Joint Resolution 192, a bill to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization.

The Chair would like to state before we hear from Mr. Acheson that any member or any person who would like to appear before this committee on this resolution, if they will kindly send their name to the clerk or to me, or if any member desires to suggest anyone to appear, we would be very glad to hear them.

It should be understood by everyone that these hearings will not be closed until everyone has been given a chance to be heard, either for or against the resolution, so that if you know of anyone, please inform us. So far the only name we have here is that of Representative Dewey, who desires to be heard, and we would be very glad to hear him when we finish the witnesses in favor of the resolution, or anyone else who would like to be given the opportunity to appear and they will be invited before the hearings are closed.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, Congressman Smith, of Ohio, asked me to request the chairman that he be given an opportunity to express his views on this resolution. He said he would not be ready today, but tomorrow, if the opportunity arose, he would be; either then or any later time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to know whether he is in favor of the resolution or not, so we could have all the witnesses for the resolution at one time and finish that, and then put in the testimony of those who are opposed to the resolution. If he does not mind telling us, we would like to have that information because he would be obliged to tell us sometime and he might as well do so in advance.

Mr. VORYS. I will ask him that.

The CHAIRMAN. And let the Chair know as soon as possible so we can arrange our witnesses in the proper order.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, the chairman of the Agricultural Committee suggests that they would like to sit in with us.

The CHAIRMAN. We want everybody. We are not going to foreclose anyone from the opportunity to be heard on this matter until we are sure we have all the testimony, and Mr. Rogers just requested that we hold a hearing on his resolution.

Mr. ROGERS. An executive meeting, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That is up to the committee. You first hold a hearing, and if they decide to go into executive session, that is all right, but personally, I do not see why we should hold executive hearings on those things in view of the fact that as soon as they are held, they get out to certain people and the press. If it is going to be executive, it has to be executive. We will have a short executive session after the hearing today.

Mr. BURGIN. I do not know how you feel about it, but the president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the head of the Manufacturers Association, and the head of different labor organizations and churches, both Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me. On what?

Mr. BURGIN. On this resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. It is perfectly satisfactory for anyone to appear.

Mr. BURGIN. I do not know how they stand. They represent a large segment of society.

The CHAIRMAN. We would be very glad to act upon that suggestion, Mr. Burgin, and notify any of these people that want to testify that we will be happy to hear them.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Eaton?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman. Mr. Dewey, one of our members, would like to appear before the committee. I would like to advise him when he may do so because he is in Chicago and will be here tomorrow morning and I would like to know when he could appear.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be very glad to hear him.

Mr. EATON. At the next meeting?

The CHAIRMAN. At the next meeting. I would like to get through with the Secretary, and I would like to have Mr. Crowley come back as there were some members that did not have the opportunity to cross-examine Mr. Crowley. Immediately after that we would be glad to hear from Mr. Dewey.

We have with us Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson.

Mr. Secretary, you may proceed.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF DEAN G. ACHESON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman, I think when you released me, we were talking about the financial plan and we were down to section 6 of the financial plan.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers?

Mrs. ROGERS. Before the Secretary begins, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mrs. Rogers.

## DRAFTING OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 192

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Secretary, who wrote House Joint Resolution 192?

The CHAIRMAN. Who wrote House Joint Resolution 192; is that right?

Mrs. ROGERS. That is it, exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to answer it?

Mr. ACHESON. I do not know that I can. A large part of the bill is the agreement. I know who wrote that.

The CHAIRMAN. You remember, Mrs. Rogers, the Secretary was before this committee sometime ago, and he suggested the kind of legislation they would like to have, and I think the committee was informed at that time.

Mrs. ROGERS. Who wrote the agreement?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman. I think it would be very helpful if the Secretary would give us the history of the agreement.

Mr. ACHESON. What I am trying to find out is whether you want to know who wrote the legislation, House Joint Resolution 192, or the agreement?

Mrs. ROGERS. Both.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want this in the record?

Mrs. ROGERS. Yes; I think it ought to go into the record.

Mr. ACHESON. The resolution is made up of the introductory paragraph, section 1, which then recites the agreement. That continues over until we get to page 14. Then there is a section at the end.

Now, the agreement I will speak about in a moment. The words preceding and following the agreement, to the best of my knowledge and belief, were worked out by Members of the House and Senate with the legislative counsel of both Houses, and Mr. Francis Sayre, who then talked them over with members of this committee and members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. It is a composite matter on which I suppose 15 people worked.

Mrs. ROGERS. Would there be any objection to giving their names?

Mr. ACHESON. I have not the faintest idea of the names.

Mrs. ROGERS. Would there be any objection to giving the names and furnishing them?

Mr. ACHESON. No.

Mr. JOHNSON. The names of the legislative counsel.

Mrs. ROGERS. I want to know the name and have all the facts at my disposal.

Mr. ACHESON. I will mention all of the names I know. Mr. Sayre and I first talked with members of the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, being originally Senators Connally, Green, Vandenberg, La Follette, and Thomas of Utah.

Most of the discussions were with three of those Senators, Senators Vandenberg, Green, and Thomas of Utah.

Then there were discussions over here with the chairman of this committee, and I believe with Mr. Eaton and other members of this committee who were consulted. I just do not know all about that because I was not always present.

Then a draft was made and submitted to the legislative counsel.

Mr. VORYS. May we proceed off the record a moment, Mr. Chairman?



The CHAIRMAN. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I think this should surely be on the record.

Mr. SAYRE. Out of a series of meetings with representatives of Congress and in particular with members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and with this committee, came an agreement to submit a joint resolution before the Congress. Then the question arose as to the form of the resolution. That was discussed with both committees and with the leaders of both House of Congress, the House and Senate, and out of these meetings came a general agreement on the form which that joint resolution should take.

Then that form, as proposed, and informally agreed to, was laid before this committee informally, and was laid before the House Appropriations Committee informally, and also laid before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee informally, and before several other leaders of the House and Senate, and the resolution before you now is the outcome of those discussions.

There was general agreement. There was no real contention as to the form of the resolution, once that fundamental agreement had been reached.

Mrs. ROGERS. It seems to me still that the cart is before the horse. Whose brain child is U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. ACHESON. May I say, Mr. Sayre, that the reporter did not get the first part of your statement, as it was off the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We will insert that in the record.

STATEMENT BY MR. FRANCIS B. SAYRE, FORMERLY SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN RELIEF AND REHABILITATION OPERATIONS

The question has been asked as to who is responsible for the form of language of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) now under consideration. It will be remembered that after more than a year of negotiations carried on between the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China, a preliminary draft of an agreement setting up the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was finally agreed upon as the basis for further discussions. In July, 1943, this preliminary draft was informally shown to and discussed with the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Various changes in the draft of the agreement were suggested as a result of these discussions and these changes were incorporated in the final form of the agreement.

During the course of the discussions in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator Vandenberg raised the question of whether the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement should not be considered as a treaty and therefore submitted for ratification by two-thirds of the Senate. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations thereupon appointed a subcommittee to consider and discuss this question, consisting of Senator Connally, Senator Green, Senator Thomas of Utah, Senator Vandenberg, and Senator La Follette. In the ensuing discussions which took place between the members of this subcommittee and Assistant Secretary Acheson and myself, representing the State Department, it was made clear that the draft agreement was not intended to impose binding obligations on the part of the United States but to set up the machinery for an international organization to administer relief and rehabilitation providing that contributions of funds should be made by each member government "within the limits of its available resources and subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure."

After considerable discussion, the subcommittee reached the conclusion that in view of certain modifications which Senator Vandenberg and others had suggested in the text of the agreement and which were incorporated in the final

text, the best method of procedure would be along the following lines: That an effort be made to secure the agreement of the other 43 United Nations and associated governments to the changes proposed by Senator Vandenberg and by others in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and that if this could be done the President should sign the agreement and the Administration should be organized in accordance with the agreement. Following this a joint resolution should be introduced in Congress authorizing the President to expend such moneys as Congress might from time to time appropriate for participation by the United States in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Such a joint resolution presumably would be discussed and considered both in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and would also be debated on the floors of the House and the Senate. This would give to Congress full opportunity to consider the extent to which the United States should participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Following the passage of the joint resolution, appropriation bills would then be introduced and would be considered first by the Appropriation Committees of the House and the Senate and then on the floor by the House and the Senate. In this way everyone concerned would have full opportunity to consider the whole program. I understand that the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee concluded that if the changes which had been proposed were made in the text and the above program were followed, the introduction of a joint resolution would be an appropriate constitutional procedure.

Mr. Acheson and I were in constant touch with your committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and with other congressional leaders.

In accordance with this program, the changes proposed in the text of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement were then put before the other 43 nations and their agreement was secured to them. We also set about drafting a joint resolution to be introduced in Congress in accordance with the program.

Senator Vandenberg insisted that the joint resolution should carry within it the full text of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement as signed by the President. To this Mr. Acheson and I both agreed.

Following these conversations we set to work drafting such a joint resolution as proposed. Our aim was to make it as simple and as short as possible, simply authorizing the appropriation from time to time to the President of such sums as the Congress might determine to be appropriate for participation by the United States in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and reciting the text of the agreement as desired by Senator Vandenberg.

In working out this draft, I consulted all those who I felt would have an interest in the question. The draft was worked out in consultation with Mr. Hackworth, the legal adviser of the State Department, and with Mr. McDougal, general counsel of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations. It was also taken up informally with representatives of the Bureau of the Budget. The draft, as proposed, was submitted to Senator Green who, in turn, sent it in a letter to Senator Vandenberg who wrote back approving the form of the resolution.

The resolution was also submitted to Mr. Sol Bloom, the chairman of your committee, and was discussed and examined carefully by Mr. Morgan, assistant legislative counsel of Congress. The text was laid before your Committee on Foreign Affairs in executive session on September 23, 1943 and before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on September 22, 1943 and before members of the House Committee on Appropriations. Further discussions were held with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on November 5, 1943 and with the House Foreign Affairs Committee in November, 1943.

So far as I know all of those consulted in both the House and the Senate and elsewhere were in full agreement on the text of the joint resolution which is now before you. We sought in the bill to avoid contentious issues and to make it as short and general as possible. I believe that no one has raised any serious objection to the language of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to have the Secretary say if I am stating this correctly.

Then we had a meeting between the legislative drafting clerk of the House, and I think we called in the Parliamentarian at that time, and

we were very careful to see that the resolution was drawn up according to any existing law that might affect this, and to be sure that it was in proper legislative order. I think Mr. Eaton was at the meeting at that time. And then it was resubmitted to the State Department, and representatives of the House drafting room, and the legislative drafting room got together so as to be sure that what we were suggesting was in proper form.

Is that right, Mr. Sayre?

Mr. SAYRE. That is correct. Furthermore, I discussed the form of the resolution with Senator Green. It was then sent by Senator Green with a letter to Senator Vandenberg and received their personal approval.

Mrs. ROGERS. What Government agencies assisted you with the draft of the bill? Did you not have some one from the State Department? One reason why I bring it up is because the other day there was such an argument about Mr. Crowley. Did some Lend-Lease lawyer help you and Mr. Crowley?

Mr. SAYRE. No; as a matter of fact we took the advice of the legal staff of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations—O. F. R. R. O. We also took the matter up informally with the Bureau of the Budget. Mr. Crowley's Foreign Economic Administration had not yet been established.

Mrs. ROGERS. Which lawyers there assisted you?

Mr. SAYRE. Mr. McDougal, the General Counsel of O. F. R. R. O.

Mrs. ROGERS. No one from Lend-Lease?

Mr. SAYRE. No.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Crowley was not organized then?

Mr. SAYRE. Foreign Economic Administration had not been set up, so I was working with Mr. McDougal as the counsel for O. F. R. R. O.

Mrs. ROGERS. The jurisdiction came up later.

Mr. SAYRE. I also talked the matter over with Mr. Hackworth, Legal Adviser of the State Department, so I think we took the advice of everyone who was at that time concerned with the matter, and there was general agreement. There was no contentious issue that developed.

I want to make clear the whole course of procedure was built on the fundamental agreement with first the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and with this committee, in order to meet the objections which Senator Vandenberg first raised with respect to the U. N. R. R. A. agreement that it might be considered as a treaty. Therefore, this arrangement was agreed to, first, that the U. N. R. R. A. agreement should be signed by the President as an executive agreement; that following that, a joint resolution should be introduced in the Congress authorizing the President to expend such moneys as Congress might appropriate from time to time for United States participation in U. N. R. R. A.

It was understood that the joint resolution would be considered by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, that following that, if the joint resolution passed, separate appropriation bills would be introduced and these would be considered by the Appropriations Committee.

That would give to all parties concerned in the Congress, in both the House and Senate, full chance to consider the question on its



merits, and that was the fundamental basis on which this resolution was drawn up.

Every one having agreed to that, the whole aim in drafting the resolution was to make it just as simple and short and as lacking in contentious matter as possible, and for that reason it was drawn in its present form.

It was Senator Vandenberg's thought that the present resolution should contain the whole text of the U. N. R. R. A. agreement, and everyone agreed to that.

As far as I know, there were no contentions that developed out of the form of the joint resolution.

We consulted all of these various people I have enumerated, and I think the proposals embody pretty much the ideas of them all. There were various verbal changes made. The chairman of this committee wanted to make one or two changes, and the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee wanted to make one or two changes in the language; but apart from a few verbal changes, I think there was a general consensus of agreement.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Crowley and Mr. Cox did not assist?

Mr. SAYRE. Mr. Crowley was not in the picture then. Foreign Economic Administration had not yet been organized.

Mr. JOHNSON. He was head of the F. D. I. C. then.

Mr. SAYRE. Yes, sir.

#### AN APPROPRIATION IS NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT THE U. N. R. R. A. AGREEMENT

Mrs. ROGERS. By putting this resolution in effort, we are legislating the agreement.

Mr. SAYRE. I do not know what you mean by "legislating."

Mrs. ROGERS. We are legislating that agreement in the resolution, in authorizing an appropriation for U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. SAYRE. The agreement came into force with the signing on November 9, by representatives of 44 nations. That brought the agreement into being. To give flesh to that skeleton, there must be financial contributions. So far as the United States contribution is concerned, only Congress can do that, and we were fastidiously careful in framing the agreement to commit the United States in no way so far as making contributions was concerned. We made it abundantly clear again and again that Congress had full power to determine the amount and character of the contributions that should be made. We bent over backwards to be sure that no commitments would be made that would bind Congress, so that Congress would feel free and untrammelled in the exercise of its judgment. That was part of the understanding from the time we carried on the conferences with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and your own committee.

Mrs. ROGERS. By putting this agreement in, Congress is agreeing to all provisions of the agreement. Is that true?

Mr. SAYRE. The agreement came into force on November 9 by the signing by representatives of 44 nations, but Congress is making the carrying out of the agreement possible through appropriations which it may see fit to make.

Mrs. ROGERS. This does more, it seems to me.



Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Do you feel when this agreement was entered into on November 9 it was in full force and effect without any other action except an appropriation?

Mr. SAYRE. That is true. However, without appropriations this agreement is meaningless. Unless the 44 nations contribute help or money and resources, the agreement falls to the ground. Remember what this agreement is. It merely sets up the machinery. Without financial assistance it falls to the ground and becomes meaningless unless Congress and the parliamentary or legislative branches of the member governments see fit to make contributions.

Mrs. ROGERS. I am going to ask another question in another way.

You feel that there was no necessity for putting this agreement in the resolution?

Mr. SAYRE. We were in full agreement with Senator Vandenberg, who wanted that text to be in the resolution, and I think he felt it was important it be in, and we agreed.

Mrs. ROGERS. It is very interesting to have the history of that.

Mr. SAYRE. But I really think there were no differences on the points which I am relating.

Mrs. ROGERS. Yes.

Mr. SAYRE. It was the unanimous feeling of everybody that this sort of procedure was the way to go forward. This enabled the U. N. R. R. A. machinery to be set up without commitments of any kind so far as the United States is concerned. Then we turn to Congress and say, "Here is the machinery. Do you want to start the wheels moving, and do you want to assist?"

We have tried in good faith throughout to observe that understanding, and I think we have done so.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Eaton?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, since my name has been mentioned in connection with this alleged conspiracy, I would like to make a little speech, knowing that what I say will be held against me, but I waive immunity.

My relations with its framing were very simple and very fundamental. I am confident, in the language of the gentleman from Wisconsin, that unless we join with these other nations in an enterprise of this kind the hell we are going to be in will make what we are in now look like a Sunday-school picnic.

I am profoundly convinced it is a most solemn obligation that immediately rests upon the civilized people of the world at this time to meet the enormous distress and anguish, out of which will grow political and economic chaos which will drag down every statue of civilization that has been erected in a thousand years.

Now, believing that, I would naturally like to see our State Department originate under the control of the Chief Executive, who is responsible under our Constitution, some sort of an arrangement, and I was delighted to join with Senator Vandenberg, who happens to be on the wrong side of politics from some folks here, and others, in seeing this thing developed.

Now, as far as the form of the resolution, I will have to refuse any connection of parentage with that particular child.

Mr. BURGIN. It is a legitimate child.

Mr. EATON. The fathers will have to come in and prove it. As far as I am concerned, it is legitimate, but somebody has got to bring it

here and it is our duty to pick it to pieces and see that it is workable and constitutional. But I want, in closing, to record the melancholy fact that the one chief proposal that I made to my friend Mr. Sayre was turned down, namely, I had a candidate for Director General who was the best equipped man on earth for that job and he did not receive the appointment. That is my whole connection with it.

I plead guilty to being acquainted with what was going on, and of being in full sympathy with it.

I want to say this: I want this thing carried through, and the one principle I have always insisted on in public and private in this connection is that so far as the interest of the United States Government is controlling, we reserve complete control of our own destiny; and that is why we are here today, to see that we are functioning in behalf of our own sovereignty, our own liberties, and our own wants; and the appropriation and the way that money is expended is entirely our responsibility as the Congress of the United States; and I am willing to assume that responsibility and take whatever position seems wise; and whatever we do, I want it distinctly understood, will be at least 50 percent wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, do you want to say anything about this matter at this point?

#### HISTORY OF THE U. N. R. R. A. AGREEMENT

Mr. ACHESON. I think we now come to the history of the agreement. I have told this twice, but I will put it in again.

Mrs. ROGERS. The Members of Congress will be glad to have it put in altogether.

Mr. ACHESON. The history of the agreement is as follows:

In September 1941 there met together in London the representatives of certain of the allied governments, and there they formed the committee known as the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Committee. It was known as the St. James's Palace meeting of September 1941.

That committee was serviced by a technical staff or bureau which was a department of the British Government headed by Sir Frederick Leith-Ross.

The Soviet Government was not a member of that committee.

When Pearl Harbor came along, the United States was asked to become a member.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers, this is principally for you.

Mrs. ROGERS. Yes; may I say it is primarily for the record in order that the history can be there and we can refer to it easily? This is a matter that involves the employment of 7,500 people.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed, Mr. Acheson.

Mr. ACHESON. The United States was invited to become a member and sent an observer.

Then the question arose about the Far East.

While those matters were under discussion, the Soviet Government sent a communication to the British and ourselves saying this organization, or an organization to deal with the relief question, should be really international and it did not believe that the London organization was.

The CHAIRMAN. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to state this: I think it would be preferable if we have the reasons and the information regarding the writing and the introduction of this resolution put in after Mr. Acheson's testimony and not at this point, so the Secretary's testimony will have continuity, and after his testimony then we can fit all of this together with reference to the introduction of this resolution so as not to have the space in there taken up by a lot of this other testimony and allow Mr. Acheson to proceed in order.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I would like to ask just one question on that point.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chiperfield.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Was it not true also several governments were competing for post-war materials at that time and it was felt that these purchases should be centralized?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct, Mr. Chiperfield.

Mrs. ROGERS. I ask that be given at the beginning of the hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not make any difference whether at the beginning or end, but I would like to have the Secretary's testimony continue with some continuity. If you want it at the beginning, you may have it at the beginning; or if you want it at the end, after his testimony, you may have it after his testimony. It does not make any difference.

Mrs. ROGERS. What is the pleasure of the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. It does not make any difference to me. You can have it at the beginning or the end, or any other way. It does not make any difference.

Do you want to take a vote on it?

Mr. JOHNSON. I suggest that we go on with the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers asks unanimous consent that the testimony with reference as to why this resolution was brought about should go in at the beginning of the hearing.

Mr. JOHNSON. I suggest that it be left to the discretion of the witness. He would know better.

The CHAIRMAN. I cannot see any reason to care whether it goes in at the beginning or at the end. It does not make a particle of difference. Let it stay the way it is.

Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

#### FINANCIAL PLAN

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman, we were talking about the financial plan and reached as far as 6, on page 26, on Document II.

That financial plan, you remember, contains a recommendation to the member governments that they make a nonrecurring contribution which would be equal to 1 percent of their national incomes for the year ended June 30, 1943.

Section 6 then says any member government may treat its share of the administrative expenses as included in that 1 percent. In other words, it is not called on to make any contribution for administrative expenses if it makes a contribution equal to 1 percent; that covers the whole request of U. N. R. R. A. upon that government.

Section 7 says any member government which is the government of an occupied territory may make a contribution if it is able to make



any contribution in addition to taking care of its own relief and rehabilitation.

Section 8 says if a government is able to do so, it should make more than a 1-percent contribution. That is principally to take care of a matter which will come up later on in relation to such things as export taxes, where it is recommended that a government that has an export tax on goods will not treat the export tax as part of its contribution, but will treat the waiving of the export tax as an additional contribution.

Section 9 provides that the Director General may receive contributions from nonmember governments or nongovernmental sources. We have discussed that before in this committee.

Section 10 urges the governments to take action just as soon as they can to determine what contributions they can make and to make them available so that the organization may get to work.

Section 11 says that if any government wishes to make a contribution directly to another government, it should do so only after consulting the Director General. That is so as to enable him to know what is going on in the whole relief field and not to have a particular area given more favorable treatment than other areas.

Section 12 urges governments which are in a constitutional position to do so to make some advance payment on account of administrative expenses so that a staff may be employed and the organization may go to work.

Then under "Expenditures," in section 13, it is recommended that expenditures from the contributions made by various governments shall be called for at an approximately equal rate so that one government will not have to put up all of its contribution before another government puts up any, but that equality of burden shall be at all times preserved as much as possible.

Section 14 says the Director General may incur obligations for administrative expenses in accordance with approved budgets. That limits him as to administrative expenses up to the amounts provided for in the budgets which are approved.

Section 15 says that the Director General may use foreign exchange available to U. N. R. R. A. for administrative expenses within any country which cannot be met from local currency credits. It is hoped to avoid the use of foreign exchange as much as possible in administrative expenses.

Then we come to important sections, 16, 17, 18, and 19. These have to do with the determination of a government's ability to pay for relief.

Section 16 says it is the policy of the administration not to deplete its resources by using funds or sending goods to a country which can afford to pay for them itself. That is a very important provision and one that requires any country in possession of foreign exchange assets to use them in acquiring relief supplies.

Section 17 provides the method by which the determination is made of whether a country can or cannot pay. That determination is made by the Director General subject to the advice of a subcommittee of the Council and is appealable to the whole Council. It is of course made only on the application of a government. Nobody goes into the affairs of a government which itself says it is going to pay.

Section 18 says it is not the policy of the administration that any applicant should be required to assume the burden of an enduring



foreign exchange debt for relief and rehabilitation. If a country has the funds, it should be required to use them; but if it does not, it should not be required to borrow them to the extent of creating an enduring foreign exchange debt.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Acheson, will a country that has foreign exchange be forced to use the foreign exchange and not permitted to get relief for nothing and use the foreign exchange later?

Mr. ACHESON. Section 17 says in making the determination, the applicant's foreign exchange assets and its sources of foreign exchange shall be taken into account. Although payment for relief and rehabilitation supplies and services shall be considered to have a strong claim on the foreign exchange assets of the applicant country, due consideration should be given to its need of foreign exchange for other purposes. That of course has to do with questions such as the degree of destruction which has occurred in a country. The function of U. N. R. R. A. is not to undertake any program of long-range reconstruction. It will not be required to exceed the amount of foreign exchange contributed to it.

#### FAIR BASIS FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. May I ask one more question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chiperfield?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Our share of the U. N. R. R. A. is to be approximately \$1,350,000,000 and represents 1 percent of our income for 1943.

Why is this figure a fair one to take and why is a high-income country better off under this formula than a poor one?

Mr. ACHESON. Well, the reason that it is a fair figure to take is, in the first place, that we must get a fund approximately this size, so that if you take a year with a smaller income you have to have a higher percentage.

In the second place, the fact that the income of a country is higher because prices are higher in the country is not a discrimination against the country because the great bulk of expenditures will be made in that country anyway, so it does not make much difference. If the income is high, it means the expenditures within that country would be the same.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You feel 1 percent of a high-income country is less of a burden than 1 percent in a low-income country?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; that matter was discussed at some length at the Atlantic City conference and it was pointed out that under the idea of a progressive income tax it is considered equitable that persons with higher incomes should pay a higher percentage of their income. So it was argued that a country with a high income should pay more than 1 percent, while a country with a low income could pay less than 1 percent.

After a great deal of debate, a certain amount of validity was recognized in that argument, but it was also pointed out that as a matter of rough justice, this 1-percent formula would be the most equitable arrangement. If you began to classify countries, you get into many additional questions, such as the special burdens that some countries are bearing, and that gets into questions that are insoluble, so that the

Council came back to the rather simple formula of 1 percent of last year's national income.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.

#### ALTERNATIVE FINANCIAL PLANS

Mr. VORYS. I wonder if it would be proper for you to tell us of the other formulae that were suggested. I understand that there were several of them, and that in most cases the mere mention of them would show why you were driven to this type of formula.

Would that be proper?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Mr. Vorys. There were at least four other formulae which were suggested. The one I have mentioned—that is, that a country should be graded according to the amount of its income and its general degree of prosperity. This one was a little bit vague to start with. The idea was that there should be four or five groups, and the highest group should carry the highest percentage; the next group, the next highest; and so on, down the line. That one was dismissed.

Then there was the suggestion made that a very complicated formula should be worked out by which you take the national income and per capita income and then apply an algebraic formula, which I was never able to understand, but other persons present said they did understand it. It was finally decided that if the majority of the committee did not understand it, we were not going to be very well equipped to explain it to our legislative bodies. That was dropped.

And then we had another suggestion that a certain percentage of the annual budget should be contributed. It was pointed out there that that was an extremely unfair formula because the budgets of those countries which were taking the greatest burden in the war—that is, the military burdens—were a great deal higher than those which were not. That was not satisfactory. I pointed out that our own budget has grown up terrifically with military expenditures, so that if that formula were adopted it would be very unfair to the United Kingdom and the United States and other countries spending great sums on the war.

Then there was a formula that a certain percentage of the total foreign trade of a country should be taken, and another formula that a certain percentage of the foreign trade of the country with the areas receiving relief should be taken.

As soon as you take a certain percentage of the foreign trade of the United States, you are immediately asked what year do you take. If you take a recent year, lend-lease might be considered foreign trade, and that would not prove satisfactory.

If you then accepted the formula that there be taken a certain percentage of the foreign trade of the country with the areas receiving relief, then the burden of this fund would become perfectly absurd because countries which really might wish to contribute might have had a very small trade with those areas. You would, for example, have to take two or three hundred percent of the foreign trade of the United States with some of these areas, so that was a nonworkable formula.

Those were some of the ideas that were put forward.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Was it the judgment of the Council that national income expressed, as fairly as any other formula you could find, the relative ability to pay the contribution?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; that was the conclusion after a great deal of very careful consideration.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Now, there are other countries, are there not, besides our own, that have had their income boosted by war activities industrially and economically?

Mr. ACHESON. Almost all of the unoccupied countries have had that experience.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. We all know our national income figures have jumped enormously during the war period. Have the other countries involved had a somewhat similar experience?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Mr. Chiperfield. I could not answer whether it is directly proportionate or not, but that has happened in the South American countries where, by reason of great purchases which have been made in those areas, and the decrease in the capacity to supply imports into those areas which were previously supplied, there has been an addition to the amount of money in the country, but the stock of goods remaining is limited and prices have gone up, so that both income and prices have increased.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Of course the reason for this line of questions is that the average person, most all of us, are shocked at first that our country is asked to pay sixty-odd percent of the total.

What you have just said, however, shows that we pay this because we have approximately that proportion of the world's ability to pay. Is that not correct?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. And the other countries whose contributions are smaller, it is because, for one thing, their standards are low and therefore the purchasing power of their contribution in their own country would be larger than ours.

Have I stated that right, or not?

Mr. ACHESON. That is quite true in many countries where the level of prices for the same commodity in other countries is lower than it is here. Therefore a contribution by certain countries of certain commodities would produce more commodities than in the United States.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Then the percentage of national income, if it is translated into supplies and commodities would average fairly well. If there is a different standard of living in different countries, the proportion of funds they can pay under the 1 percent formula would be a fair burden?

Mr. ACHESON. That is true. There are some countries for which it will work a hardship and they will not be able to meet the full contribution.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. There is no guaranty the countries of the world are all going to accept the contribution suggested?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir; this is a recommendation by the Council to the several legislative bodies.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. In a country having a high standard of living like the United States it would be within reason to say here that U. N. R. R. A. could spend our money elsewhere for supplies; we could then possibly buy more supplies and leave us with more supplies than to



make our contribution in kind. Is that not true, as a general proposition?

Mr. ACHESON. That will be very true in respect of all commodities which are rationed or in short supply in this country.

Mr. VORYS. You have this suggestion that 10 percent of each country's contribution be in foreign exchange. It would be to our advantage, perhaps beyond that of any other country almost, to make some of ours available in foreign exchange rather than in rationed foods, because we have a better supply of foreign exchange.

Mr. ACHESON. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. May the Chair just suggest we permit Mr. Acheson to continue with his testimony?

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stearns.

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Secretary, is it possible to study any comparison with the last war closely enough to arrive at any opinion whether we would be paying a less proportion of the burden under this formula than we carried last time?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; it is possible. We have discussed that in the record, and in the galley I have corrected some figures and put in the comparative percentages, which bring out the answer to the question you have just asked.

During and after the last war the amount which the United States paid out for relief was equal to 4 percent of the income of the United States for the year 1919 as against the present proposal, which is 1 percent of the 1943 income.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Eaton.

Mr. EATON. You have outlined your reasons for your choice of this particular formula. I have been struck by a curious resemblance between that and the formula adopted in our income-tax policy as to the effect upon the income of people; that is to say, you have adopted the principle of making the best-equipped people pay the highest price.

Mr. ACHESON. The criticism possibly was that we had not done that, Dr. Eaton.

Mr. EATON. After this was adopted they made that criticism?

Mr. ACHESON. In the discussion it was pointed out if they followed the principle of the income tax, the countries with the highest incomes would pay a higher rate. It was pointed out that in the income-tax schedules you do that, you apply a graduated rate. A person with a small income would pay 2 or 3 percent, and one with a large income much more.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jonkman.

#### ABILITY OF MEMBER COUNTRIES TO CONTRIBUTE ONE PERCENT OF NATIONAL INCOME

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Acheson, you said something a moment ago about your feeling that some of the countries will not be able to make the contribution.

Is there any anticipation or feeling that there will be a substantial number of countries that will not be able to make their contribution?



Mr. ACHESON. There will be a substantial number that will not be able to make their full contribution. It will not affect the amount very much. There is only one country which would affect the amount considerably and that is India. It is obvious India will not be able to pay 1 percent. That would amount to about \$120,000,000. The problems of India are so great with its own relief, that India will not be able to make such a contribution.

Mr. JONKMAN. Could you give an estimate of how many countries there would be that will not make a contribution, as a practical matter.

Mr. ACHESON. I would believe that all countries would make a contribution; some may not be able to contribute their full 1 percent.

Mr. JONKMAN. I mean, on the basis of this assessment.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield there for a question?

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON. The substantial number that may not be able to meet their 1 percent are the smaller countries, and the amount will not be considered large in relative proportion to the whole?

Mr. ACHESON. No; it will not make very much difference in the size of the fund.

Mr. JONKMAN. There might be 20 of them that might not be able to make the assessment?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir; not that many.

Mr. JONKMAN. In your judgment, what will the number be?

Mr. ACHESON. It would be a pure guess. I would have no idea. It may be somewhere between 10 and 20.

Mrs. ROGERS. A country might not be able to do much with cash, but it could in natural resources.

Mr. ACHESON. It is really the same thing, because under this plan a country is asked to put up a credit in its own currency, 10 percent being made available for purchases outside of the country, which would mean 90 percent would have to be met in its own boundaries.

Now, the question is whether the country can stand, from the point of view of its budget and own resources, a contribution of that much of its own materials. That depends upon its budgetary position and state of its resources.

Mrs. ROGERS. It would be possible.

Mr. ACHESON. It would be possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF OCCUPIED COUNTRIES TO CONTRIBUTE

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Secretary, is it anticipated that the countries that will provide their own relief will in every instance make a contribution also to U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. ACHESON. I do not think I quite fully understand the question.

Mr. JONKMAN. Contributions of member-nations who are going to take care of their own people. There are such nations, are there not?

Mr. ACHESON. Naturally an occupied country is not within the 1 percent request. All we have said to the occupied countries is, "You can make a contribution to other occupied countries, and we hope that you will do so," but we understand that they cannot tell now whether they will be in that position because they have to find out, first of all, what the needs of their own countries are.

Mr. JONKMAN. They are member countries?

Mr. ACHESON. They are member countries; yes, sir.

Mr. JONKMAN. But they are not requested to contribute the 1 percent?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean all of the occupied countries, do you, Mr. Secretary, because some of the occupied countries, like Holland and France, have funds here, frozen funds in gold? They would pay.

Mr. ACHESON. Let us straighten out exactly what we mean. The occupied countries who have foreign exchange resources here are asked to pay for all they get. They are not asked to make a contribution for the relief of other occupied areas unless they are able to do so. They are not put in the 1 percent request.

Mr. JONKMAN. May they come in later?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONKMAN. Are they expected to?

Mr. ACHESON. It is hoped they will if they can, and that is the purpose of section 7, which says that the Council recommends that a member country, other than one covered by section 4, which is able to contribute to the work of U. N. R. R. A. for relief and rehabilitation outside of its own territory in addition to its allocated share of administrative expenses should do so. Every country, whether occupied or not, is expected to contribute to administrative expenses, but an occupied country is asked to make a contribution to the general fund only if it finds that it can do so.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jonkman, have you finished?

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. I want to call attention in connection with this discussion to the testimony given by Mr. Acheson previously to the effect that U. N. R. R. A. would pay only from 5 to 10 percent of the whole amount to be expended for relief and rehabilitation and that 90 to 95 percent of the cost of relief and rehabilitation would be borne by the countries themselves. Therefore, in the case of Holland and other countries, they are going to bear a large part of the 90 to 95 percent which U. N. R. R. A. would not pay.

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Mr. JOHNSON. U. N. R. R. A.'s share will be only about 5 or 10 percent. That 90 or 95 percent is coming from the countries themselves.

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. Before we leave the discussion of the financial plan, I have a question.

The CHAIRMAN. He is nowhere near through. Proceed, Mr. Vorys.

#### PROPOSED CONTRIBUTION IS NONRECURRENT

Mr. VORYS. You mentioned earlier in your discussion of the financial plan, and you have said it many times, that the plan contemplates a one-for-all contribution, including administrative expenses. As a matter of legislative procedure, it would therefore be natural that this

committee, in authorizing an appropriation, would also provide the once-for-all limit of 1 percent in our legislation, would it not, so if there were to be any further request for funds by U. N. R. R. A., there would be full reconsideration by this committee of what should be done?

Mr. ACHESON. I think the answer is yes, but I am not quite sure that I understand the question. All the Council has recommended is a request for a contribution to deal with the emergency aspects of the problem. If the plan works out in accordance with its terms, that contribution should serve to the end of the relief program. If we are wrong, then the whole matter has to have new consideration in U. N. R. R. A., and a new plan has to be gotten up and laid before the legislatures again.

Mr. VORYS. Under our method of authorizing appropriations, if the Congress and this committee were disposed to make the contribution, we should then authorize the \$1,300,000,000 and set that as the limitation in our authorizing legislation so if reconsideration became necessary our committee would again have to review it, review any further authorizing legislation.

Mr. ACHESON. That is entirely in the jurisdiction of the committee and the power of Congress.

Mr. VORYS. Also under section 13 on page 27 the Director General is given the instruction that contributions of all member-governments for the work of the administration shall be collected at approximately an equal rate. Since the Director General is given that mandate by the Council, it would certainly not interfere with the operations of U. N. R. R. A. if a similar provision were written into the authorization making our fund available only when called upon at an approximately equal rate with other governments; is that not true?

Mr. ACHESON. I should be very sorry to see that done. Mr. Vorys. I think you would then transfer a direction to do this as nearly as he can into a legal requirement which would be administered by other people. Some official in this Government would undertake to say "I do not think this is quite right; I do not think the reason is adequate." We will get tied up in all sorts of kindred difficulties which I should think would be unfortunate.

Mr. VORYS. It is that problem that made me make this statement, this suggestion. Congress is going to authorize the requested contribution and then appropriate from within that 1-percent limit on some definite basis that Congress understands but then of course is going to leave to someone else the determination of the rate of expenditure of our contribution.

It has seemed to me that so long as the Director General was calling upon our country at the same rate as on the other countries, we should not have someone else on behalf of our country saying we will not participate so much right now but we will participate at a greater rate than other nations.

We must avoid having a second review of this. I thought of putting in the legislation a provision that we would meet calls at the same rate met by other nations, the test being whether Director Lehman made his call on other nations, not whether other nations met the call.

Mr. ACHESON. I see the purpose you have in mind, but I do not think



you would achieve it and I am afraid you will establish a legal requirement which would administratively be very complete.

Mr. JONKMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jonkman?

Mr. JONKMAN. I think we are getting down to the crux of the matter. The reason I asked the question a moment ago, how many nations will not contribute, is that I am satisfied we are doing this on a very conservative basis as are all other nations, so it is all right for Uncle Sam to play Santa Claus and we are not. It has got to be done on a conservative basis. There is a measure of protection in this section. Everybody is waiting for everybody else to play Santa Claus, so our protection lies in our putting up our contribution which is also kept in place with the other contributions.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wadsworth?

Mr. ACHESON. I would like to say to Mr. Jonkman that this is not a world W. P. A.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JONKMAN. I am not accusing anybody. I am not casting any reflection, but there are forces at work which bring about certain results.

Mr. ACHESON. They were not at work around me.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wadsworth?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. ACHESON. We were talking about section 19, which we have been over before in this committee, which is the section under which the Director General may ask any government which receives supplies through U. N. R. R. A. to make available to him the local currency proceeds of the sale of that material so that he will have local currency funds in the various nonpaying countries.

Now, the rest of the financial plan is formal in character. I do not think we need read those paragraphs separately.

#### INSURANCE

The next section has to do with insurance, and that, again, is a matter of discretion for the Director General. It says if it appears to him that he should carry his own risks, he may do so. The point of that is that there is really no sense in insurance because all that it would mean is that some of the funds of U. N. R. R. A. would be paid to insurance companies and it would not do much good if they lose a cargo to try to buy another because we are in too limited a supply. Therefore the idea is to allow the Director General to carry his own risk if he wants to do that.

Resolution 16—we have discussed this here several times—is the resolution which calls on all exporting and importing governments not to deplete U. N. R. R. A.'s fund by levying taxes on any of the goods of the Administration.

Resolution 17 has to do in some detail with the procedures by ascertaining and meeting deficits in supplies requiring importation.



It sets up a procedure under which there are to be ascertained the over-all requirements of the liberated areas. That is done by the Director General and supply agencies so everyone will know as soon as possible what the additional demand for goods will be which the liberated areas will make on the outside world.

Then there is a provision for the preparation and presentation of national requirements, which we have been over several times, which provides that all countries must inform the Director General of their requirements and of any purchases they wish to make, whether they are going to pay for them or whether they want him to pay for them. He may present any observations which he may have in regard to the proposed purchases for which the country is going to pay and the comparative need of those countries and other countries.

Mrs. BOLTON. By the entire group who will allocate the amount?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Mrs. Bolton. The procedures for obtaining supplies we have also discussed and those are the provisions which require the Director General to use the existing agencies of the various governments so he will go through such organizations as the War Food Administration, War Production Board, Foreign Economic Administration, and all organizations of that sort, and will not be a competitor with those organizations for material in the country.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wadsworth?

#### PROCEDURE FOR PROCURING UNITED STATES SUPPLIES

Mr. WADSWORTH. Are you prepared to discuss the particular provision in this country, under our Government, the provision you just referred to, directing the Director General to carry out his business through established Government agencies in each of the countries? Have you reached the point in building the machinery where you have decided which Government agencies in this country will be used by the Director General in securing supplies?

Mr. ACHESON. I think not, Mr. Wadsworth. That is a decision which will have to be made by the President. The procedure will be, broadly speaking—it must be, there is not much latitude to it—something as follows:

Now, consider how we operate within the United States. An appropriation we hope will be made available by the Congress under this resolution to the President. The Director General is interested in that appropriation in three different ways.

First of all, he has the administrative expenses under the administrative budget, \$4,000,000 of which is allocated to the United States.

So if the Congress authorizes an appropriation the Director General would have 13 months' expenses beginning around the 1st of December 1943 and ending December 31, 1944, \$4,000,000 that should be paid over to him.

The Director General will have two other types of interest in the appropriation. It will be necessary, undoubtedly, for him to employ people to operate within liberated areas. Now, those people will involve calls upon many countries. They will make calls on us if there is some serious plague, such as typhus, in any area, or anything else. The Director General will have the right to assemble doctors and nurses

from any country he can. Some will come from the United States, so he may need in addition to the administrative cash, funds to pay the specific men who are working in the field of medicine or people working in the field of agriculture so that he will make requests for funds for these purposes. I assume those funds will also be paid over to him under proper vouchers.

And then we come to the field of supply; the Director General wants some sort of material. Now, let us assume that he has three or four areas which have no foreign exchange and cannot pay for their own goods. They come to the Director General. He goes over all their requests. Let us take one, wheat or flour or some cereal.

Having all of these requests before him, the Director General will comment and talk with whatever agency is handling his appropriation here but primarily he will talk with the Combined Food Board and say, "here, I need this much flour for these various areas. What do you gentlemen recommend, where will it be procured?"

And then Mr. Marvin Jones and Mr. Brand of the British, or the Canadian Minister of Food may say, "We cannot get that much anywhere; can you get along with less, or can you substitute something else?"

At any rate, at the end of that discussion they will reach some sort of figure for a particular commodity, and they will recommend that some be procured from Argentina, some from Canada, some from the United States, and some from Australia.

Then the allocation which is made to the United States is the responsibility of Mr. Marvin Jones. The fund is in the hands of some agency which then says to Mr. Marvin Jones, "the money is here to procure it; ship it on the order of the Director General, and we will draw a check on this appropriation." That is the way that mechanism will work. What the agency is, the President is responsible for determining.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wadsworth?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I think the Secretary has traced the matter pretty well in view of the fact he is not sure which agency will handle the fund.

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Crowley has testified it would be a reasonable thing to have this handled through his organization, but no one knows what the President will do.

Mrs. BOLTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes, ma'am.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Bolton?

#### ROLE OF UNITED STATES AGENCY HANDLING U. N. R. R. A. FUNDS

Mrs. BOLTON. Whatever agency handles the fund, will that agency have a secondary power over the use of this fund of curtailing it or limiting it in any way?

Mr. ACHESON. The agency should be the guide, counsel, and friend of the Director General. That would be the reason they would have the fund. That would be the reason Congress appropriated the fund. The agency would be an adviser and counsellor to the Administrator, presenting his claim to whomever is furnishing goods or services that the Director General wants. If he were all alone in the maze of the

American Government, the British Government, and the Canadian Government, he would find it very difficult to go from one office to another, whereas if he has an agency to see that his needs are provided for, that will be better.

Mrs. BOLTON. If I remember the testimony correctly, it was suggested as part of his possible duties they would be to the American people as well as to the U. N. R. R. A to protect the supplies of this country against an over-use by U. N. R. R. A. Would that fit in with your concept of the use of such agency?

Mr. ACHESON. Well, let's see how the matter has worked in some of the comparable features in comparable fields, as for instance, the lend-lease field. The functions of the Lend-Lease organization has been to receive from the various governments a request for materials. Lend-Lease is not itself a procuring agency. It calls on an agency of the Government which has charge of a particular commodity.

In the case of lend-lease for military equipment, it may be the Army. Lend-Lease's functions in relation to the Army has been all the way through to urge the needs of the country which is applying. There has been no difficulty about protecting the American interest because most of these agencies have been very reluctant to part with anything they have, and sometimes it takes a great deal of persuasion that some of the materials should go to the Soviet Union rather than for training purposes in the United States.

Lend-Lease puts forward the proposition in the position of a claimant. It is quite conceivable that the countries have wanted things which did not fall within the purpose of Lend-Lease and one could make a theoretical guess that Governor Lehman might ask for something that did not fall within the category of relief at all. It would then be the duty of the agency to say where he is mistaken. That is purely a theoretical instance. It will not arise in practice.

My conception of the relationship between the agency handling the funds and the Director General is that the agency would assist him in presenting the claim of the liberated areas in relation to all other claims.

Mrs. BOLTON. And that would not be within the province of that agency to have in mind the needs of America? That would be——

Mr. ACHESON (interposing). That is where all of their competing needs are brought together.

You take the Combined Production and Resources Board.

Suppose the Director General wants some tractors for agricultural purposes. First of all, about the only places it is possible to get these is in the United States and Canada.

Let us assume they say the United States.

So they allocate it to the United States. After that step is taken somebody has to go before the American Requirements Committee of the War Production Board, and there are a tremendous number of claimants; you have all the interested people represented. The Navy is interested in naval construction. Admiral Land has got a shipbuilding program. Marvin Jones is interested in tractors for American agriculture, and someone else is interested in tractors for export. There are all of those things that have to be thrashed out, and that is the function of the American committee; there is no lack of protection of American interest.



The CHAIRMAN. Are you through Mr. Wadsworth?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Eaton.

Mr. EATON. Many of these organizations to which you refer, Mr. Secretary, are temporary and made necessary by war conditions.

Now the activities of U. N. R. R. A. are to be carried on after the war. Is it your conception that these temporary institutions will have to be continued until U. N. R. R. A. finishes its work?

Mr. ACHESON. It is hard to express a really helpful opinion on that. These agencies will certainly have to be continued to the end of the Japanese war and probably for some months after that. Take an agency like the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board. The scarcity of tonnage is not likely to be removed until the end of the Japanese war. It looks as though, with the decline in the submarine activity, available tonnage may increase. Yet you cannot tell whether there will be enough ships, so that you would have to continue that to the end of the Japanese war.

#### THE UNITED STATES DISBURSING AGENCY

Mr. EATON. Now we have the funds to be appropriated and designated, would there be any objection to having these funds designated to the custody and control of a permanent organization, we will say, like the State Department or Treasury, rather than some temporary agency.

Mr. ACHESON. Well, I should state my position to be, Dr. Eaton, that the resolution calls for the appropriation to the President and that it might be the most desirable thing for us to support exactly what has been put in the resolution.

Mr. EATON. The Executive office is a permanent office or organization of this Government. Fortunately the occupant is not, but it is possible in this legislation, if it is appropriate, to indicate, maybe, where we wish it should be put.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. Cox. I would like to add a footnote. Certainly while the war is on, the way the thing is handled now you have an allocation made usually for a period of 3 months. We know of cases where tentative allocations recommended by the Combined Board are changed if you have other and more important strategic demands. These changes in allocation might be recommended by the Combined Chiefs of Staff.

It is therefore necessary in terms of efficiency with respect to the United States, (I do not know about the other countries). When the allocation is made in our 3 months' period I should think they should be under the control of some American agency so they can be re-allocated most effectively in accordance with the decision of the Chief of Staff. From that standpoint there are often in the 3 months substitutions and changes made. Very rarely do you have a disagreement. It is certainly within the discretion of Congress to decide to what agency or agencies funds should be apportioned. If they are appropriated to the President and some of the agencies are liquidated before the emergency is over there would be flexibility in the President to reallocate the funds, if necessary or desirable. There have been



cases where, both for the protection of our National interest and the interest of other countries, questions have been raised about particular supplies, due to the fact they could be obtained more effectively elsewhere. In these kinds of cases, the procurement has generally been had elsewhere by mutual agreement between the Foreign Economic Administration and the foreign government concerned.

There is always present the vital protection of American interest always realizing that it is in our interest in most cases also to help our allies.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Acheson, it seems to me it is very important that the committee should understand to which agency the funds should be entrusted and should set out the exact duties and responsibilities under which the American agency holding the fund is going to operate. If it is to be a bookkeeping proposition, it does not make much difference which agency the fund is going to. If, on the other hand, it is going to have some discretionary power of saying yes or no or maybe to the Director General then it takes on more significance.

In response to Mrs. Bolton's question I think you said this agency might exercise its discretion in determining whether or not the need expressed by the Director General actually came under the head of relief or not, and you cited a theoretical case where the American fund under an agency would say so, this is not relief; so we do not think you are warranted in using funds for that purpose.

Everybody favors relief. It also includes rehabilitation. There is a little doubt on that. A certain amount of rehabilitation is all right. We all agree from the standpoint of reconstruction that this is not a job for U. N. R. R. A.

If it follows this agency is going to be the power which determines what is relief and what is rehabilitation, I think we should pay these funds under the protection of any agency who will be able to exercise this power.

Mr. ACHESON. There is that possibility. I do not believe the possibility is going to be important or will arise. The fundamental point is that you are dealing with a fund which is quite limited and the Director General must administer it wisely to secure the best results and carry out the requirements, and therefore I should think he should be as strict if not stricter than anybody else, because the fund is a limited fund and the needs are very great and his sailing orders are clear in these resolutions.

Mr. MUNDT. When the Director General was before the committee he stated that he functions in this capacity as Director General, he functions not as an American citizen representing America but functions as a representative purely and solely of U. N. R. R. A., which I think we all realize. Is it your conception that there shall be nobody anywhere in the exercise of these prerogatives or in the releasing of these funds who will represent primarily the American interest.

Mr. ACHESON. Oh, yes. There are various places where this occurs, not only for the American, but the British and Australian and other contributing countries. You will have the Council and the various committees. The Director General must make general reports and must meet continuously with these committees and with the Council and if he is doing things which they believe are outside their

resolutions then they clamp down on him right there, and there is an American interest as well as other interests on the committee and on the Council.

Mr. MUNDT. In that capacity he functions as a representative of a body on which at times he has 50 percent of the vote and sometimes one-third.

Mr. ACHESON. The American representative is one among many. The American interest is the same as the others. They are continually discussing these matters with the Director General, getting reports from him, and so on.

Mr. MUNDT. Specifically what I am trying to find out is whether or not in your conception there is to be any agency or agencies representing American interests which is not of and in itself a part of U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. ACHESON. I was coming to that. You have exactly that in that case by reason of the fact that the Director General goes through the agency prescribed. We get a little mixed up close to the American scene, but if you transfer it to London or Ottawa you see exactly the same situation. In London it will be handled by the British Ministry of Supplies. They will furnish supplies in the same way we furnish them here, but in each case the Director General will say that this is for a U. N. R. R. A. requirement and asks that they furnish it. If they think he asks for something that is not within this at all they will say so.

Mr. MUNDT. The British Ministry and American Agency heads will function only to the extent of these agencies and cannot release this material. I cannot conceive the War Production Board will say you cannot have steel. I can conceive the War Production Board will say you cannot have the steel you have requested because the calls on us are so vast we will have to whittle that down to 75 percent.

Mr. ACHESON. That is true. As to the supplying agency, that is true. It would not be true as to the disbursing agency. I do not know what the disbursing agency would do in a specified case but I would assume that in any case it would want to be sure the Director General is acting in accordance with what the appropriation is for.

Mr. MUNDT. What is this disbursing agency in the United States?

Mr. ACHESON. That is up to the President to decide under this resolution.

Mr. MUNDT. Will that disbursing agency be anything more than a bookkeeping agency or will it have veto power over the request of U. N. R. R. A.? That is the thing that is not clear to me.

Mr. ACHESON. That is for the President to answer. As clearly as I could I stated to Mrs. Bolton in answer to her question my conception of what the lend-lease organization has done for the various countries coming under lend-lease. In this case the disbursing agency is an agency which will assist the Director General in carrying out his work. Since it is a disbursing agency it has a duty to be sure that they follow the provisions laid down in the statute and the purposes for which Congress made the appropriation, but what we are talking about now is highly theoretical. The practical part of the thing is that there will be great difficulty in getting any of these things anyway, and it will take tremendous organization to get the material. Foreign Economic Administration will assist U. N. R. R. A. and will

act as its counsel with respect to the procurement of the material from the United States.

Mr. MUNDT. The practical thing is to determine where the responsibility lies.

Mr. ACHESON. The responsibility rests primarily on the Director General, and any wise administrator of this fund will take the Director General's word for what he is doing in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. There may be cases in which he wants to be sure that a particular expenditure is appropriate, but U. N. R. R. A. will never operate if there should be created a system of checks that will impede it. That is why the suggestion has been made that the appropriation should be made to an American agency rather than to have the whole fund turned over to an international organization.

Mr. MUNDT. And this agency has the power to suggest to U. N. R. R. A. that it receive additional assurance that the money is going to be used properly. Is that not correct?

Mr. ACHESON. Surely.

Mr. MUNDT. If they ask for this assurance and, having received it, they think it is inadequate, do they have the veto power to say you cannot get the money?

Mr. ACHESON. Obviously they do. There is no power in the Director to draw a check on the United States Treasury. He cannot buy that unless the disbursing agency goes along with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stearns.

Mr. STEARNS. No questions.

#### FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION AS UNITED STATES DISBURSING AGENT

Mr. Cox. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say in the supply job in the war there are a great many other features which have to be worked out. The national interest in connection with other governments has to be worked out.

Suppose country A wants to make its contribution to U. N. R. R. A. in commodities obtained in part through lend-lease. Should not the United States get credit in the appropriation to the amount it has supplied to country A?

Another type of practical question you have is one that is now in process of being worked out. We have a particular liberated area, such as French Africa, and it begins to produce a surplus, and the question is, How is the stock pile or surplus to be handled for liberated-area purposes? Is part of it to be supplied as reverse lend-lease?

In assisting the Director of U. N. R. R. A. you still have the relation to other countries. You just cannot separate it certainly during the course of the war.

In the terms of carrying out the purposes and intent of Congress, not only in the specific words of the resolution before you, but in terms of the spirit of it and of prior legislation, there is a function for an American agency over and above what Mr. Acheson points out.

Mr. MUNDT. Were you here before?

Mr. Cox. I am General Counsel for the Foreign Economic Administration and I want to add a few words. The reason it was suggested that the Foreign Economic Administration might handle the funds appropriated under the resolution is that you have under one boss all



the foreign economic operations of the United States, which includes the outgoing and incoming. It may well be that some of the reverse lend-lease might constitute part of the United States contribution. I think what they had in mind was since all the similar functions were centralized it was conceivable it might be a good spot to put it in.

Mr. MUNDT. You are now counsel to Foreign Economic Administration?

Mr. Cox. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. And lend-lease is part of that?

Mr. Cox. It has been consolidated with the other agencies. It has in it also the constituent corporations, like the United States Commercial Corporation, the Export-Import Bank, which makes foreign loans, and it has the power of the Commodity Credit Corporation over foreign food procurement, so you have practically all of the relationships in the terms of supply going out and coming in, either on lend-lease, credit, or a selling basis.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chipersfield.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You stated in reply to a question from Senator Wadsworth there would be some countries which could not pay. Would you mean they could not pay even in their own currency?

Mr. ACHESON. No, Mr. Chipersfield. I do not quite recall what Senator Wadsworth's question was.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Not on that point.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. He was discussing how the different agencies would work.

Mr. ACHESON. Oh, yes; I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. I was about to say it is a quarter to 1 and we shall recess until 10:30 tomorrow.

#### STATE DEPARTMENT AS UNITED STATES DISBURSING AGENT

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Acheson, I have just been looking at the appropriation for the Department of State and looking at the international organizations. There are a dozen or a score listed in there, where all that Congress does is to appropriate to the Department of State and that Department is left with the obligation of determining how to contribute to a large number of international organizations in accordance with various agreements.

While, of course, these amounts are small in total and are small as compared with this amount, yet I cannot see why it would not be a simple thing to follow that precedent.

It is not a question of whether the President or the executive department would have the responsibility and control. He is over the State Department and he would be over the Treasury, over the Foreign Economic Administration, or anything else. A routine way for Congress to make money available to the President for any purpose whatsoever is not to appropriate it to him but to one of the departments for which he is responsible and here we have pages of these international organizations where from I imagine time immemorial it has been the function of our State Department to administer these appropriations.

Now, we have already a whole lot of machinery such as Mr. Cox has described for the protection of our interests and the British and instead of putting that under Foreign Economic Administration,



which is supposed to be war agency machinery, it may be the Department of State in administering this fund would use that machinery while the war is going on.

Now, what is wrong with just appropriating this to the Department of State in the way we have appropriated money to them for so many international organizations?

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Vorys, I think the international organizations you refer to are somewhat different in character and the participation of the Department of State is different in character from what you have here. They are judicial organizations, international boundary commissions, international water commissions, the Pan American Union, and numerous commissions on food and agriculture, possibly a permanent one which will be a research agency. Here, so far as the actual use of these funds are concerned, it would be largely an administrative job. I think in general the position of the Secretary of State has been that he does not believe that the State Department should become a great administrative organization, that it is a department dealing with foreign relations and foreign policy and it should not take on administrative jobs unless it is necessary, although it has to do it many times.

#### ROLE OF UNITED STATES AGENCY HANDLING U. N. R. R. A. FUNDS

Mr. VORYS. Could I just say this. We have in existence the administrative machinery to test out all of these requests we will get not only from U. N. R. R. A. but from foreign countries as you described this morning.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. They will come here and be considered as they are now. When they come under U. N. R. R. A., Governor Lehman will appear and either recommend or object to a purchase and they will go ahead and procure. Now, where is the new large administrative job in that beyond the supervision that our membership on the Council will provide?

Governor Lehman's office is going to be in Washington here. He will have a lot of people hired, among other things, to present his claim as a claimant before the joint boards and as a claimant before these various organizations that control our supplies, W. P. B. and Food Administration, and so forth.

Now, why does the State Department or Foreign Economic Administration, or anybody else, have to come along and say what Governor Lehman says is right and make an additional speech on his behalf or make an additional speech on behalf of the United States' interest which already has an elaborate organization to take care of the placing of supplies?

Mr. ACHESON. I think there are two distinct functions of this Government in connection with U. N. R. R. A. One is the activity on the council and its committees. That is very similar to the activities of the Department of State in connection with other international organizations. It is a field of work where you are dealing almost entirely with foreign policy. The Department could and should, I think, undertake to protect the interest of the Government in this field.

Then you have the whole administrative job of following through the requests of the Director General for supplies through the whole allocation and procurement mechanism of the American Government and having a staff and seeing that the supplies are actually secured and that they are put on ships and will finally arrive. The whole financial mechanism must be taken care of. If you have a new organization or a new division, it will require new people which may be unnecessary.

Mr. VORYS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions?

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. I was going to ask if Mr. Acheson will testify later.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he will be here.

#### FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION AS UNITED STATES DISBURSING AGENT

Mr. RICHARDS. I was interested in your remark about Mr. Crowley's testimony that possibly Foreign Economic Administration would be the agency.

You were probably looking at the possibility there would be some overlapping responsibility between this organization and lend-lease.

I was a little interested in that. I am not trying to put you in a position of saying you want Foreign Economic Administration to be the agency.

Do you think it would have the effect of a consolidated agency if Foreign Economic Administration was the agency of the Government?

Mr. ACHESON. It would definitely be consolidated. It would require very little or no new manpower. There is a great deal of detailed administrative work that has to be done before there are any results; to get the machinery, to get it in shape, to meet the special function, and so on.

Now as a purely practical matter concerning the relations with U. N. R. R. A., when a specific question is raised about facilities for securing supplies at some other place than the United States, Foreign Economic Administration would be the logical procuring agency. I do not think Mr. Crowley—nor am I particularly pleading for Foreign Economic Administration to take this job because I think they have plenty to do, but in terms of economy and the minimum of duplication and overlapping that would be the logical place to put it.

Mr. RICHARDS. It would be a simplification of functions instead of an elaboration.

Mr. ACHESON. I would think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further questions, Mr. Richards?

Mr. RICHARDS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Mr. ROGERS. I thought you were going to call a brief executive meeting. Did you not say so, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. ROGERS. Will you call a short executive meeting?

The CHAIRMAN. I have already made the statement publicly we will adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10:30, but if you want an execu-

tive session I will be very glad to have one if it is the pleasure of the committee to have an executive session now. Is there objection?

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman, may I say as far as my testimony is concerned, I think I have gotten through but I will be back tomorrow morning.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will go into executive session.

(Whereupon, the committee proceeded in executive session at the conclusion of which the committee adjourned until 10:30 a. m., Thursday, December 16, 1943.)

# TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Sol. Bloom (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will kindly come to order. The committee has under further consideration House Joint Resolution 192, and we will hear again from Mr. Acheson.

## FURTHER STATEMENT OF HON. DEAN ACHESON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

### STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE U. N. R. R. A. COUNCIL

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman, I suggested at the end of the meeting yesterday that we had completed all the resolutions down to those on organization and administration; and that has been described during the course of the hearings a good deal. I shall go on, if the committee wishes, to talk about the main standing committees, but I think we have already had a good deal on that.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, it strikes me, unless some member of the committee wishes a further explanation, we have had that pretty fully discussed. Personally I have no further question on it.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, I have just one more question. The personnel of the standing committees are appointed by the Director General, or how is that done?

Mr. ACHESON. No.

Mrs. BOLTON. For instance, health, industry and agriculture, welfare?

Mr. ACHESON. There are two groups of committees, Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. I realize that.

Mr. ACHESON. The regional committees, the Committee on Supplies, and the Committee on Financial Control, are appointed by countries. As to what they call the standing technical committees on health, agriculture, and so forth, at the meeting in Atlantic City each one of the delegates was asked to find out from his government whether it wished to be represented on those committees and to inform the Director General; and any country which wishes to be on one of those committees may be on it. They were asked to appoint, as the alternate, to attend



meetings of those committees, someone who was expert in the field of the committee's work. The Director General is now waiting to hear—he has heard from 10 or 15 of the countries, and he is waiting to hear from others. The hope was that no country would wish to be on a committee which was not really concerned with the subject matter, and which did not have somebody really competent in that field. So, as soon as that information is received, the committees will be organized and go to work.

Mrs. BOLTON. And he appoints upon their nomination, is that it?

Mr. ACHESON. The Council appoints.

Mrs. BOLTON. That is what I wanted to know.

Mr. ACHESON. The Council appoints, but the Council has said, "We will appoint any country to a committee that indicates a desire to be on that committee."

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you.

Mrs. ROGERS. There is no limit to the size of the committees, is there?

Mr. ACHESON. No. The view was expressed that the desire was to keep them as small as possible, so that if a country is not interested in the problems of health, because it is not involved in that, the hope was that they would not be on the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. JARMAN. Before the Secretary concludes, I have a question, but not about this particular matter. But before the Secretary leaves, I want to ask some questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I was going to suggest that the Secretary stay during the course of the testimony, if he can. We have had a request from Congressman Smith to make a statement, also from Congressman Dewey, who was expected, but I understand his train is late. They are the only two who have asked to be here. I do not know of any others. Does any member of the committee know of anyone else outside of Mr. Dewey and Mr. Smith?

Mrs. ROGERS. A member of the Agricultural Committee said that he wished that some of them could sit in with us for a while.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be done.

Mrs. BOLTON. Is Mr. Crowley coming back, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. He will, if it is the wish of the committee; if there are any members who want to ask him some questions.

Mrs. BOLTON. I thought the other day that we had rather left Mr. Crowley in midair.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are any questions to be asked him, he will come back. However, Mr. Cox is here, and he has a broader picture of the whole set-up, if any questions are to be asked.

Mr. JOHNSON. He is the general counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. He is here now, if you want to ask him anything at this time.

Mrs. ROGERS. Does he speak for Mr. Crowley?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask some questions of the Secretary. I made this note yesterday, Mr. Secretary. I thought I would say—but I do not know whether I shall since Mr. Vorys is not here—that I wanted to indulge in a little Vorys exploration, but since Mr. Vorys is not here I shall pass that.

## UNITED STATES EXPENDITURES FOR FOREIGN RELIEF AFTER WORLD WAR I

Mr. Secretary, I believe you said that during the last war our part of relief was 4 percent as compared with 1 percent of the national income; I have the note 4 percent and 1 percent. Would you mind explaining that?

Mr. ACHESON. What I testified to yesterday was that this country expended for relief during and after the last war, just under \$2,600,000,000. Of that, \$1,000,000,000 were loans directly for relief purposes, primarily for foodstuffs; and another \$1,300,000,000 was spent by continental European governments for relief and rehabilitation out of general credits established by the United States Treasury for them in this country.

Then also there was \$340,000,000 in gifts from private agencies in this country, and about \$37,000,000 in governmental gifts.

Of the \$2,300,000,000, which were loans, about 10 percent was repaid. The rest was not. So that this Government spent for relief—that is, the Government plus private persons or private organizations in this country—just under \$2,600,000,000, and that was 4 percent of the national income for 1919.

Mr. JARMAN. At that time.

Mr. ACHESON. At that time; yes.

Mr. JARMAN. That was the exploration I wanted to indulge in. Mr. Secretary, I wonder if that is an absolutely fair comparison when we consider lend-lease operations, for instance, which were not had at that time; and also the tremendous national debt. In other words, all of this lend-lease operation in preparation for war, even before we entered the war, and the war activities after we got into the war, are largely responsible for the national income, or the great increase in the national income?

Mr. ACHESON. Of course, you had something which was roughly comparable to that in the last war; the amounts which were loaned to the various Allies and subsequently became the war debts, and which money was spent in this country.

Mr. JARMAN. In addition to the \$2,600,000,000 that you speak of?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. Those were the war debts; the amounts were the credits which were advanced to the Allies in the last war and which were later funded into the war debts.

Mr. JONKMAN. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield.

Mr. JONKMAN. I have in mind, on that subject, that at the time of the signing of the armistice there was some \$3,500,000,000 of the \$10,000,000,000 that we had appropriated for war purposes unexpended. What was done with that?

Mr. ACHESON. I am sorry to say I cannot answer; I just do not know.

Mr. JARMAN. You say those loans are somewhat comparable to this. Are they, insofar as our national income is concerned? Did they contribute to the increase of our national income through higher war wages, and so forth, as is accruing now?

Mr. ACHESON. I should suppose so, Mr. Jarman. They represent amounts, most of which were spent in this country.

Mr. JARMAN. Well, we are both a little young to know much about that, I realize that. But they represented amounts spent in this country, you say?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir; for the purchase of war equipment for the Allies in the last war. That had roughly the same effect as the lend-lease expenditures in this war; that is, they produced purchasing power in the United States.

Mr. JARMAN. I see where that is true. Maybe that is a fair comparison, but I did not ask if it was a fair comparison. I asked if it was a completely fair comparison. Maybe it is from that viewpoint.

Mr. ACHESON. All of these things are approximate, Mr. Jarman.

Mr. WADSWORTH. To the best of my recollection, Mr. Secretary, the war loans amounted to about \$8,000,000,000 and the post-war loans, which were for relief, about \$2,600,000,000. So that about \$8,000,000,000, according to my best recollection, was spent in much the same fashion as lend-lease expenditures are spent in this war; and that is a very considerable sum.

Mr. JONKMAN. When you consider the two periods of time, it was proportionately more; that is, considering the extent of the wars, and so forth.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have not worked that out, but \$8,000,000,000 was a big sum of money in those days.

Mrs. ROGERS. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS. I just wanted to ask Senator Wadsworth if they were all governmental funds or were private funds included?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Governmental loans.

Mrs. ROGERS. Thank you.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The proceeds of which were spent in this country for the purpose of carrying on the war in conjunction with our allies, just as lend-lease is now.

Mr. VORYS. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. As I understand, a substantial part of the war loans, near the end, were not spent for the war, but for relief and reconstruction. Is that to be added to the \$2,200,000,000, or is that included?

Mr. JARMAN. No; it is not \$2,200,000,000, is it?

Mr. ACHESON. This is entirely in the field of recollection, but my recollection is in general the same as Senator Wadsworth's, that the amounts which were spent in the war, which were advanced for loans to the Allies during the last war, and immediately on the termination of the war were, as the Senator said, about \$8,000,000,000. Then, in addition to that, there were those relief loans in the amount of about \$2,300,000,000, in addition to the gifts to which I have previously referred.

#### AREAS IN WHICH U. N. R. R. A. WILL OPERATE

Mr. JARMAN. One more question, Mr. Secretary. The field of U. N. R. R. A., is it limited entirely to occupied countries or countries formerly occupied?

Mr. ACHESON. Broadly speaking, the answer to that is yes. There is one activity which is not limited to the liberated areas or the in-



vaded countries, and that is the care and treatment of displaced persons, because they may be found outside of those areas. Some are in north Africa; some may be in Iran; some have been temporarily taken to other parts of the world pending the time when they can return to their homes.

Mr. JARMAN. My question was prompted by an inquiry which came to me since the meeting yesterday about the famine situation in India; whether that was a fit subject for U. N. R. R. A. operations. According to your reply, I take it that it is not, because India has not been occupied.

Mr. ACHESON. That is my view; as you saw from the press, I had some correspondence—

Mr. JARMAN. No; I missed that.

Mr. ACHESON. With one of the societies which is interested in India, in which they argued that India would fall within the terms of U. N. R. R. A. It seemed to me that it did not, and I attempted to point out that the tasks of U. N. R. R. A. were so great in dealing with the emergencies created by the war, that if we moved out of that field and attempted to deal with all people everywhere, we would be in a bad situation because of the fact that it would be utterly impossible to deal with it.

Mr. JARMAN. I was out of town at the time of that correspondence and did not see it. But my first reaction was as you have just stated. I wanted to be sure about it.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. If that were not the case, we might start with Puerto Rico.

Mr. ACHESON. That is true, Mr. Chiperfield. We would be in situations which would be utterly beyond the capacity of any fund to deal with.

Mr. JARMAN. Speaking of tasks, you referred yesterday to doctors and nurses. I have just been wondering, with the scarcity of both doctors and nurses, how the U. N. R. R. A. will secure doctors and nurses.

Mr. ACHESON. It will be very difficult to do it while the war is on and it will not be easy afterward. But it may well be that as the war in the west closes, and after the war in the east closes also, there will be doctors and nurses who will be available for any emergency epidemic work which has to be dealt with on an international basis.

Mr. JARMAN. Thank you very much. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is nothing further, thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman, may I express to the committee my deep appreciation of the courtesy and kindness of the committee, which has put up with me for many hours and which I think has been extremely helpful in going into all the aspects of this matter in a most kind and courteous and highly intelligent way. I am deeply appreciative of the committee's treatment of me.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, on behalf of the committee, may I say that we feel the same way toward you, but we thought we would wait before saying so, because we do not think you are through with us yet. [Laughter.]

Mrs. ROGERS. I wish everyone could have seen the ovation Mr. Acheson received from the various countries attending U. N. R. R. A. in



Atlantic City. I have never seen anything more cordial or spontaneous.

Mr. ACHESON. They were very nice.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be very glad at this time to hear Mr. Smith of Ohio.

STATEMENT OF HON. FREDERICK C. SMITH, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS, FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I do not have any prepared statement, but I should like to prepare a written statement to be inserted in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You would like to have permission to insert a formal statement in the record?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you wish the remarks you are about to make now to be taken down?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; they may be taken down.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed. Of course, the members will be interested in seeing your prepared statement, as they may wish to ask some questions on it. Without objection, the formal statement of the Representative will be inserted in the record.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank you and the committee for this opportunity to say a few words on this bill. As I stated, I have not had time to prepare a statement. I shall try to conclude as soon as possible and take as little of your time as may be necessary.

This proposal that is before you, House Joint Resolution 192, presumably has to do with providing relief and rehabilitation to the war-stricken areas.

First let me say, so that my position will be clear, that I am opposed to this bill, but that I am not opposed to relief. It so happens that I studied on the Continent for some time, a few years after the other war, and I had occasion, in the clinics where I studied, to see the aftermath, the after-effects, of the undernourishment and malnourishment that resulted from the war. I saw marks upon children from that war that will stay with them as long as they live; rickets, for example. I saw tuberculosis in all of its gruesome forms, much of which, it was believed by the physicians in Europe, resulted from undernourishment and malnourishment due to the war situation.

I would be the first, therefore, having seen those effects, to support, even advocate, relief to the war-stricken peoples.

I want to bring to the attention of this committee this morning some pertinent things relating to this measure which I think should cause us to stop and consider very carefully as to whether this is in reality a relief measure or whether it is something else. I have looked over the figures representing the estimated costs of this program. If I understand correctly, the position of the State Department is that something like two or two and a quarter billion dollars would be made available for relief and rehabilitation to the war-stricken peoples. I believe I heard the Assistant Secretary of State testify yesterday—and if I am wrong about this I want to be corrected—that they would be willing to put a clause in this bill limiting the amount that we could contribute, I think, to \$1,300,000,000.

I also heard the assertion that the relief provided in the World War—and I wish to be corrected on this if I am in error—the relief provided during the World War, or after the war, was more than is being proposed at the present time.

I have gone into those figures quite a bit. I do not care to comment on them now, but I shall do so in my prepared statement. But the statement in itself can create an erroneous impression. The total cost of relief over the 10-year period from 1914 to 1924, in the other war, was \$5,234,000,000.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Would you mind repeating those dates?

Mr. SMITH. 1914 to 1924. I want to say to you, Mr. Chiperfield, that this will be in the prepared statement I shall insert in the record. That may spare you the trouble of making notes.

The CHAIRMAN. The point about it is this, Mr. Smith. If you are going to file a statement, the committee will not have the opportunity of examining you, so that if at this time you will give the substance of what you are going to put in the record, members of the committee may wish to ask you some questions about it.

Mr. SMITH. That was from 1914 to 1924. Now, 3,000,000,000 of that involves the credits set up by the United States Treasury for food for our allies during the war and after the war.

Mr. EATON. You would not consider that relief, then, would you?

Mr. SMITH. I only designate it as relief because it is so designated by Surface and Bland in their work, American Food in the World War and Reclamation Period. It is labeled there as relief.

Mr. JOHNSON. In reference to Dr. Eaton's question, we are now sending food to Russia; quite a bit of our supplies to Russia are in the form of food, under Lend-Lease. That is distinguished from relief after the war, is it not?

Mr. SMITH. It is perfectly all right; it is simply food sent to our allies, and let us call it that. The thought I want to bring out is that this figure of \$5,234,000,000 included the cost of that food.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think you should select the word you want to use, so that the committee will know what you are talking about?

Mr. SMITH. Call it food, then; because only about six-tenths of 1 percent of all the shipments consisted of supplies other than food, clothing, medicines, and the other absolute necessities.

During what was designated as the armistice and reconstruction period, a little more than \$2,000,000 was spent for food shipments to Europe. This program undertakes to do much more than was undertaken at that time. This program would undertake "rehabilitation." There is no specific limitation in the bill on how far this could go. There is no definition in the bill as to what rehabilitation is, so we have no way of knowing how far that would be extended.

The devastation in this war, as regards property destruction, food shortage, hunger, starvation, is in my opinion vastly greater than was the case in the other war, and will become further intensified as the war progresses. You have all seen estimates of the physical damage that has been caused. Some of those estimates run up to \$200,000,000,000. They are just estimates. I am sure in my own mind that the food and clothing requirements will be much greater than they were in the other war.

Now, with our experience it seems to me that the \$1,300,000,000, the amount that would be asked of the United States, would be insufficient.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind an interruption there?

Mr. SMITH. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the legislation does not call for any amount at all. It is merely an authorization, which would then go to the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. SMITH. I understand that.

The CHAIRMAN. So this does not call for any amount.

Mr. SMITH. What I have reference to is some of the statements that have been made as to the probable amount that will be required of us to carry out the program.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand.

Mr. SMITH. Among the resolutions adopted at Atlantic City we find recommendations "to formulate proposals on technical policies in regard to agriculture, fisheries and food production and the rehabilitation of the industries concerned therewith and related subjects." Further recommendations "to formulate proposals on technical policies relating to the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, to the rehabilitation of industries producing urgently needed goods, and to rehabilitation supplies." Other recommendations are made. This is enough to indicate that the program could be made to embrace almost the whole economy.

It should be understood, of course, that there is no stated relation whatever between anything contained in this resolution and the work done at Atlantic City.

When we consider all that could be undertaken by this program and judging by the experiences we have had in the past with Government agencies that have undertaken relief and other similar measures, certainly it would look as if \$1,300,000,000 could not accomplish very much.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Do you mind an interruption there?

Mr. SMITH. No.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Do you think this bill should be limited purely to food and medicines and that type of relief?

Mr. SMITH. If you will allow me, I intend to go into that later and tell you what I feel this should consist of. I want to bring out what I believe are the high points in this proposal.

If this proposal is adopted—and you will pardon me when I say this—judging from the experience we have had in the past with governmental bureaus, and considering the immense need for food and clothing, and so forth, that certainly is already manifest and, as I said a moment ago, likely will become intensified, personally I should not be surprised if the cost of the program would go to \$5,000,000,000 or \$10,000,000,000 or \$20,000,000,000. I am not saying it will cost that much, but I ask you to reflect just for a moment on the course some of the Government agencies that have been established in the last few years have taken.

Commodity Credit started with a few million dollars. It has now a capitalization in excess of \$3,000,000,000. Reconstruction Finance Corporation started with \$500,000,000. It now has something like \$12,000,000,000 at its disposal.



I am not now criticizing any of these agencies. I am trying to bring out some facts. Lend-Lease started out with \$7,000,000,000 and within 27 months reached a figure of \$60,000,000,000 or more. I do not care whether you have a Democratic administration or whether you have a Republican administration. Inherent in these governmental bodies are forces and powers which make for expansion and development.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Smith, did you say that Lend-Lease has come to over \$60,000,000,000?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The appropriations altogether have only been \$24,-000,000,000.

Mr. SMITH. That includes transfers. That is taken from the Lend-Lease report.

The CHAIRMAN. The appropriations have been \$24,000,000,000. I was wondering how it got to \$60,000,000,000. However, you may proceed.

Mr. SMITH. I shall be glad to insert in the record my reasons for making that statement.

Mr. JOHNSON. I think we would like to know on what you base that.

Mr. SMITH. That includes transfers, vessels, and so forth, from the Army and the Navy for lend-lease purposes.

Mr. MUNDT. I suggest, when you revise your remarks, you detail how you arrived at the \$60,000,000,000 figure.

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Smith, if you transfer from one department to another, that is something that has already been charged to an appropriation to that department; has it not? So that if you were to charge it to lend-lease, you would be charging it up twice.

Mr. SMITH. Of course, I go by the definition as given in the statute.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, it strikes me that it is all right for Dr. Smith to prepare a statement to be submitted for the record, but it seems to me we should have an opportunity to look at it, because there might be some answers to be made to it.

The CHAIRMAN. That suggestion has already been made.

Mr. SMITH. I shall be very glad to submit my statement.

Mr. JOHNSON. In other words, give us a chance to see what is in it.

Mr. SMITH. I shall be very glad to do that.

Mr. VORYS. If the gentleman will yield, the figure of approximately \$63,000,000,000 was taken from the Lend-Lease Administrator's report, which was considered in this very committee when we were considering the extension of lend-lease, so that all the members ought to be familiar with it.

Mr. SMITH. I shall be very glad to put the authority for my statement in the record. Page 40, appendix III, of the President's Eleventh Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations for the Period Ended July 31, 1943.

Mr. MUNDT. As a matter of procedure, Mr. Chairman, do I understand Mr. Johnson's request to be that before Mr. Smith may be permitted to insert his extension of remarks in the record they be subjected to our review?

Mr. JOHNSON. No. I suggested that the statement be submitted to us so that if we want to make any reply to it, we may do so. So far



as I am concerned, the gentleman may insert anything in the record he wishes.

Mr. MUNDT. On his own responsibility; surely.

The CHAIRMAN. For the benefit of the committee, Mr. Mundt, when Dr. Smith began his statement he asked permission to insert a formal statement in the record, and the Chair at that time, I believe, indicated that the committee might like to know what was in the statement so we could question him on it. We have no objection to the statement going into the record, but we would like an opportunity to find out what is in it, so that we may ask him some questions.

Mr. MUNDT. Surely; that is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. The doctor now is trying to give us an idea of what he is going to have in his statement; is that right, Doctor?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Please proceed.

Mr. SMITH. I want to take up what I believe should be the main principle underlying a program of relief. I do not think that we should at the present time undertake any rehabilitation. I believe it would be better if we followed the experience of the other war. I believe that it has been generally agreed upon that that program was successful.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask you this question inasmuch as you, perhaps, have not heard all the testimony? What is your definition of the word "rehabilitation" as defined in U. N. R. R. A.? What do you think they mean by rehabilitation, and what do you mean by it?

Mr. SMITH. The word "rehabilitation" means to restore. And you have placed no limit here on the extent of the restoration. There is no limit placed in any of these resolutions as to how far rehabilitation should go. There is some hint or some intimation that it should not be anything of long duration. But it does not define long duration. It leaves the proposition more or less in the air.

The Atlantic City resolutions mention specifically rehabilitation of public utilities, of productive facilities. I do not know how you could draw any sharply demarcated line to indicate where rehabilitation should stop.

I know the argument will be brought to this proposal to limit the relief program to food, clothing, and medicines. The argument will be brought forward that we might supply tractors, we might supply equipment, seed, and so forth, which would make it possible for those people to restore their productive facilities for the supplying of their own foods, and so forth which would reduce the cost of direct relief. I grant there may be a measure of truth in that argument but it cannot be great judging from the only experience we have ever had; namely, that in the other war. The help we gave was practically all in the form of food, clothing, and medicines. The total cost of all the aid given to the war-stricken countries of the armistice period from November 1918 to August 1919 was roundly \$1,101,500,000. The total cost of the aid given in the reconstruction period from August 1919 to July 1923 was roundly \$220,700,000. (See p. 7 American Food in The World War and Reconstruction Period.)

Following is a list of the items and the amount of each item furnished to the war-stricken countries of Europe from 1914 to 1924:

Grain (43.6 percent)-----	14, 767, 113. 5 M.T.
Flour (21.7 percent)-----	7, 336, 780. 9 M.T.
Forage (9.4 percent)-----	3, 180, 377. 1 M.T.
Sugar (6.2 percent)-----	2, 086, 533. 2 M.T.
Pork products (6.0 percent)-----	2, 040, 300. 0 M.T.
Miscellaneous foods (5.8 percent)-----	1, 973, 146. 7 M.T.
Milk (2.0 percent)-----	686, 533. 7 M.T.
Rice (1.8 percent)-----	609, 819. 1 M.T.
Clothing and miscellaneous (1.6 percent)-----	547, 155. 6 M.T.
Beans and peas (1.3 percent)-----	430, 924. 5 M.T.
All others (0.6 percent)-----	182, 622. 7 M.T.

The program proposed here, as I have already indicated, opens the way for the development of a giant bureaucracy. And let me repeat that in saying this I in no way infer that it would be any different if the machinery were set up by my own party or any other.

I was mayor of Marion for 3 years, and I saw the difference, in that little city, between the way the Red Cross and the Salvation Army took care of the poor, and the way the poor were taken care of by the Government. I dare say that the Red Cross and the Salvation Army got more actual food, clothing, and so forth, to the poor people of Marion, yes, a great deal more, for the same amount of money as was spent for those articles by the Government, whether it was the State Government or whether it was the Federal Government. Those people are experienced. They are schooled in real relief work. They know what to do. They know how to measure requirements. They know the places where relief is needed most.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Right there, has the Red Cross ever consented to spend Government funds?

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. I cannot answer that question.

Mr. VORYS. Yes; under a bill that this committee authorized.

The CHAIRMAN. That was a ship to go over there, but not to spend our funds. They were to distribute some things, but not to spend our funds. And remember at that time, we gave permission or got permission to have ships go over there with the Red Cross insignia. I do not think they ever consented to spend our funds.

Mr. SMITH. The services of the Red Cross were, however, used in connection with the administration of food relief in the other war.

The resolution provides for the appropriation of funds to the President who in turn, presumably, hands the funds over to some Federal agency which in turn gives them over to the relief administration. I think that would be the wrong thing to do since the United States will have to furnish the vast bulk of funds for this program. I can see no reason why we should share with any other country the control of those funds. I can see every reason why the United States should retain complete control of all the funds we contribute.

I also believe any and all funds allocated by our country for this relief program should be spent in this country. I can see no reason whatever why we should be asked to increase the foreign trade of other nations who are themselves in a position to contribute to this relief program. I am sure that after the war we will need all the foreign trade we can get to maintain employment in our own country.

Mr. EATON. That would go both ways, would it not? Say you have got a trade, and if we develop any foreign trade, it would be outgo and not come in.

Mr. SMITH. Of course, Mr. Eaton, I am talking now about charity. It is supposed that we are giving this away.

Mr. EATON. When we get this all gathered up in a basket, who will we give it to to carry on administratively?

Mr. SMITH. The answer to that is this, that the United States will have to carry this load. And how did we do it the other time? We went in and we set up relief in Belgium, and then a few nations came in and subscribed to that relief.

Mr. EATON. Is it your proposal that the United States tackle this job alone?

Mr. SMITH. It will tackle it alone anyhow. You have nothing in this bill that indicates anything to the contrary. There is nothing in this bill that indicates anything other than that we will tackle it alone anyhow.

What I am getting at is this: There is no reason for us to appropriate funds to the President and have the President hand them over to an agency, and the agency in turn hand them over to another body. I do not see any reason for this. There is a reason against it. Certainly, if we have control over our funds, there should be less waste. That is a principle I think we should all recognize.

Mr. EATON. You raise a question that is in the minds of this committee, I think, most unanimously as to how to handle that, but what is your proposal to take the place of what is proposed here?

Mr. SMITH. I would propose, after deciding the amount of relief we could afford to give, and I take it this is wholly a charity proposition.

Mr. EATON. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. We are giving things away because of certain reasons.

I would set up what I believe to be the machinery necessary to provide this relief with our own personnel and out of our own larder.

Mr. EATON. You would not have any alphabetical arrangement like is here in this new set-up?

Mr. SMITH. No; I do not believe I would if I could possibly avoid it.

Since this is a charity proposition, since we are——

Mr. JOHNSON (interposing). Pardon me, Doctor. If you do not mind, just in line with Dr. Eaton's suggestion there, you say we should set up an organization of our own. Would not that likely be bureaucratic?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON. Whether you call it by the alphabet or you called it by name.

Mr. SMITH. Yes; I do not deny that.

Mr. JOHNSON. Are you going to get rid of this bureaucracy under your suggestions?

Mr. SMITH. You cannot get rid of all bureaucracy. I am trying to hold it down as much as possible.

Mr. VORYS. Doctor, would you permit an interruption?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. VORYS. A moment ago mention was made of whether any relief had been distributed by the Red Cross and other organizations from



Government funds. I want to call your attention and the committee's attention to the report we have had recently before us which recites on page 10: \$85,000,000 has been appropriated for refugee relief, of which \$60,000,000 has been expended up to the present time. The basic legislation was House Joint Resolution 544, which is now Public, No. 88 of the Seventy-sixth Congress, which provides for the purchase in the United States of relief material.

Then I quote:

When so purchased, such materials and supplies are hereby authorized to be distributed by the President through the American Red Cross or such governmental or other agencies as he may designate.

Now, Mr. Breckinridge Long was recently before our committee and describes in some detail the handling by the Red Cross of materials furnished with governmental funds. So that we do have some experience along the line you suggest.

However, I think the Red Cross have expressed a reluctance or unwillingness to support the entire business. I am not dead certain about that.

Mr. SMITH. Some of our allies during the other war who contributed to relief were at the same time receiving food from the United States which turned out to be free food. The amount of contributions that was obtained from the other nations in the other war was comparatively small.

Mr. JOHNSON. Right there, Dr. Smith, do you not think it is advisable and wise if we can get the other nations to contribute to this relief instead of doing the whole job ourselves?

Mr. SMITH. I did not advocate doing it ourselves. I advocated that we control our own funds. If these other people are really in a charitable mood, I do not think we should be required to think of what they are doing.

Mr. JOHNSON. You just said before that the other countries contributed very little and we contributed most of it in the last war. Cannot we profit by that mistake and this time get other countries committed in advance so our percentage won't be as large as it was before?

Mr. SMITH. Let us be factual about this thing. Let us look at it like it is.

England is in a dire situation at the present time. As you know, she is an import nation, does not export enough to pay for import goods. She has paid for that difference heretofore down through the years—

Mr. JOHNSON. Pardon me. Are you answering my question, or are you making another statement?

Mr. SMITH. I am answering your question.

Down through the years she has paid for that difference out of what you call invisible income from shipping investments abroad, and so forth. England economists openly acknowledge England is going to have a great deal of trouble after the war even to be able to hold the export trade she had before the war.

And I doubt very much if the United Kingdom will be able to supply very much relief funds for this program, if any at all.

Mr. JOHNSON. Pardon me. You know the plan as it works out is that these 44 countries at this conference they had in Atlantic City,



have agreed upon a proration or assessment basis, if they will accept it, so that every country will have its particular part to play. My question was, if you did not think we could do that, if we could have 44 countries participate in this greater problem than it was before, would it not be the greater part of wisdom to do that rather than go by ourselves?

Mr. SMITH. No. I do not believe it would be. My contention is, if you include all these other countries in this organization, there is bound to be more dissipation of resources and funds than there would be if we controlled it.

Mr. JOHNSON. I am inclined to disagree with you there.

Mr. SMITH. That is perfectly all right.

Mr. JOHNSON. For instance, if it goes through one channel and one organization, is there not likely to be less dissipation and less duplication than if every country has its own organization and own set-up?

Mr. SMITH. I did not advocate that.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is what I thought you said.

Mr. SMITH. Oh, no, I did not advocate that. I said if we followed the program that was adopted in the other war, in connection with Belgium relief, the other nations came in and did simply what they could to help us, but it was under our administration. Hoover was the Food Administrator, and took care of that program.

Mr. JOHNSON. Pardon me, Doctor. Do you know how much these other countries, what percentage they contributed before on relief in the other war, countries other than the United States?

Mr. SMITH. No; I cannot tell you percentagewise.

Mr. JOHNSON. You do not have any idea of the percentage?

Mr. SMITH. No.

Mr. JOHNSON. I believe you said a while ago the contributions were very small.

Mr. SMITH. It was comparatively small.

Mr. JOHNSON. Do you not think that we could avoid that this time by making their percentage larger and ours less?

Mr. SMITH. We cannot make their percentage larger.

Mr. JOHNSON. I asked you if you did not think that could be done.

Mr. SMITH. If it could be done and at the same time avoid the waste that would accompany the vast organizational structure that would be involved, yes; but I don't think the latter possible.

Mr. JOHNSON. Would not one organizational structure cost less than 44 organizational structures if each of these countries did it by themselves?

Mr. SMITH. I again have to say if we followed the plan of the other war the other countries could still contribute to this central body.

Mr. JOHNSON. But they did not go into it like this plan is now, as I understand before.

Mr. SMITH. Of course, I do not want to argue the point as to whether you are right or whether I am wrong. It is merely my opinion.

Mr. JOHNSON. I understand. Of course, you are entitled to your opinion.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Smith, may I ask a question? You did not finish your conclusion. As I understand your position, it is in the agreement of the nations and the proceedings thereunder, there is no direct obligation on the part of any nation to contribute 1 percent.

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. JONKMAN. All they have to do is say they cannot contribute approximately 1 percent of their income?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. JONKMAN. It is your position they will not be able to pay, and therefore probably will not do it.

Mr. SMITH. Let me be factual about England. I do not know, Mr. Jonkman, but her export and import situation and her gold situation are such as to make me feel that she will probably not be able to contribute very much, if anything, really. For instance, the other time she contributed in the form of shipping.

It is a question as to whether she could contribute much of anything. I do not have the figures showing all contributions she made in the other war. I remember correctly she contributed something like \$18,000,000 in the form of shipping. It is a question as to whether she will have that opportunity this time, because we have a lot more ships now than we had then. It is altogether likely we will want to carry in our own ships the supplies that will be involved in this program.

Mr. MUNDT. Dr. Smith, I share with your concern about the capacity of England and the United Kingdom to contribute anything to the relief of any of the other countries over and beyond the relief needs of the Indians. If the relief needs of the Indians are even partially met it would seem to me that the misery and starvation and pestilence now taking place in India is so terrific that unless India is going to be one of the recipients of the benefits of U. N. R. R. A. that the load upon the mother country, Great Britain, insofar as India is concerned, is going to be perfectly colossal.

Mrs. BOLTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I have just completed reading Will Durant's book, *The Case for India*, and it is a shocking description of human misery almost beyond belief. I wish every member of this committee would read that book if they have not already done so.

I would like to inquire not as to this necessarily, but if I may of Mr. Acheson, as it is not quite clear as to whether India will be one of the beneficiaries of U. N. R. R. A. from the standpoint of relief.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Acheson answered this question before, but if you wish him, he can answer it again.

Mr. MUNDT. I would like to have it. I think it is pertinent on this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you wish to answer it?

Mr. ACHESON. Is there objection?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you object, Dr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. I do not object.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Smith does not object. Would you mind answering that one question?

Mr. ACHESON. I said this morning before Mr. Mundt came in—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Yes.

Mr. ACHESON (continuing). That the agreement provides for the relief of victims of war. In correspondence which I had on the subject as chairman of the council during the time I was chairman, I expressed the view that the geographical scope of U. N. R. R. A. activities is limited to areas which have been liberated from army occupation and that therefore at the present time India does not come within the scope of U. N. R. R. A. activities.

Mr. MUNDT. Which summarizes itself, as I understood it, to mean that India will not be one of the beneficiaries of U. N. R. R. A., is that correct?

Mr. ACHESON. If you are talking about the same sort of distress which now exists in India you are correct.

Mr. MUNDT. That is right.

Mr. ACHESON. If, however, military operations should directly involve that country, then the answer would be the other way.

Mr. MUNDT. I am talking about the people now dying in streets in India and suffering terrifically because of circumstances which to me, I believe must be, if not in toto, certainly in part attributable to the war, because I would hate to think under the beneficent rule of England this was a typical condition down there.

Of course, it is not a result of the operational activities of the war, I grant you that.

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct. And, furthermore, if you inquire into the situation, I think you would discover it is not a situation in which U. N. R. R. A. could be of any possible use.

The difficulty is not due to lack of money in India to procure food. It is not because there is not food in the world. It is because both in India and on the sea there is not the transportation which is required to get the food to the place where it is needed. This is solely a transportation problem.

Mr. MUNDT. Which, of course, is going to be true in some of the areas in which U. N. R. R. A. is going to operate. If we are going to accept the standard which will help only countries in which transportation is available, certainly we are going to miss the bus. In most of the countries I do not think we are going to put that down as an insurmountable barrier.

Mr. JOHNSON. And, in addition, the primary cause is it is on account of the famine in India.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes; it is that.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is, the primary cause of the famine?

Mrs. BOLTON. Will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair feels the famine should not affect in any way Dr. Smith's testimony.

Mr. MUNDT. No objection has been raised and we have been going along fine.

Mrs. BOLTON. Will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. I do not see how it should be so considered as a condition not due to the war when part of the famine arises from the fact that Burma was the source of so much rice to India. Are there not factual results of direct war that do affect the India situation?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the lady yield?

Mrs. BOLTON. I yield.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Eaton.

Mr. EATON. Suppose we take up our American question and settle the Indian question by itself. It is quite a complicated matter. It can be postponed since it has been there hundreds of years. Let us go on with the question before us.

Mr. MUNDT. Let us get that clear, however.

Mr. SMITH. If the committee does not mind, I would like to make a remark on this question of the Indian situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Doctor, with anything you want.

Mr. SMITH. Bear in mind that today India holds over \$2,000,000,000 of foreign English sterling. In other words, England has during this war and before the war built up a debt with India to that amount.

Mr. EATON. That is, England owes that?

Mr. SMITH. England owes India.

Mr. EATON. Shocking.

Mr. SMITH. It is, indeed. It is a sad picture.

Mr. EATON. She does not intend to pay India?

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you said we were going to leave this.

Mr. EATON. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed to get to the resolution, if we can.

Mr. SMITH. Now, going back again to this resolution, there is a sentiment in Congress, which I think is recognized and deplored throughout the country, that there is no limit to the amount of funds we can appropriate and spend.

A few days ago we discussed on the floor, some of us rather vehemently, the proposal to provide consumer subsidies. There was a lot of bitter debate against consumer subsidies on the ground that the process is inflationary. Of course it is inflationary. It is the most virulent form of inflation.

What I want to bring out to you members of the committee here is this: Every dollar that is voted for this relief program, and I have already expressed myself as being in favor of relief, is another dollar threatening the security, the value, the purchasing power of every dollar of insurance, of every dollar of social security, pensions, War bonds, and so forth. There is not any doubt about that.

We have today in our banks and circulating as currency, certainly something in excess of \$70,000,000,000 or \$75,000,000,000 that were brought into existence merely by the printing press of the Government. Now, this is a serious thing. I know a number of boys who are out fighting, sending their money home, and asking their parents or folks to invest that money in Government bonds. Now, just as sure as we sit in this room together, we cannot consider this proposed expenditure without looking at that picture, for, as I said, every dollar we raise for this relief program will have to be printed by the Government, and will be that much more of a threat to the security of the value of War bonds. We have to think about that, for when this war is over and the boys come home, you know what bonds did the other time, and the situation was mild then compared to what it will be after this war, what we are going to say to those boys if they learn that the value of their bonds which they bought with the little pittance they got while they were suffering and fighting for our country, if those bonds should lose their value?

Now, I mention this because we should go at this problem with these pertinent facts pretty much uppermost in our minds, because it is a solemn duty that we owe to our constituents.

Mr. STEARNS. I hope you will make it clear to us in the course of time just how the method you propose is going to reduce the expenditures.

Mr. SMITH. I said I would eliminate this proposal for rehabilitation, confine the program to food and clothing and medicines, those essen-



tials that were provided in the relief program during the First World War.

Mr. STEARNS. Such as are mentioned in the agreement?

Mr. SMITH. Well, the agreement also specifies a great many other things. If you will read the resolutions, Mr. Stearns, you will see they include rehabilitation without any limitation whatsoever. We should keep in our own hands our own funds, and keep the organization just as small as possible, use the Red Cross, use those organizations skilled and trained in administering charity.

Mr. STEARNS. But you might have to spend as many dollars, and the effect on the dollar might be just as bad.

Mr. SMITH. I just feel we would be getting more food and clothing and more essential things to these people for the same dollar. That is my conclusion.

Mr. STEARNS. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. I have heard some testimony here that certain countries will have funds that they can use to pay for such food and relief as they may get under this program. Now, it is true that Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Norway have gold that they could use to pay for their relief which they might get under this program. That is perfectly true. We already have a plethora of gold. We have more gold than we should have, and other nations have less than they ought to have.

Take the \$16,000,000,000 of gold that we purchased over a period from 1934 to the present time. As yet the United States has derived no value from this gold. Are we going to pile up more gold in this country?

Mr. MUNDT. May I ask a question, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I do not see why those countries necessarily have to spend that gold in this country for those supplies.

Mr. SMITH. I do not mean spend all of it here, but they likely would spend some of it here.

Mr. VORYS. Dr. Smith, would not it be better in some way or other for those countries that can pay for their relief to have them do it rather than us to contribute it to them?

Mr. SMITH. You mean in gold?

Mr. VORYS. No. I do not get your point as to what we should do about these countries that are going to need relief, but can pay for it. It is true that their paying for it in their foreign exchange will have an effect on our economy, but would it not be better to have them pay for what they get, if they can do it, and want to and give it to them?

Mr. SMITH. I am just putting before you a problem. I do not know how to answer it myself.

Let me illustrate what we are running into here.

Mr. VORYS. When we were discussing this, you mentioned the figures you had as to the expenditures on the amount of resources of some of those countries, and I feel sure the committee would be interested in those.

Mr. SMITH. Yes. A question arises when the particular countries under consideration, the Scandinavian countries including Belgium, should they wish to pay with gold, which will likely be their only means of payment.

Let us look for a moment at the gold position of Belgium to see what may be involved here.

The Belgian Government and Central Bank held in August 1943 \$734,000,000 in gold. It would appear that she would have ample funds to pay for relief needs. But there may be considerably more to it than this. Belgium requires a certain amount of gold reserves as security for her circulating notes and other demand deposits. According to figures and data at hand it would appear that the total amount of gold reserves held by Belgium would be insufficient for full legal coverage of her demand liabilities. Before Belgium could use any of her gold holdings she would have to adjust her legislation, or undertake other drastic procedures, which would permit her to use any of her present gold store to pay for relief supplies. Similar situations exist in other countries which still have reasonably large gold holdings. Furthermore, would the refugee governments have authority to enter into agreements pledging their gold for purchases of relief supplies without the sanction of their peoples at home? Problems such as this should not be ignored in considering this resolution. There are still other questions of importance which should be considered. If Belgium, Norway, Holland, and other countries pay for their relief needs with gold, so far as relief supplies by the United States are concerned, it will simply be another case of our giving such supplies away. We would only be adding to an already superfluous store of gold. Also, we could not drain these countries of much of their gold without harming their domestic economy. It is my opinion that the loss by Germany of practically all of her gold in the other World War period was a powerful factor in producing the climate that gave life to totalitarianism in that country. Nor do I, at the moment, know the answer to this perplexing problem. Nevertheless, it is a problem which, so far as end results are concerned, will not be ignored, whether we recognize its importance or not.

What I am trying to do is to point out to you that when it is said that countries like Belgium, Holland, Norway, and Denmark have the wherewithal to pay for relief that more must be taken into consideration than the mere fact that they possess comparatively large gold holdings.

The CHAIRMAN. You think then they have the wherewithal to pay with other than gold?

Mr. SMITH. I do not know that they would have anything else but gold with which to pay.

The CHAIRMAN. If we won't take the gold what should we take?

Mr. SMITH. I cannot tell you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but what better thing could you take than gold?

Mr. VORYS. Could I interrupt, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I cannot see it.

Mr. VORYS. I am not much of a monetary student, but I understand the Dutch and Queen Wilhelmina own the Westchester Apartments here in town?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to take that?

Mr. VORYS. If, instead of having all of the tenants pay to the Dutch, they paid to Americans, it seems to me that would not involve a gold

transaction but would be a way that the Dutch could pay for a lot of relief supplies and would not involve gold at all, and would make a mighty good way for them to pay for some of the things they get.

Mr. SMITH. Let me answer that in this way: We want to be careful what we are doing here. We want to help Belgium and help these countries in the best way we can.

You take in the matter of Germany, she had over \$400,000,000 of gold prior to the last war, and practically all of it was exported to pay for food and other supplies. That was one of the things, in the view of some monetary students, which prepared Germany for her downfall.

I am not offering a solution, I am not saying whether we should take this gold, or should not take it. I am saying we are faced with a problem. If you take this gold out of those countries, the question is, what are you doing to their domestic economy? Are you weakening their finances and economy?

Mr. BURGIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Burgin.

Mr. BURGIN. May I interrupt you?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. BURGIN. I, for one, am already confused considerably; by what you said, you add considerably more to my confusion. I understand you believe in relief, recognizing the world is in dire distress. You are advocating we do something about it in the form of relief and not have any rehabilitation such as U. N. R. R. A., do it all ourselves in the Red Cross and the Salvation Army. What do you have as a specific proposal to make to this committee rather than confusing them about the gold?

Mr. SMITH. I am not trying to confuse anybody.

Mr. BURGIN. I understand you to say to Mr. Vorys you do not know how to answer, telling us what we must do. The question is, what do you have to advise this committee on?

Mr. SMITH. Most of my life has been spent in the practice of medicine.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to practice on us before long if this keeps on.

Mr. SMITH. Not a few times in my experience as a physician I was faced with problems I could not solve.

Mr. JOHNSON. A doctor that diagnoses the case and can tell you what the trouble is and cannot give you a remedy does not do much good.

Mr. SMITH. That is true.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is why a lot of people die.

Mrs. BOLTON. Dr. Smith sees a certain danger. He comes to us, the whole committee, and states it so that we may not fail to take these things into consideration in our consideration of the bill, and so that we will not be without the information upon which he has made many studies.

I want to say I am rather lost in the gold fields, but I do feel very grateful to anyone who comes before this committee, attempting to point out what he considers to be a very serious danger to the United States. That is what we are here for around this table, and I think and know we are all grateful to have it. He is not trying



to solve the problem. He is bringing the problem he sees to us with the hope we will give it very serious consideration. That is the picture as I see it, Doctor.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mrs. Bolton.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will the lady yield to a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. If he is an expert, he could solve it.

Mrs. BOLTON. It is not a matter at the moment so much of the gold problem in different countries. What we have before us is something quite different.

Mr. JOHNSON. He said it was a question of the effect on gold. Then he said he cannot solve the point, as the lady said, and if he cannot what are we poor, uninformed, ignorant economists going to do?

This is not a simple resolution. It is one of the most far-reaching pieces of legislation that has been brought before the Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee would like to hear that. Let us get down to the resolution, Doctor, please.

Mr. SMITH. I have not learned whether the agreement contained in this resolution was the one which was originally signed by the United and Associated Nations Governments or whether it is a modified form of the one signed by the President along with the other countries.

Mr. SMITH. I do not want to be put in a position of interrogating the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

Mr. SMITH. I have been trying to find out whether the agreement originally signed was or was not altered so as to conform to views of the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). It was. It was submitted to the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, and this is the final draft which was presented to the Foreign Relations Committee to introduce over there and the Foreign Relations Committee to introduce here at the same time. This document or this agreement was the same as this subcommittee had over there.

I believe I am stating that correctly, am I not, Mr. Acheson?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. Is the agreement as contained in the resolution the one signed by the President?

The CHAIRMAN. That is the agreement signed by the President.

Mr. SMITH. This includes everything he signed?

The CHAIRMAN. Everything he signed, yes.

Mr. SMITH. In other words, that modification was made before the President signed the agreement?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, everything.

Mr. EATON. And it was agreed it was an agreement, not a treaty?

Mr. SMITH. No actual action has been taken by the subcommittee in the Senate, so Senator Nye informed me this morning. They have considered it, but they have taken no formal action on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Nye was not on the subcommittee considering this in the beginning. It was another subcommittee composed of Senator Vandenberg, Senator Green, Senator La Follette, Senator Thomas, and Senator Connally.

Mr. SMITH. Be that as it may I shall take it that this is the agreement verbatim the President signed with the other 43 or 44 nations.



This agreement was taken bodily and placed into this bill. So far as I know this is the first time anything like this has ever been done in the history of this country.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. Senator Vandenberg's suggestion was, as I understood, that this be embodied in the resolution. It was in response to Senator Vandenberg's suggestion that it be done.

Mr. SMITH. I am not disputing that.

Mr. JOHNSON. But that is a fact.

Mr. RICHARDS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. Doctor, if they had not put it in the body of the bill, would not there have been grounds of objection that the committee who made the bill were not giving all the facts to Congress?

Mr. SMITH. That is a matter I do not want to get into. I am discussing another point.

Let us look at some of these provisions. On page 2, under the first article 1: "The administration shall have power to acquire, hold, and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review the activities of agencies," and so forth.

Now, to undertake what kind of contracts? Certainly the Congress is not going to pass this resolution with this language. There certainly should be some indication as to what those contracts shall consist of. In other words, they should be limited to transactions which have to do specifically with this proposed relief. This should be specifically stated in the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not the whole thing apply to relief, Dr. Smith? That is what the whole thing is for.

Mr. SMITH. I just feel, as a matter of protection, it should be there.

The CHAIRMAN. The title of the bill says what it is for and what it is supposed to be, "To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization." That is what it is for.

Mr. SMITH. Of course, you can interpret that in more ways than one.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes, you can interpret it any way you want to, but that is the purpose of the bill. I do not think there is any doubt about that.

Mr. SMITH. There are other features in this bill that could be taken up, but I just want to consider one more, and then I shall conclude.

Mr. MUNDT. Are you going to leave this point you mentioned about contracts now?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I would like to ask you a question about that. As a student of financial transactions and intergovernmental monetary systems and so forth, I was wondering whether, in your opinion, the language, "to enter into contracts and undertake obligations" could enable in your opinion, U. N. R. R. A., to enter into financial obligations in excess of any amount this committee might write into the bill in excess of the maximum authorization of the act?

Mr. SMITH. There is a movement under way by a certain group, in which our State Department is involved, for establishing inter-governmental bodies to set up world buffer stocks to control the prices of raw materials, and to create other international government agencies for the promotion of various schemes.

Under the language in this resolution the international relief organization, could, in my opinion, make a contract with the Commodity Credit Corporation to set up world buffer stocks. If you want those things, if Congress wants them and the country wants them, then the resolution should say so. I can see the possibility of provisions in this resolution being used for some of these purposes.

Mr. MUNDT. That is not precisely the question I had in mind. My question was this: Suppose this committee, in its wisdom, trying to live up to its responsibility to the Congress and the country, should write into the bill some place, language to the effect that where it refers to the authorization, say not in excess of, and put in some figures, and let us assume that we put in the figure Mr. Acheson suggested of 1 percent, which would be approximately 1 billion 300 million dollars, and suppose for the point I am trying to make this committee should decide to put that figure in, I am disturbed by the fact you state this thing could cost probably twenty billion, and go on and on, ad infinitum, and I am wondering if you think this would authorize U. N. R. R. A., despite such an authorization as I have suggested, to obligate this country far in excess of the maximum limitation we might write into the bill.

Mr. SMITH. I do not know from a money standpoint how far that might develop, but it might not take much money to write a contract with Commodity Credit Corporation to set up buffer stocks. Probably it would require some. We have a lot of surplus stocks that are being held by Commodity Credit Corporation, and probably they will increase after the war.

My answer to that question would be yes.

Mr. MUNDT. That they could obligate us to untold millions of dollars?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. BURGIN. Would the gentleman yield there?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Burgin.

Mr. BURGIN. You do not take the position that the U. N. R. R. A. could bind the United States Government?

Mr. SMITH. I shall answer that in just a moment, if you will allow me, please.

I started out by saying that I wanted to call the attention of the committee particularly to article 8. There is the heading, "Amendment," following which we read:

The provisions of this agreement may be amended as follows:

a. Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it.

What does that clause really do? Does it delegate to this international body the power to amend the law proposed in this resolution?

Mr. MUNDT. With the provision they do not become operative until accepted by the governments involved.

Mr. SMITH. But who is the government involved?

Mr. MUNDT. In that case it would be us and would not be effective.

Mr. SMITH. What do you mean by "us"?

Mr. MUNDT. The United States. To me it would refer to the Government—the Congress and the President.

Mr. SMITH. Let us see if that is correct. On page 2 it says:

The governments or authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto.

Mr. VORYS. Membership is on page 4.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, would you not always have to come back to Congress? It would not make any difference what we put in here. Congress still has the last say if it does not want to appropriate money.

Mr. MUNDT. I think it is at the top of page 5.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, if Congress still has the full authority under this thing with this appropriation.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Mundt's suggestion was it refers to governments. I think that is correct. That means each government.

Mr. SMITH. I think there is a provision in here some place——

Mr. VORYS (interposing). At the top of page 5.

Mr. SMITH. That reads:

Wherever the term "member government" is used in this agreement it shall be considered to mean a member of the administration, whether a government or an authority.

The next paragraph may be more elucidating. I refer to "b" under section VIII. It reads:

Amendments involving modification of article III or article I shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all members of the Central Committee.

Mr. MUNDT. What page are you reading from now?

Mr. SMITH. Page 14.

b. Amendments involving modification of article III or article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all members of the Central Committee.

That is, our member on the Central Committee would be our representative. But what is the purpose of this proposal? The purpose of this proposal is specifically to delegate to this international body the power to amend the law which this Congress is now asked to pass. That is the meaning of the language.

Under "b" that body would have the power to amend any part or all of section III and section IV. But now read this section under "c":

Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote.

What other amendments?

Mr. Chairman, here we have concrete evidence of intention by the Administration to create a world state and to give to that body the power to legislate for the United States. Should this legislation pass the embryo of that creature, which has for a long time been in the process of germinating within certain Government circles, particularly the State Department, will have been born. I have followed this movement. We have here the pattern of other international bodies that

the Congress is being asked to establish, which also would be given powers of legislation over the lives of United States citizens which rightfully belong to the Congress under the Constitution. I refer particularly to the proposals to establish a United and Associated Nations Stabilization Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

You will find in the proposal for a United and Associated Nations Stabilization Fund a number of provisions similar to these provisions in article VIII, so much so that one is impelled to believe they were both written by the same hand. Section IV-5 in the Administration's revised draft for an international stabilization fund is an example of what I mean. It reads:

Changes in the exchange value of the currency of a member country shall be considered only when essential to the correction of fundamental disequilibrium in the balance of payments, and shall be made only with the approval of three-fourths of the member votes, including the representative of the country concerned.

Now it is true that our representative would have the power under section a of article VIII, respecting any proposal that might involve an increase in our contributions, but he would also have the power to acquiesce in and to give support to proposals for increasing our obligations. Should he do the latter and new obligations would be imposed upon the United States it seems to me this would partake of international legislation.

MR. WADSWORTH. Would the gentleman yield?

THE CHARMAN. Mr. Wadsworth.

MR. WADSWORTH. Does not the gentleman confuse somewhat the meaning of the term "member" as used in this agreement in article II, entitled "Membership":

The members of the United States Relief and Rehabilitation Administration should (shall) be the government or authority signatory hereto and such other governments or authorities as may, upon application for membership, be admitted thereto by action of the Council.

It is not the members who sit on a committee, or a council or the Central Committee. They may speak only for the member, and the member in their case will be the Government.

So, when you reach page 14, paragraph b, relating to the amendment which may be proposed to articles III and IV, it says:

Amendments involving modification of article III or article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the vote of all the members of the Central Committee.

The members of the Central Committee are four governments, not four individuals.

MR. SMITH. Not as defined on page 5, Mr. Wadsworth.

MR. WADSWORTH. No. It says:

Wherever the term "member government" is used in this agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the administration, whether a government or an authority.

And the member of the administration is defined in the first paragraph as the government that signed, not the individual who represents the government.

MR. SMITH. Then the individual, according to your interpretation of it, would have no right to act, or to vote, on a proposal without authority specifically from the Congress? Or from our Government?



Mr. WADSWORTH. From our Government.

Mr. SMITH. It is not written here, according to my definition of our own Government.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Government is the member. He is not the member of the administration. It is the Government that is the member. And our representative on the subcommittee could not cast any vote without the permission of the Government of the United States.

Mr. SMITH. Where does he get the permission under this act?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Because the Government is the member. He is not the member, is the point.

Mr. SMITH. I take the position that the purpose of section 8 in this bill is to transfer constitutional powers of Congress to this proposed international body.

Mr. MUNDT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. Just a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. Doctor, article 5 on page 12 specifies this:

Insofar as its appropriate constitutional body shall authorize, each member government will contribute to the support of the administration in order to accomplish the purposes of article 1, paragraph (2) (a). The amount and character of the contribution of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional body.

There is no question left for interpretation by anybody as to who is to determine for the United States.

Mr. SMITH. As to appropriations?

Mr. VORYS. What we contribute in any way, shape, or form to this thing. It is done by the appropriate constitutional body of this Government, which I would understand includes the Congress, so that there is not any way for the Treasury or anybody else to interpret this that anybody, even our own representative on this thing, can bind the United States to contribute money, supplies, or credit unless it is approved under article V by the appropriate constitutional body of this Government.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Or enter into a contract.

Mr. VORYS. That is right.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Our representative could not bind the United States to a contract to enter into this thing.

Mr. VORYS. That is right, or create any obligation on the United States.

Mr. JONKMAN (interposing). Mr. Chairman, that is a very fine conclusion. It has just been stated that, nevertheless, if Congress passes this bill, and leaves that definition on page 5 in there, which means that a member government shall mean what it says, and to the exclusion of every other interpretation, then do you not have to admit you are delegating the authority which now lodges in the Congress to such a person as is herein delegated as the member government? I would like to know what it is in there for.

Mr. VORYS. What it is in there for?

Mr. JONKMAN. Is it a definition? That is one reason you put a definition into a law or into a contract. If you mean the Government or authority it means just that and nothing else all the way through the contract.

Mr. VORYS. Certainly the explanation of that is the paragraph preceding and defining the membership. As in many types of contracts and agreements and documents in order to avoid repeating that whole paragraph, it specifies that the members shall be the governments or authorities signatory hereto; it specifies the governments are the members, not the fellow who signs.

Mr. JONKMAN. On the contrary that is general and this is specific.

Mr. VORYS. Then you use the shorter form in order to avoid repeating it each time. Is not that perfectly clear? I am asking these things because I thought I had a very clear-cut understanding of what I thought was a very clear-cut agreement as to the possible conceivable obligations of the United States, and I want to be very clear on it, and it seems to me that we can clear this up right now.

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman, may I interpose an explanation of the point which Mr. Vorys is discussing?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Acheson.

Mr. ACHESON. If you will read the preceding paragraph to which Mr. Vorys has made reference—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Please mention the page.

Mr. ACHESON. That is article II of the agreement.

Mr. VORYS. Page 4.

Mr. ACHESON. Appearing on page 4 of the joint resolution which says:

The members of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be the governments or authorities signatory hereto.

That refers to governments or authorities.

The authorities refer to signatories such as the French Committee of National Liberation, which is not recognized as a government, but as the appropriate authority to exercise certain functions in the case of that particular country.

Article II goes on to provide that—

whenever the term "member government" is used in this agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the Administration, whether a government or an authority.

This clause was put in the agreement to make it unnecessary to repeat "or authority" whenever a reference was made to a member government. Technically, authorities like the French Committee are not recognized governments and if the word "government" had been used without a provision that it was to be construed as including an "authority," there might have been some question as to its scope.

Paragraph (a) of article VIII provides that any amendment of the agreement involving new obligations for member governments must be adopted by a two-thirds vote of the Council and, to quote, "shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it." It is clear that no action by other governments can impose any new obligation on a dissenting member government. And this provision does not purport to affect, and could not affect, the constitutional procedures or powers of a member government. The question of who can accept an obligation for a government depends upon the internal law of each country; no act of U. N. R. R. A. could affect this.

The individuals who represent their governments on the Council or on committees have no status except as representatives. This is

clear throughout the agreement. The extent of the powers of these representatives to act for their governments is in no way affected by the U. N. R. R. A. agreement.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. I do not care to enter into any argument on this point.

Mr. JOHNSON. Are you a lawyer?

Mr. SMITH. No, I am not an attorney, and I don't think one need be an attorney to see that this resolution would delegate power and authority which belongs to the Congress, under the Constitution, to this proposed international body.

I look upon section VIII of this resolution as a vicious proposal, one that if enacted into law would be wholly unconstitutional. There appears to be wide disagreement between members of the committee as to the definition of the term "government" as used in this resolution. Some have expressed the thought that the word "government" includes the Congress and the President. Others have indicated, by inference, at least, it might not include the Congress. Those of you who believe it includes the Congress apparently believe it would require the sanction of Congress to permit amendments involving new obligations. Let us see if we can get some idea as to what the term "government," as it relates to the United States, means in this resolution. It seems to me it is very important that we do this. On page 1 we read:

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.* That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time to time to the President such sums as the Congress may determine to be appropriate for participation by the United States (including contributions in funds or otherwise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and Associated Governments on November 9, 1943, reading as follows:

First it is to be noted that here is the only place where the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States are specifically mentioned. This is in connection with appropriations. On page 12, article V, the Congress is referred to but not specifically named. This is also in connection with appropriations.

Note the language "United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and Associated Governments on November 9, 1943, reading as follows," and then on page 2, "Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration," "The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto, being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations." I think it is clear in this language that the term "government," as respects the United States, means the Chief Executive in his capacity as representative of the United States. Let us turn now to page 5 and again look at the definition given there of "member government":

Wherever the term "member government" is used in this agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the Administration whether a government or an authority.

It seems to me to be impossible to escape the conclusion that the term "member government," as it applies to the United States in this paragraph, can be construed as meaning anything other than the Chief Executive of the United States. He and he alone was a party to the agreement for establishing a United Nations Relief and Rehabilita-



tion Administration and is referred to as the Government of the United States in the preamble of this resolution.

Accordingly the language in section (a) of article VIII—

Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it—

would mean that a two-thirds vote of the Council to increase our obligation and would not require the acceptance by the Congress of the United States. It would require the acceptance only of the Chief Executive.

Let us examine again section (b) under article VIII—the same reads as follows:

Amendments involving modification of article III or article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the central committee.

Here not even the acceptance by the Chief Executive as the representative of the United States is required to effect amendments to a law passed by the Congress of the United States—if this resolution should become a law. No more than two-thirds vote of the Council is required. Articles III and IV deal with important matters, policies relating to supplies, rehabilitation, the removal of the Director General, and so forth. Far-reaching implications could be involved in giving to this international group the authority that is embodied here in section (b).

Section (c) of article VIII reads as follows:

Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote.

I cannot help but believe that this could open the door to a multitude of amendments that could profoundly affect the ostensible purposes of this resolution and the whole program that is projected in this resolution.

But what any amendments might do with this legislation is not so important. What really matters here is the principle that is involved. The passage of this resolution would take away from the Congress of the United States powers delegated to it by the Constitution over Federal legislation.

The passage of this resolution would specifically give legal sanction to the act of the President in signing the agreement with 43 other nations for the establishment of a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. I believe two wrongs would be committed if this were done. First, I do not believe it was the intention of the Constitution to vest in the President powers over foreign policies that could involve a program such as is here contemplated, or at least as can be envisioned as becoming. Second, I do not believe it was the intention of the writers of the Constitution to give the President any powers over foreign relations that might involve the surrender by the Congress to any international body of the power to make laws for the United States. I do not think we can escape the conclusion that the provisions contained in article VIII of this resolution partake of a superstate. This resolution flies straight into the face of the Constitution. I regard it as subversive in principle. It is not forthright. It is insidious. It has in view an ulterior purpose. It attempts to do something more than extend the kind hand of charity to the hungry



and starving peoples of the war-torn countries. This may be hard language, but it represents a deep conviction that has come from long and serious study.

It is idle to talk about controlling the machinery that this resolution would set up through the power Congress exercises over appropriations. In actual practice we all know that once an authorization is given by Congress there is little left to Congress to control.

Then there is the danger if this resolution should pass of setting a precedent for the establishment of other international authorities. I have particular reference to the proposals that are now being formulated for a United and Associated Nations stabilization fund and a World Bank for Reconstruction and Development. These two proposals involve a gold obligation on the part of the United States of more than \$5,600,000,000. They involve surrendering all the control over our money, which the Constitution vests in the Congress. They involve almost unlimited control over our whole economy. We should not set any precedent that might help in any way to establish these international authorities.

If this resolution were put up to a vote of the people it would be defeated by no less than 99 percent of the voters. I repeat, it would be impossible for Congress to exercise any effective control over the expenditures that would be involved if this resolution passes. Nor will it exercise effective control over the natural expansive forces that would be involved in the political machinery set up to operate this scheme.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Do you refer to section 7?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; section 7. And all I am asking of this committee is this: Let us be careful. Let us consider our own position and our own needs, and let us not write anything in a relief measure that could raise even a shadow of doubt as to interpretation. We owe this to our constituents, to our people.

Mr. MUNDT. Doctor, let me ask you, here on page 14, which I presume is the language which you refer to as being very dangerous; you said this provision; is that the provision you meant?

Mr. SMITH. Section 8 particularly, but I also refer to some other provisions.

Mr. MUNDT. All right. Would it, do you think be helpful, and would it be an additional safeguard, whether a necessary one or not, if after the language or acceptance of it, we wrote in some words such as, "by its established legislative procedure," or "by its established constitutional procedure," whichever would be most satisfactory, which I understand from Mr. Acheson, and which my own understanding of the law leads me to feel is the case now, but that would simply be making it double clear by putting it in precise words, would that take away the whole danger?

Mr. SMITH. No; I would strike out the whole section. It is dangerous and surplusage at best.

Mr. MUNDT. You have always got to provide some way for making amendments.

Mr. SMITH. You mean when we enter into an argeement with a body outside of the United States, there must be a provision allowing that body to amend a statute that we passed?

Mr. MUNDT. No. There would be no possibility in the world, if we add the language, "by established procedure," and we could only amend it, but when you enter into an agreement, I think you have to arrange for the contingency of the amendment.

Mr. SMITH. If a simple relief program were set up which would provide for supplying food and the other few absolute necessities as we had in the other war, none of the anomalous amending provisions in this resolution would be needed.

The CHAIRMAN. Could not you provide for that in the appropriation and say what it is to be used for? This is an agreement that has already been signed by 44 nations. If you are going to appropriate the money, could you not say what it is going to be used for? Would not that answer it?

Mr. SMITH. That would help, but it would certainly be an additional safeguard if the authorization was clear and unambiguous.

The CHAIRMAN. The authorization is merely asking the Appropriation Committee to appropriate the money, and whatever they want to do after holding a hearing and putting in any safeguard, it is up to the Appropriation Committee and that is all there is to it.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Is not this true, if we pass this resolution, we certainly approve this agreement?

Mr. SMITH. That is right. And this agreement, in my opinion, goes clear outside of anything ever intended by the Constitution. This program may involve the expenditure of billions of dollars. I think the President should have come to Congress before taking the matter up with foreign countries.

The CHAIRMAN. We were not ignored entirely. This thing was suggested before this committee. All the committee knew what was going on. The Foreign Relations Committee knew what was going on. All this matter was before us. Mr. Acheson kept us informed and Mr. Sayre kept us informed on both sides here. Do not get the impression that it was just thrown at us without our knowing anything about it.

Now, that does not say there are not ways of correcting it.

Mr. SMITH. In conclusion, I shall say that I believe any program of relief to the war-stricken peoples that the United States might undertake should be confined, for the present at least, strictly to food, clothing, medicines, and the absolute essentials for sustaining life and body. We should not undertake any work of rehabilitation now.

I believe the United States should keep full control of all the relief we provide and not divide control with other nations. Let us follow the only experience we have ever had in such an undertaking as we are considering, that connected with World War I. That was eminently successful.

Let us not launch upon a program that has all the earmarks of becoming a global W. P. A., should this resolution pass. But above all, we should scrap this resolution altogether for reasons heretofore stated.

I think section (h) should be stricken from this bill.

I think specific provisions should be put in here, providing definitely what contracts shall be written for, and in addition, let us not forget that whatever the amount is that may be contributed here will be infla-

tion, and will be damaging and hurtful to our country. We have got to do some of it. I do not know how to get out of it. But what I am pleading for is caution, and set this thing up in such a way as to keep our control and do it in the most economical way.

I want to thank the committee for this opportunity of coming before you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Doctor, very much. And will you get that statement in, Doctor?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further witness and no further business with reference to this legislation, the Chair would like to state we will go into executive session for a few minutes.

(Whereupon at 12:50 p. m. the committee went into executive session, and adjourned the public session sine die.)

# TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will kindly come to order. The committee has under further consideration House Joint Resolution 192, to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization. We have with us, Mr. Crowley, whom we shall be glad to hear at this time.

## FURTHER STATEMENT OF HON. LEO T. CROWLEY

Mr. CROWLEY. The other day when I was here, some of the Congressmen were asking me questions, and I understood Mrs. Bolton to say that she had some questions she wanted to ask me. She is not here, but I shall be very happy, Mr. Chairman, to answer any questions that anyone else might wish to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wadsworth was next in order, if he has any questions.

## RELATIONS BETWEEN U. N. R. R. A. AND FOREIGN ECONOMICS ADMINISTRATION

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I am sure it was in Mrs. Bolton's mind, when she requested Mr. Crowley to come before us again, to discuss the practical operation of this organization within the United States; to ascertain from Mr. Crowley, if he is in a position to inform us, something of the proposed set-up, in what has been thus far proposed, through which the supplies and contributions coming from the United States will pass.

The appropriation, as we all see, is made to the President, and the committee—at least I for one—will be very much interested in getting a preview, if such a thing is possible, of how the appropriations will actually be handled.

I regret to say that I was not here when Mr. Crowley testified before, and I hope that this is not a subject that has already been discussed by him; but I think there is a feeling on the part of a good many of us that we should like to get a thorough exposition of it, for our information.



Mr. CROWLEY. I will be glad to try to answer that, Congressman. I might say this: that, of course, under this resolution, the appropriation is to be made to the President. The reason I said what I did the other day was that I assumed that the Foreign Economic Administration would handle the expenditure of funds in this country; that if it were left to the President to determine the agency, it was my understanding that he intended to select the Foreign Economic Administration to be the United States agency to handle the expenditure of those funds in the United States.

I have a statement with respect to the relations of U. N. R. R. A. to the Foreign Economic Administration which I have prepared in response to the request of the committee when I last testified. Perhaps it would be of assistance to the committee if I read that statement, Mr. Wadsworth. It is as follows:

I think I can explain the relations between the Foreign Economic Administration and U. N. R. R. A. in the following way. Of course, you will understand that our procedure may change as we get experience in the work. The cardinal principle of our working relations will be to establish close and constant association between our staff and that of U. N. R. R. A.

U. N. R. R. A. will prepare the picture of the total needs of the liberated areas for relief and rehabilitation. Its staff will prepare an over-all statement of their total import requirements, covering imports from all possible sources of supply, including the United States, and will present that story to the Combined Boards. In all this phase of the job, our people will be working both with U. N. R. R. A. and with the United States representatives on the Combined Boards, so far as American supply interests are concerned.

After specific procurement programs have been presented to the Boards, they will then recommend an allocation which may be out of American or other sources of supply. For example, in the light of Greek requirements for wheat, the Combined Food Board may recommend that the United States should supply so many tons of wheat.

The Director General of U. N. R. R. A. will then come, assuming that Greece is unable to pay for this wheat, to the Foreign Economic Administration and request that out of the funds placed at its disposal for participation in the work of U. N. R. R. A. that amount of wheat be bought. The Foreign Economic Administration would then arrange with the War Food Administration for the procurement of the wheat, and debiting the appropriation for U. N. R. R. A. supplies, would have it delivered either to U. N. R. R. A. or to the appropriate agency of the Greek Government.

If Greece were in a position to pay for the wheat, Greece would deal directly with the United States. The Combined Food Board and the War Food Administration as the American agency represented on it would already have balanced the urgency of Greece's need against other demands for wheat, in the light of the total available supply.

Apart from the work I have already described, the Foreign Economic Administration's basic function in meeting U. N. R. R. A. requirements will, of course, be that of arranging for and expediting procurement. It will in addition assist in minimizing the impact of the relief programs on our civilian economy, and on the supply programs for the Army and for lend-lease. As it does in the case of other sup-

ply programs the Foreign Economic Administration can do useful work, for example, in arranging for substitutions of materials within the broad allocations from the United States production made by the United States allocating agencies for the use of U. N. R. R. A. Beyond that, the Foreign Economic Administration will consider the procurement programs for liberated areas to see to it that they are related to other requirements for which the Foreign Economic Administration has responsibilities.

In the performance of the functions arising out of such transactions, we shall make every effort to avoid overlapping of functions or duplication of effort. U. N. R. R. A. would have screened specific import programs and balanced them against the needs of other liberated areas. The Combined Food Board and its constituent national agencies would have balanced these needs as a part of a total program for liberated areas against the requirements for the United Nations military forces and for the civilians behind those forces. It would have determined where purchases could best be made in the light of the supply situation. That is what the Combined Food Board and its constituent agencies can and should do. There would remain the task of procurement, expediting, and coordination with other foreign economic programs. That is the job the Foreign Economic Administration can do, and it is my understanding of our chief responsibility in the work of U. N. R. R. A.

Mrs. BOLTON. May I ask, Mr. Crowley, if it has been determined that the Foreign Economic Administration shall be the agency in this country to receive the funds and disburse them?

Mr. CROWLEY. Mrs. Bolton, insofar as the executive branch of the Government is concerned, unless Congress decides to specify some other agency, my understanding is that if funds are appropriated to the President he will select the Foreign Economic Administration to be the United States agency concerned with the procurement of goods in the United States from these funds.

Mrs. BOLTON. The concept of it is, then, that you would have the veto power over any requests from United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration?

Mr. CROWLEY. I would not say that.

Mrs. BOLTON. Perhaps that is putting it too strongly.

Mr. CROWLEY. Yes. But I would certainly say that the Foreign Economic Administration would be the United States agency to work with the Combined Boards in dealing with the supplies that might be acquired from this country.

Mrs. BOLTON. Then United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration would not have its own representative?

Mr. CROWLEY. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration would deal directly with the Combined Boards but the Foreign Economic Administration would be working together simultaneously with the Boards and with U. N. R. R. A. The Foreign Economic Administration would be an advocate for U. N. R. R. A. within the limitations of supply in the United States which, of course, would be a concern of the Foreign Economic Administration.

Mrs. BOLTON. I thought that was the work of the Combined Boards.

Mr. CROWLEY. I think that is the work of the Combined Boards; but, on the other hand, the Foreign Economic Administration, as the

agency actually procuring supplies in the United States, should work closely with the Combined Boards. The Combined Boards are, of course, not made up entirely of United States representatives.

Mrs. BOLTON. No, but America would be represented?

Mr. CROWLEY. Surely.

Mrs. BOLTON. Perhaps the Secretary would go to the Combined Boards; or who would go?

Mr. CROWLEY. As a practical matter the Foreign Economic Administration will work together with the Combined Boards and the constituent United States agencies.

Mrs. BOLTON. That is just the point.

Mr. CROWLEY. I think you will find that Great Britain, and the Soviet Union for example, as well as the United States, will have their national supply agencies working closely with the Combined Boards. For example, the British Supply Ministry might work with the Combined Boards in much the same way as the Foreign Economic Administration works with the Combined Boards.

Mrs. BOLTON. Then if the Congress votes money with the understanding that certain things shall happen through that fund, the Foreign Economic Administration would still be in a position to say, "No, it cannot happen at this time"?

Mr. CROWLEY. I wouldn't put it that way, Mrs. Bolton. The Foreign Economic Administration will certainly insure that the funds it administers will be expended in accordance with the intention of Congress.

Mrs. BOLTON. I see; thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, I shall reserve anything else I may wish to ask. Perhaps when we get into another phase of the discussion I might have some other questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to state that while Mr. Crowley agreed to come here this morning, he had an engagement with the Banking and Currency Committee. It was our thought that we would start at 10:30 a. m., promptly, so that Mr. Crowley could get away at about 11 o'clock in order to keep his other engagement. At the time that engagement was made, he did not know that he was going to be asked to appear here. But, if necessary, Mr. Crowley can return again some other time.

Mr. McMurray, have you any questions?

Mr. McMURRAY. No, sir, no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wadsworth—

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN F. E. A. AND W. P. B.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I was going to ask Mr. Crowley if he visualized a fairly intimate cooperation between the Foreign Economic Administration, should the Foreign Economic Administration be selected as the American administrator of the fund, and the War Production Board.

Mr. CROWLEY. We work very closely now, Mr. Wadsworth, with the War Production Board, which has the important responsibility of determining how much of particular supplies can be made available to the Foreign Economic Administration for lend-lease purposes for example, how much for our armed forces, and how much should be



retained for our civilian population. We work closely with the War Production Board on materials that may go out of this country, through our Export Division. Likewise, we work very closely with the War Production Board on any materials that they want to bring in as imports. So we do have a very close relationship with the War Production Board on exports and imports at this time. Also, Mr. Wadsworth, we have a very close working relationship with the War Food Administration. Generally speaking, we appear as claimants for supplies before these agencies which have the power to decide on all requests for American supplies. Our responsibility is to appear before them as an advocate and to make sure our claim is a reasonable one; theirs to decide the extent to which it can and should be met in the light of all other claims and the supply position.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Then, if a request should come from U. N. R. R. A. to the United States for a contribution of one kind or another, it is your idea that you will consult, for example, with the War Food Administration?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is right. Indeed, they will have been given a prior recommendation by the Combined Food Board, on which they constitute the members for the United States, and there will, of course, also be an allocation by the War Food Administration before foods in short supply can be procured.

Mr. WADSWORTH. If it has to do with food products.

Mr. CROWLEY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WADSWORTH. And with the War Production Board, if it has to do with materials over which they have general jurisdiction at present.

Mr. CROWLEY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WADSWORTH. To the end that whatever decision is made as to what the contribution in kind shall be, it shall be such as not to overstrain our resources.

Mr. CROWLEY. That is correct, sir, recognizing the demands which must be fulfilled as a result of the war.

Mr. WADSWORTH. In the event that your organization is sustained by, we will say, the War Production Board, and makes up its mind that a suggested contribution, if made, would overstrain or let us say dislocate our resources, would it not be within the power of Foreign Economic Administration to bring about an amendment to that request?

Mr. CROWLEY. I am afraid I have not made myself clear. The War Production Board is the agency responsible for the allocation of our resources in ways which best further the war. We present the requests to the War Production Board for essential wartime exports. We try to see to it that those requests are reasonable in amount, in the light of need, and reasonable generally in view of other types of available supply, and so forth. It is for the War Production Board to weigh our request along with other requests—for the armed forces and for our civilian economy—in the light of the over-all supply picture. It is for the War Production Board to balance total supply and total demand. Thus, I do not believe the precise situation which you describe would ever arise because the Foreign Economic Administration would not present to the War Production Board any U. N. R. R. A. request which had not previously



been approved by the Combined Board on which the War Production Board sits and with which the Foreign Economic Administration would have been working closely.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Then, pursuing the same subject a little further, we had a rather interesting discussion here yesterday with respect to what may be called the veto power of the United States Government agency in a case where our agency was convinced that the nature of the request, coming from United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, was not contemplated in the international agreement; and that in such a case the Government of the United States could take the position that the contribution was not contemplated by the U. N. R. R. A. agreement and could decline to make it. That might be an extreme case, of course.

Mr. CROWLEY. Yes. That would be an extreme case. I think that three-fifths or four-fifths—

Mr. WADSWORTH. Did you say four-fifths?

Mr. CROWLEY. Perhaps I should have said, something over one-half of all the supplies that may be purchased will be from the United States.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Purchased by our own Government?

Mr. CROWLEY. By our own Government for U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I had not heard that percentage figure mentioned before.

Mr. CROWLEY. I intended only to indicate roughly the proportion of supplies for U. N. R. R. A. which I thought might be procured here.

Mr. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield at this point?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. Do you mean by that, not that the contribution of the United States would be four-fifths—

Mr. CROWLEY. No.

Mr. JOHNSON. But that the purchase of supplies by U. N. R. R. A. in this country might come to four-fifths?

Mr. CROWLEY. No, as I have indicated that figure is probably much too high.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I misunderstood you. I had the impression first that your thought was that our contribution would be three-fifths or four-fifths of the entire amount.

Mr. CROWLEY. No.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Rogers, I believe, has some questions.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Crowley, you made a very strong statement when you appeared before us the other day regarding the protection of our national resources. Do you feel, if there were a change in the directorship of Foreign Economic Administration, that they would still continue to protect the national resources; that is, if you were not the Director? You see, you make the policy now and you have been extremely strong in your statement. You have made a very strong statement.

Mr. CROWLEY. As a matter of fact, Congress has control of this matter itself, because if funds are appropriated only until next June 30, Congress will have an opportunity, in a few months, to review expenditures for U. N. R. R. A. before making another appropriation for the new fiscal year. So that Congress does have an opportunity to keep in touch, rather currently, with these relief activities.

I feel we should fully support U. N. R. R. A. within the limitations of our resources. That is my viewpoint.

Mrs. ROGERS. I think that would be the viewpoint of the people of the United States.

Mr. CROWLEY. I think so.

Mrs. ROGERS. It is just a matter of getting the best agency to protect the resources of the country, of the United States.

Mr. CROWLEY. It is a matter of establishing the best United States governmental machinery possible for the United States and of U. N. R. R. A.'s operations.

Mrs. ROGERS. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rogers, do you have any questions?

Mr. ROGERS. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Eaton.

#### FUNCTIONS OF THE FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION

Mr. EATON. I wonder if Mr. Crowley would put in a few sentences, or in one sentence, just what his organization is; what are its functions; what it was created to do or not to do?

Mr. CROWLEY. I think it is necessary that you have in one place in the Government all the so-called foreign economic operations. These would include war supplies under Lend-Lease; control over exports to the extent necessary for the most effective prosecution of the war, procurement and development abroad, preclusive purchasing and other economic warfare work, and other foreign economic operations. I think that these functions should be centralized in one place, that they be coordinated and that they be performed in close cooperation with the State Department.

I do not think that the Foreign Economic Administration can have a foreign policy of its own, although many of the things that the Foreign Economic Administration will do will have some effect on the State Department's foreign policy.

I have always taken the position that all of these agencies ought to be under one control, either in the State Department or outside the State Department, and if outside the State Department, our activities must be closely coordinated with the policies established by the Department.

Insofar as we are concerned in our relations with the State Department, we have had a very close working arrangement. There have been no major disagreements. We sit down with them and submit and discuss all of our matters before we take any major action. I think it is necessary that foreign economic operations be centralized in one agency, in order to avoid jurisdictional disputes between one agency and another, which can only result in chaos, and a confused situation.

I believe that the Foreign Economic Administration can carry on our foreign economic operations, without interfering with Mr. Hull's foreign policy. Mr. Hull and I have known each other for a long time and there is no disagreement between us along this line. I recognize that there could be a disagreement very easily, but there is less chance for a disagreement when it is all under one man than when you have it in four or five or six different places in the Government.

Also, I think that having it in one place gives us a better opportunity of working out a united program with other governments. Does that answer your question, Doctor?

Mr. EATON. Yes, except I have not yet found out what you do.

Mr. CROWLEY. We administer the Lend-Lease Act. We have charge of all imports of materials that are purchased abroad under the direction of the War Production Board; metals and things of that kind, for war purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Including briar wood!

Mr. CROWLEY. Including briar wood. We have economic warfare analysis work which is performed directly for the Army. We have the purchase of food in South America and the planting of foods in South America for the war. We have charge of all the exports that go out of this country and of all the imports that come into this country.

Mr. EATON. You mean everything in connection with the war effort?

Mr. CROWLEY. Everything that goes in or out of the country. All of the export licenses are granted under our supervision.

Mr. EATON. That used to be under the State Department?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. May I suggest that you elaborate on that statement for the record?

Mr. CROWLEY. I shall be very glad to.

(The statement requested is as follows:)

#### STATEMENT OF FUNCTIONS OF THE FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION

The Foreign Economic Administration was established by Executive Order No. 9380 issued on September 25, 1943. The Administration is a consolidation of several war agencies whose functions had to do with economic affairs relating to foreign countries. The constituent agencies were (1) the Office of Lend-Lease Administration, (2) the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, (3) the Office of Economic Warfare, including the United States Commercial Company, Rubber Development Corporation, Petroleum Reserve Corporation, and the Export-Import Bank of Washington, all of which had previously been transferred to O. E. W., and (4) that part of the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination of the Department of State which dealt with foreign economic operations. In addition, the functions of the War Food Administration and the Commodity Credit Corporation with respect to the procurement and development of food, food machinery, and other food facilities in foreign countries were transferred and consolidated in the Foreign Economic Administration by Executive Order No. 9385, dated October 6, 1943.

In general, the functions of the Foreign Economic Administration are the functions, powers, and duties of the constituent agencies, which may be briefly described as follows:

(1) The administration of the Lend-Lease Act, including making arrangements for the procurement and purchase of supplies for transmission to countries eligible for lend-lease aid and providing and arranging for the receipt by the United States of reverse lend-lease aid from such countries.

(2) The procurement of food and other strategic materials from abroad. This involves the location and purchase of strategic commodities needed in the war effort, including programming of development operations to increase production, and arranging for their storage and transport. In addition, similar procurement and development activities will be carried on with a view to assisting our allies and the liberated areas.

(3) The preclusive purchasing abroad of commodities which are of importance to the enemy for military or civilian needs and which might otherwise fall in their hands.

(4) Control, for war purposes, through export licensing and other similar methods of the exports of all commodities from the United States.



(5) Assembly and analysis of information relating to the industrial economy of and general economic conditions within enemy and neutral countries for purposes of economic warfare, such as bombing objectives, blacklists, blockade measures, and preclusive buying, and to assist the military in strategic planning.

These functions in the main were those performed by the Office of Economic Warfare, working through such instrumentalities as the United States Commercial Company, and by the Office of Lend-Lease Administration. Some of the functions formerly carried on by the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations (O. F. R. R. O.) with respect to the planning and administration of relief and rehabilitation activities in liberated areas will, of course, be carried on by U. N. R. R. A. The Foreign Economic Administration, as the American agency, will, of course, hold itself available to assist U. N. R. R. A., the Government or other authority exercising administrative control over the liberated area, or the military authorities in the procurement of civilian goods and of material for the restoration of economic activities in any liberated area if and when called upon to do so.

The Office of Foreign Economic Coordination, the fourth of the constituent agencies of F. E. A., was primarily designed to coordinate the activities of all governmental agencies operating in the foreign economic field so as to avoid inconsistent policies, jurisdictional conflicts, and duplication of effort. With the consolidation of the several agencies in F. E. A., the necessity for this Office no longer remained, although close cooperation between F. E. A. and the State Department will necessarily be maintained so that its activities will conform to the foreign policy of the United States.

The formulation of the basic policies and broad programs of the Foreign Economic Administration will be determined by the Administration with the assistance of an Office of Economic Programs. These programs are carried out by two major units of the agency: The Bureau of Supplies and the Bureau of Areas.

The functions of the Bureau of Areas include the coordination and direction of all area activities of the Administration; the analysis of area requirements; the maintenance of liaison regarding area matters with international agencies, agencies of the United States, and other nations; the development of economic warfare programs; the development and direction of the programs of the Administration for liberated areas; and the collection, analysis, and evaluation of economic intelligence for economic warfare operations.

The functions of the Bureau of Supplies include the development and administration of programs for procurement abroad of commodities required for the accomplishment of F. E. A.'s objectives and to increase foreign production of such commodities; the administration of export control; the conduct of preclusive buying operations in accordance with economic warfare programs; the screening of all area requirements in terms of supply considerations; and arrangements for the procurement of supplies in the United States and for the transportation and warehousing of commodities.

Mr. JOHNSON. As I understand, Mr. Crowley, F. E. A. means Foreign Economic Administration?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is right.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Mr. JOHNSON. The relationship between the State Department and the Foreign Economic Administration is similar or analogous to the relationship, let us say, between our Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Appropriations Committee of the House. In other words, our committee considers legislation that concerns policies. The Appropriations Committee deals with the financial end of it, the economic end of it. It may not be a perfectly true analogy, but there is a kindred relationship. We deal with policies and they deal with the amounts of money that are required to execute those policies.

Of course, I understand that a great many of the problems that the Foreign Economic Administration has to contend with are economic



problems that require technical knowledge and information that perhaps the State Department might not have. But they supply the policy and you supply the administration of the policy; is that correct?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is correct. I would just like to say this; that as I view the operation between the State Department and the Foreign Economic Administration, it is the State Department's function to deal in political and diplomatic matters. Now, when you are dealing in matters of materials and money and assets, sometimes it is a good thing to have an advocate that does not have to worry so much about the political and the diplomatic sides. It is a good deal like a business organization, as you gentlemen know who are in business. You always have in your business a credit department. The credit department may sometimes be in disagreement with your sales division, because your sales division has only one idea and that is to get along with the customers. On the other hand, it is essential to keep your financial house in order. The Foreign Economic Administration, as I see it, is the body that represents the business end of this thing. It depends upon the personalities who are administering the legislation. You can take a good piece of legislation and you can destroy it with bad administration; or you can take a bad piece of legislation and make it work, perhaps, with good administration.

There is no agreement that Mr. Hull and I could put down in writing that would be of any value unless Mr. Hull and I are in agreement that we are going to try to work this thing out mutually. We are in agreement.

Mr. EATON. Then you are absolutely independent of the State Department in your organization?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is correct, except that our operations must be within the foreign policy as defined by the State Department.

Mr. EATON. You are responsible directly to the President of the United States?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. VORYS. On this last point, the Executive Order which created the Foreign Economic Administration specifies that you are to operate under a policy laid down by the Department of State, is not that so?

Mr. CROWLEY. On matters of foreign policy.

Mr. VORYS. On matters of foreign policy?

Mr. CROWLEY. That is correct.

Mr. VORYS. The Foreign Economic Administration at present is a war organization completely, is it not?

Mr. CROWLEY. Practically in its entirety, sir.

Mr. VORYS. How large a staff do you have now, how many people?

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Cox just reminds me that a large part of its functions are war functions. However, we do have for example, the Export Import Bank, which is a peacetime agency as well as a war agency.

Mr. VORYS. I do not want to take up your time or that of the committee unduly, but I should like to get a complete statement of the personnel involved. I wonder if you would be good enough to send to me, if not for purposes of the record, just for my information, some official statement of the Foreign Economic Administration, showing its various departments and the personnel involved.

The CHAIRMAN. Then will you let us know. [Laughter.]

Mr. VORYS. I do not know how interested the rest of the committee would be.

Mr. CROWLEY. We shall be very glad to do that.

Mr. VORYS. I would be very glad to have you furnish it to everybody or make it a part of the record, if you wish. I think it would be a good thing to have in the record, but I do not want to wait for the information until the record is made up.

Mr. CROWLEY. I will be glad to do that.

Mr. VORYS. How large a staff do you have overseas at this time?

Mr. CROWLEY. We will give you that information in the memorandum which we shall furnish.

(The statement requested is as follows:)

#### STATEMENT OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION PERSONNEL

On September 30, 1943, the Foreign Economic Administration had approximately 4,500 employees. As of January 1, 1944, the Foreign Economic Administration had approximately 3,500 employees in the United States and about 700 field representatives abroad, a reduction of about 300 employees which reflects savings in personnel occasioned by the consolidation.

The personnel in the various divisions of the Foreign Economic Administration in the United States is as follows: There are 1,425 individuals in the Bureau of Supplies, and 975 in the Bureau of Areas. These are the two principal operating divisions. The personnel in the various staff offices is as follows: Office of the Administrator, 40; Office of Economic Programs, 40; Office of Budget and Administrative Planning, 60; Office of Personnel, 150; Office of the General Counsel, 100; Office of Finance, 155; and Office of Management Services, 425. In addition, there are about 115 employees of the Administration stationed outside of Washington, D. C., in field offices in the United States.

Inasmuch as the consolidation and reorganization in the Foreign Economic Administration has not as yet been completed, the foregoing figures represent estimates rather than civil-service or pay-roll designations of the personnel of the administration. There has not been included in the figures personnel in the process of being transferred from the Foreign Economic Administration to United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration or personnel compensated by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Mr. VORYS. If U. N. R. R. A. is entirely a post-war organization, in that it will never operate in any country until that particular country is through with the war, then if the Foreign Economic Administration undertook this duty that you have described, it would be from then on a post-war organization, is not that right?

Mr. CROWLEY. Let me say this, that if you are talking about the Foreign Economic Administration, and the part that it may play in the future, I do not think that the activity of this Government in the field of foreign economics is going to disappear just as soon as the shooting stops. I think very definitely that in many respects you have a problem that is more aggravated after the shooting stops than you have at the present time. So I do not think you can say, just as soon as the shooting stops, that the need for the Foreign Economic Administration will dissolve in thin air. Some agency is going to have to do that.

Mr. VORYS. That is quite true, and I just wanted to find out whether it is the plan of the administration that the Foreign Economic Administration should continue, its label having been changed from, let us say, Economic Welfare, to Foreign Economic Administration; whether that is significant in that it is the plan to have it charged with Foreign Economic Administration from now on.

Mr. CROWLEY. I think like anything in government, this agency is always subject to change. I do not think any agency of government has any 99-year lease on what it is doing.

The CHAIRMAN. Nor with the option of renewal.

Mr. VORYS. In the past we used to have in the Department of Commerce representatives all over the world. Then I believe there was a consolidation, and these commercial representatives were put in under the Department of State, so that our political and our economic and our diplomatic and our other interests all over the world cleared through one organization. Now, during the war we have had the Board of Economic Warfare, the Treasury and the State Departments, and all kinds of different representatives in different countries.

Mr. CROWLEY. I do not think that is any different than what has happened in all of the countries of the world during this war. There have been a lot of agencies brought into existence during the war.

Mr. VORYS. That is certainly true, but I had not thought we would probably go back to a peacetime organization like that after the war.

Mr. CROWLEY. It will be so long, in my judgment, before we get back to a peacetime pursuit year that I will be an old man and will not have to worry about that.

Mr. VORYS. Now, the procuring of supplies for U. N. R. R. A. we have been told will be by U. N. R. R. A. for certain things, but in a large measure by the countries involved and U. N. R. R. A. will merely appear as an advocate for or against those particular supplies. For instance, those nations that have the money to buy goods, they are going to go to U. N. R. R. A. and say, "Is it all right for us to buy this?" And if U. N. R. R. A. says, "Yes," then they will buy.

Now, let us say that France or Holland or Belgium has received the official sanction of U. N. R. R. A. and comes here to buy something that the Combined Boards said could be bought here, would the Foreign Economic Administration have anything to do with that purchase?

Mr. CROWLEY. Let me just give you my version of the way that the operation would be as far as I am concerned. I view U. N. R. R. A. as a sort of international corporation with a board of directors made up of representatives of the countries from all over the world. Insofar as this country is concerned, we have the same voice on the board of directors as the other countries that are represented on the board of directors.

Now, then, France and some of the other countries may come here to buy some of the materials for cash. Before they actually procure their supplies in this country the Combined Boards, and the Foreign Economic Administration working with them, would have recommended that these supplies could be made available from the United States. Whether the Foreign Economic Administration actually procured them, whether France purchased them on the open market, or whether they were procured from Government stocks or otherwise would depend upon the circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman would like to state here, Mr. Vorys, that he promised Mr. Crowley that he would be able to keep his other engagements. If we are going to continue the questions, it is up to Mr. Crowley to say whether he wants to stay. They have been telephoning for him.



We will have to bring Mr. Crowley back again some other time when we can all have the time to ask the questions that we want to ask.

Mr. VORYS. I am quite willing to release my priority, if any, on Mr. Crowley.

Mr. CROWLEY. We will be glad to give you anything that you want if that will shorten it up any.

Mr. VORYS. I wish that you would do that. I wish in the meantime you would send a memorandum that would show what appropriations U. N. R. R. A. and the Foreign Economic Administration now administer.

Mr. EATON. And carbon copies to go around.

(The statement requested is as follows:)

#### STATEMENT OF FUNDS AVAILABLE TO THE FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION

The funds available to the Foreign Economic Administration for the remainder of this fiscal year are the funds which were appropriated or allocated to the constituent agencies. These were transferred to the Foreign Economic Administration under the Executive order of September 25, 1943.

Both the Office of Lend Lease Administration and the Board of Economic Warfare, predecessor of the Office of Economic Warfare, had funds appropriated to them by the Congress. The appropriation to the Office of Lend-Lease Administration for this fiscal year was made in Public Law 70 (78th Cong.) and the appropriation to the Board of Economic Warfare (which provided for administrative and certain other expenses but not for financing the procurement and development programs) was made by Public Law 139 (78th Cong.).

The expenditures for the procurement and development abroad of food and strategic materials are made by the United States Commercial Co., Rubber Development Corporation, Petroleum Reserve Corporation, and the Export-Import Bank of Washington, which act under the direction of the Foreign Economic Administration. Each of these corporations maintains its corporate identity although the funds available to them, viz, paid-in capital or proceeds of loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, will be used by them for purposes consistent with their charters and under the direction of the Foreign Economic Administration. As provided in the Executive Order, the financing of these Foreign Economic Administration activities by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation will continue only until such time as Congress provides other means of financing such activities.

Congress made no direct appropriation to the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations and the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination, and the administrative expenses of these two agencies were met out of allocations from the Emergency Fund for the President provided in Public Law 132 (78th Cong.). It is not expected, however, that these allocations from the emergency fund will be transferred to the Foreign Economic Administration.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. I am sorry we have kept you so long. We will have you back again, so have a merry Christmas.

Now, we will have before us our colleague, Mr. Dewey, who will present House Joint Resolution 207.

(H. J. Res. 207 is as follows:)

[H. J. Res. 207, 78th Cong., 1st sess.]

#### JOINT RESOLUTION

To provide for a central reconstruction fund to be used in joint account with foreign governments for rehabilitation, stabilization of currencies, and reconstruction, and for other purposes

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

#### NECESSITY FOR LEGISLATION

SECTION 1. Because of the need for coordinated and efficient participation by the United States in activities among the United Nations and the nations asso-



ciated with them in the present war, with respect to rehabilitation, currency stabilization, and the extension of long-term credits for reconstruction purposes, the enactment of this joint resolution is necessary.

#### DEFINITIONS

SEC. 2. As used in this joint resolution—

(1) The term "fund" means the central reconstruction fund provided for in this joint resolution.

(2) The term "Board" means the Board of Governors of the fund.

(3) The term "executive committee" means the executive committee of the fund.

#### CENTRAL RECONSTRUCTION FUND

SEC. 3. There is hereby established a central reconstruction fund which shall be administered as provided in this joint resolution. There shall be in the fund three accounts as follows:

(1) A revolving fund account, which initially shall consist of \$500,000,000 assigned and transferred to such account from the stabilization fund which is at present under the direction of the President of the United States; and such other amounts as may be hereafter appropriated thereto, or assigned and transferred from the said stabilization fund.

(2) An administration account, which shall consist of amounts hereafter appropriated for administrative expenses incident to carrying out the provisions of this joint resolution.

(3) The United Nations rehabilitation account, which shall consist of all moneys appropriated for participation by the United States in the rehabilitation work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

#### PARTICIPATION IN JOINT ACCOUNT UNDERTAKINGS

SEC. 4. (a) The Board of Governors of the fund, established by section 6 of this joint resolution, through its Chairman, may use the amounts in the revolving fund account to participate, in joint account, to the extent of not more than 50 per centum of the total cost in the case of any one risk, with any other government or governments (or with any duly authorized agent or agents thereof) for the purpose of promoting the economic welfare of any nation through (1) extensions of short-term and intermediate credit for financing seasonal operations, and/or support of currencies when under speculative or economic pressure, or (2) extensions of long-term construction or wealth-developing credits.

(b) Such action shall be taken by the Board upon such terms and for such period or periods as may be agreed upon, but only if the general purpose of the extension of credit is for sound economic objectives, and only if the government receiving the credit will authorize the supervision of the use of the credit by a representative of a government participating in the joint undertaking, other than its own representative.

(c) The Board is authorized and empowered to assign, sell, or terminate its participation in any such undertaking, in whole or in part, upon such terms as the Board may deem to be to the best interests of the United States and otherwise equitable.

#### LIMITATIONS ON USE OF UNITED NATIONS REHABILITATION ACCOUNT

SEC. 5. No moneys shall be loaned, granted, or otherwise disbursed from the United Nations rehabilitation account without the approval of the Board; except that in the case of a project the total cost of which will not be in excess of \$1,000,000, loans, grants, or disbursements may be made therefrom upon the recommendation of the Chairman with the approval of the executive committee of the fund, established by section 7 of this joint resolution. All loans, grants, or disbursements in the case of a project the total cost of which will be in excess of \$1,000,000 shall be approved by the Board, and only approval if the purpose for which they are to be made is consistent with the purposes and objectives of this joint resolution.

#### BOARD OF GOVERNORS

SEC. 6. (a) There shall be a Board of Governors of the fund, to be composed as follows:

(1) One member, who shall be Chairman of the Board, to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

(2) Two officers or employees of the State Department, to be appointed by the Secretary of State.

(3) Two officers or employees of the Treasury Department, to be appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

(4) Two directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (one from each of the two major political parties) to be appointed by the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

(5) Two Members of the United States Senate (one from each of the two major political parties) to be appointed by the President of the Senate.

(6) Two Members of the House of Representatives (one from each of the two major political parties) to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

(7) Two members of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (one from each of the two major political parties) who shall be appointed by the Chairman of such Board of Governors.

(b) The initial term of office of one member of each group specified in paragraphs (2) to (7), inclusive, of the foregoing subsection shall be four years, and the initial term of office of the other member in each such group shall be two years; and thereafter each such member shall be appointed for a term of four years. The term of office of the Chairman of the Board shall be four years.

(c) There shall also be a First Vice Chairman and a Second Vice Chairman of the Board, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of four years.

(d) The Chairman of the Board of Governors shall be paid a salary at a rate equal to that of Cabinet officers, and the two Vice Chairmen shall each receive a salary at a rate equal to that of an Under Secretary of an executive department. The other members of the Board shall not receive any salary for their services as members of the Board of Governors, but shall be reimbursed for travel, and subsistence expenses incurred in the performance of their duties as members of the Board.

(e) The President may remove from office the Chairman of the Board, or either of the Vice Chairmen thereof, for any cause deemed sufficient by him.

(f) The First Vice Chairman of the Board shall serve on the Board as Chairman thereof in the absence of the Chairman and the Second Vice Chairman of the Board shall serve on the Board as Chairman thereof in the absence of both the Chairman and the First Vice Chairman, but neither of such Vice Chairmen shall serve as members of the Board under any other circumstances. Such Vice Chairmen shall, however, perform such other duties in connection with the activities of the fund as may be directed by the Board.

(g) The Chairman of the Board shall also act as the principal executive officer of the fund. In his absence the First Vice Chairman shall act as the principal executive officer of the fund, and in the absence of both the Chairman and the First Vice Chairman the Second Vice Chairman shall act as the principal executive officer of the fund.

(h) A vacancy in the office of any member of the Board or other officer referred to in this section shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment, and the person appointed to fill the vacancy shall be appointed for the unexpired term of his predecessor.

(i) The Board shall meet on the fourth Tuesday of each month in the offices of the fund, at 9:30 antemeridian, and may hold special meetings at other times on call of the Chairman. A quorum of the Board, for the transaction of business, shall consist of eight members. In the transaction of business action may be taken by a simple majority of the Board, but only if at least two of the members present are Members of Congress. Neither the Chairman of the Board nor the Vice Chairman thereof shall be entitled to vote in the proceedings of the Board except in the case of a tie vote, or be counted for the purpose of determining whether a quorum of the Board is present.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SEC. 7. (a) There shall be an executive committee of the fund, which shall consist of—

(1) the Chairman of the Board, who shall be chairman of the executive committee;

(2) one member of each of the groups specified in paragraphs (2) to (7), inclusive, of section 6 (a), such members to serve on the executive committee for terms of six months;

(3) the senior executive officer of each of the main divisions of the organization of the fund.

(b) In the absence of the Chairman, the First Vice Chairman of the Board shall act as chairman of the executive committee, and in the absence of both the Chairman and the First Vice Chairman the Second Vice Chairman shall act as chairman of the executive committee. Such Vice Chairmen shall not serve on the executive committee under any other circumstances.

(c) The executive committee shall meet on the first three Tuesdays of each month in the offices of the fund at 9:30 antemeridian. A quorum of the executive committee for the transaction of business shall consist of half of its membership, but only if at least one Member of Congress is present. In the transaction of its business, the executive committee may act by a simple majority. The chairman of the executive committee shall have the power to vote on all matters.

(d) The chairman of the executive committee is authorized to appoint subcommittees thereof to study, with representatives of other governments, projects with respect to which joint account undertakings are proposed, and for the preparation of reports with respect to such projects.

#### AUTHORITY TO BORROW FOR REVOLVING FUND ACCOUNT

SEC. 8. The Board is authorized to borrow from the Treasury of the United States for emergency purposes for the revolving fund account, in any fiscal year, amounts not in excess of 10 per centum of the amounts appropriated to such account for such year, and amounts so borrowed shall be repaid to the Treasury from the appropriation made to such account for the following fiscal year.

#### COOPERATION OF OTHER AGENCIES OF GOVERNMENT

SEC. 9. All departments and agencies of the Federal Government shall cooperate with the fund in making available to the fund, and to the officers and employees thereof, such statistical, economic, and other information possessed by such departments and agencies as may be useful for purposes of carrying on the activities of the fund.

#### PERSONNEL

SEC. 10. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), the executive committee shall appoint all employees necessary for the carrying on of the activities of the fund. Technical advisers and other experts may be appointed without regard to the civil-service laws, and their compensation may be fixed by the executive committee without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended. Except as provided in subsection (b), all other employees shall be appointed in accordance with the civil-service laws, and their compensation shall be fixed in accordance with the Classification Act of 1923, as amended.

(b) The Board may appoint persons whose services may be required to investigate, or to supervise the performance of, any undertaking of the fund. Such persons shall be responsible to the Board, and shall make such reports as may be required. Such persons shall be appointed from a list of nominations made to the Board by the chairman of the executive committee. The Board may appoint such persons without regard to the civil-service laws, and fix their compensation without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended.

#### ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT AND OTHER DEPARTMENTS AND DIVISIONS

SEC. 11. (a) The Board shall maintain an Accounting Department of the fund, which shall at all times maintain complete and accurate books of account with respect to all the operations of the fund. All decisions and acts of the Accounting Department, when approved by the Board, shall be final and conclusive and shall not be subject to review by any other department, agency, or officer of the Government.

(b) The Accounting Department shall publish semiannual reports of all operations of the fund, and such reports shall be sent to the President, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the head of each executive department, and each Member of Congress.

(c) The Accounting Department shall have a Historical Division, which shall keep such records as may be necessary for the making, by the Accounting Department, of the reports above referred to, including a complete record of all the undertakings of the fund, both those accepted and those rejected. The Historical



Division shall also prepare a record of, and make available to the public, information as to such economic and financial items as may be of assistance to private capital, industry, and agriculture in the United States.

(d) The Board shall establish such other departments and divisions of the fund as it may deem necessary and shall assign duties and functions to each department and division so established.

#### APPROPRIATIONS; BUDGET ESTIMATES

SEC. 12. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to each of the accounts in the fund specified in section 3, such amounts as may be necessary: *Provided, however,* That Congress may make additional transfers from the stabilization fund at present under the direction of the President of the United States, to the revolving fund account. The Board of Governors shall annually prepare for submission to the Congress a budget estimate of the amounts required for the purposes for which such accounts are to be used.

### STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES S. DEWEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

MR. DEWEY. I am Congressman Charles S. Dewey, of Illinois, and, Mr. Chairman. I wish to thank you and the members of this distinguished committee for permitting me to appear, and particularly permitting me to appear this morning, as my appointment was for yesterday, but, like all of us, we give priority to the soldiers, and I was behind several troop trains coming from Chicago and was 5 hours late in getting in.

I would like to say that I approached this whole post-war rehabilitation situation in sympathy. I think that I can substantiate that claim by the fact that as far back as February 1938 I appeared before the Brookings Institution with a plan for assistance to the minorities that were being persecuted in Europe, and on February 17 of this year I appeared before this distinguished committee at the time that you were considering an extension of the Lend-Lease Act with a plan for the assistance of devastated Europe. I say a plan—it was a project; it was a study project, nothing more.

Later I had the privilege of sitting here in executive session when Mr. Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, appeared with a plan for the stabilization of currency, and the setting up of a new international currency called the Unitas. The capital of that institution, as was then suggested, would be about \$5,000,000,000, and we were to participate in this with a number of other nations of the world as a partner and a member of the board of directors.

Later on Mr. Morgenthau appeared again with another project for a long-term credit institution which would have the power to guarantee private loans and, in fact, probably make loans itself for the reconstruction, on a long-term basis, of the countries of devastated Europe. That institution proposed to have a capital of \$10,000,000,000.

MR. CHIPERFIELD. I wish that you would say something about your experience in Poland and also the time you were Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

MR. DEWEY. In answer to your inquiry, Mr. Chipperfield, I was Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury in charge of fiscal officers for the years 1924, 1925, 1926, and 1927. In the fall of 1927 I was nominated to the Republic of Poland by the Federal Reserve Board as financial adviser to that republic. My nomination was ac-



cepted and I was appointed by the Polish Government as its financial adviser and served in that capacity and as director of the National Bank of Poland during the years 1928, 1929, and 1930. During this period I lived in Warsaw, Poland.

I revisited that country in every year, my last trip being in 1939.

During the period of my term as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, the foreign debts growing out of the last war, a good portion of which was for relief and rehabilitation were refunded. While not being a member of the Debt Funding Committee, as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, I sat in on most of the meetings.

Now, to return to the proposals that have been made by the Treasury Department for rehabilitation purposes that I have just mentioned, there has been an additional proposal, that which is now receiving the consideration of your committee, the so-called United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Fund, and I would like to say here, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that my remarks have nothing whatsoever to do with that portion of relief and rehabilitation which is assigned to relief, and which I think was mostly the subject of discussion of the Director of the Foreign Economics Administration, Mr. Leo Crowley. I have little or no knowledge of those matters. Those matters are probably in the hands of experts for the providing of relief.

And relief, as I see it, is food, medicine, and clothing which will be carried to those people in want in the countries that will be liberated as and when they are liberated and as and when the U. N. R. R. A. can undertake their operations.

But from the first time I had an opportunity to study the record of the meetings held by 44 of the nations of the world at Atlantic City, I was somewhat perturbed by the fact that as part of the effort of U. N. R. R. A. there is this rehabilitation end, and that enters into what one might say would be the economic and financial side of the question.

I have here before me the Journal of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, No. 19, part II, dated November 30, 1943. Resolution No. 12 is a resolution relating to policy with respect to rehabilitation of such industries, transport, and other services as are essential to relief, and I notice in paragraph 1 that it says:

Rehabilitation supplies are to consist of materials, such as raw materials, machinery, and spare parts needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated territories; and, within the scope of the Administration, the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, so far as they can be repaired and restored to meet immediate, basic needs, such essentials as light and water, power, transportation, and communication. These needs include rehabilitation of essential relief industries, such as those which provide food, shelter, clothing, medical supplies.

Then in section 8 of the same resolution, No. 12, it goes on to say:

It is recommended that the Administration should, in consultation with the governments or recognized national authorities concerned, and the appropriate international coordinating authority, assist liberated areas in restoring the transport and communications systems in satisfactory working condition; it should also help to restore equipment, repair shops, workshops, shipyards, and so forth.

And then again in the final paragraph of the same resolution, paragraph 11, it goes on to say:

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of construction—it is coterminous with relief.

And it is for that reason that I am here before your committee to discuss this matter of rehabilitation.

I was tremendously interested in what the Director of the Foreign Economics Administration, Mr. Crowley, had to say about the necessity of having some organization here in our own continental United States and pertaining to our own United States Government and to its economy that would have an over-all picture of how much we could do and to prevent nations with resources entering our market in competition with the operations of relief as carried on by U. N. R. R. A.

I think that would appear to be a very wise kind of control. I would like for a moment to show what a certain lack of that control did back in the last war when we were again starting to do our relief and some rehabilitation work—probably a little unguided.

I have here before me the Chase Economic Bulletin issued by the Chase National Bank of the city of New York and edited by Mr. B. M. Anderson, economist of the Chase National Bank. Dr. Anderson at the present moment is the economist of the University of California, and I think that he is a man of sound experience. He went through the entire last war as the economist of a great bank, and for a number of years since he has applied himself to the study of these questions.

Mr. McMURRAY. Is he the kind of man that your colleagues on the floor call a long-haired college professor?

Mr. DEWEY. Frankly, Mr. McMurray, I have met a great many professors and the manner they wear their hair is a personal affair. I have known some that wear it long and some short and like I am getting to be, their hair is getting scarce; they wear it the best way they can to cover the bald spot.

The CHAIRMAN. That would come under rehabilitation.

Mr. DEWEY. This bulletin that I am about to read from is dated October 5, 1920, and in appendix B, entitled "Explanation of items, United States, debtor," I would like to read the first paragraph.

The United States Government has made direct advances of \$2,039,000,000 in 1919 for the purpose of financing exports to Europe. The Government extended credits to the European governments amounting to \$526,000,000 in return for European currencies to cover United States Government expenditures in Europe in 1919, and furthermore the United States Government provided approximately \$100,000,000 for relief purposes. These three items aggregated \$2,665,000,000.

Now, because there was practically no coordination at that time as regards the control of purchases in this great market of ours, that represented the unfavorable balance of trade of Europe toward the United States and that amount of money was covered by credit directly out of our own Treasury Department, and was part of the so-called war debts that came afterward. I would like to tell you what happened in those days.

Then, as today, there was a dearth of consumer goods in the United States. The people had been busily engaged in fighting the war, purchasing the then called Liberty bonds, and there was a shortage of all consumption materials. The termination of the war came and an attempt to stabilize the currencies of Europe without any centralized plan, the sole means being the use and granting of credits by our Government. Employing these credits, foreign nations came

into our market and competed with our fellow citizens for the short quantities of consumer goods—agricultural products and other materials that they required. The result was that we went into an extremely inflationary period.

The index of wholesale prices rose in a short period of less than 2 years following the armistice to 248 index points as compared to the similar index points in 1913.

About September 1920, to use the vernacular of the street, we ran out of gas. We were unable to continue cooperating with Great Britain which had retained the services of a large New York banking house to handle the foreign exchange, and stabilization by use of credits was called off. With that the index values show a vertical fall from 248 to about 140 in a period of 2 or 3 months, with the result that many farmers were wiped out, the inventories of many of our industries were so devalued that the companies went into bankruptcy and there was chaos.

I believe it is desirable to have coordination of all matters of relief that we are to extend in the post-war period. If that is true, it is doubly true of the matter of rehabilitation. Rehabilitation can only be covered by the expenditure of funds, and there is no limit there. There is always a limit in the matter of grain, of food, and tangible articles. Their quantity is limited, but when one starts in a credit expansion, the ceiling is the limit. We know that. If we recall what has happened in this country in the past 30 years.

In 1913 and 1914 the public debt of the United States was less than \$3 000 000 000. As I looked at the Treasury statement the other day, I found it is \$170,000,000,000, and we know that the Treasury contemplates the Fourth Victory Loan in January for \$14,000,000,000 plus the billions that will be sold currently in E. F. and G. savings securities, so we can look forward during the year 1944 to an increase of our public debt to probably well over \$200,000,000,000. I give you those comparisons to show how credit can be expanded unless there is a control.

Now, that naturally is during a war period. I think all of us are willing to spend any amount necessary to win the war which we will win, but when we get into the post-war period and sit in on any of these organizations as a copartner and in a minority position, we will be in trouble, for in none of these plans I have studied and which have been presented so far has the United States position so far as a voting power is concerned, been greater than 30 percent; in fact, in most cases it is less than 30 percent. Yet as Mr. Crowley very well stated, our market will be the main market of supply in all these operations for a number of years to come. Hence, if it is necessary to set up a central organization to control the exports of our country of essential articles and agricultural products, it is doubly necessary to have some central organization that will cooperate with U. N. R. R. A., that will cooperate with the Treasury Department, that will cooperate with the State Department and cooperate with all nations. As to how much this country of ours can give, how much credit can expand toward the rehabilitation of devastated Europe is hard to say.

I have given this whole matter a great deal of thought and study. I base my considerations on my own personal experience in dealing with the financial heads of foreign countries. I have had to deal



with them. I have kept my contacts with them over the years, and I have great admiration for all of those gentlemen. They are loyal citizens of their countries and they are looking always to the best interests of their own countries, and I think we should take the same position.

I, yesterday, introduced House Joint Resolution 207, a copy of which you have before you, and I propose in this resolution to set up a central reconstruction fund to be used in joint account with foreign governments for rehabilitation, stabilization of currencies, and reconstruction for other purposes.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Dewey, suppose that we establish U. N. R. R. A. Do you want this organization proposed also established?

Mr. DEWEY. May I say, Mr. Richards, that I am here with the hope of so explaining this matter that this distinguished committee might consider House Joint Resolution 207 as a committee amendment and part of the bill that may be offered and passed by this committee.

Mr. RICHARDS. Do you think your resolution should come before this committee, or the Banking and Currency Committee?

Mr. DEWEY. I think that it should come before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. It is already before this committee.

Mr. DEWEY. It has already been sent to this committee, but I would like to recall to you, Mr. Richards, it was to this committee that the Secretary of the Treasury came with his plan for the stabilization of currency, and the long-term credit situation.

Now, this central reconstruction fund contemplates taking into one authority all matters such as currency stabilization, long-term credit extensions, and the funds that are required by U. N. R. R. A. for rehabilitation.

Mr. McMURRAY. Then your proposition would be a substitute for the Treasury's proposal for a currency stabilization program, as well as a substitute for their proposal for, let us say, an international reconstruction finance corporation?

Mr. DEWEY. I would just like to say to the gentleman that was the name of the proposition I offered on February 17 here as a study only. I felt very much flattered when the Treasury took that name.

Mr. McMURRAY. And you think it should be attached to the resolution which provides for international relief, that is, U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. DEWEY. I think that it should—

Mr. McMURRAY (interposing). It does three jobs; is that right?

Mr. DEWEY. It does three jobs. It does, as you say, currency stabilization; it does long-term reconstruction credit, and it cooperates with U. N. R. R. A. in those operations for rehabilitation that are mentioned in this journal from which I read.

Mr. McMURRAY. Just one further question, please. You divide rather sharply the implication of relief and rehabilitation as proposed in Resolution 192. You propose to divide relief and rehabilitation—relief being left to U. N. R. R. A. and rehabilitation to this other organization?

Mr. DEWEY. I do two things. I do as you first proposed, provide very definitely for division of relief from rehabilitation, but I do not take considerations of rehabilitation from U. N. R. R. A.. I only have them do one thing which, I believe, is fundamentally necessary, and that is that they cooperate with the other rehabilitation efforts that



will be under consideration by this Government with other governments.

Mr. McMURRAY. Is it a sort of divorce, then, between relief and rehabilitation and a remarriage between rehabilitation and reconstruction?

Mr. DEWEY. Divorce is rather definitive. I would say that is a happy union between rehabilitation and reconstruction on the part of our country in cooperation with other nations of the world.

Mr. McMURRAY. Then you think that of the so-called three R's there is and ought to be a closer affinity between what we speak of as rehabilitation and reconstruction than there should be between relief and rehabilitation? In other words, it is your position, if I get you correctly, that rehabilitation is primarily a long-term credit job and belongs over on the side of long-term credit?

Mr. DEWEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman should state the reason that the members have not been notified with reference to House Joint Resolution 207 that Mr. Dewey speaks of is that it was just referred to the committee this morning. That is why we did not know anything about it until Mr. Dewey distributed to the members of the committee the copies this morning.

Mr. DEWEY. You are very correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not notify me.

Mr. DEWEY. I have been working on this and I put it in the hopper last evening, as a matter of fact. I thought that I would like to take the opportunity which you graciously extended me of explaining this matter to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. DEWEY. And then leaving with them the first copies which have come hot off the press to me only 5 minutes before I appeared here.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be very glad to have all the information, but I just wanted to let the committee know the reason they were not notified was that it had not been delivered to us.

Mrs. ROGERS. Do you feel it would be better to have separate organizations handle relief and rehabilitation, or only one handle relief and the other handle rehabilitation.

Mr. DEWEY. I would like to say this, that Mr. McMurray put his finger right on the matter. Rehabilitation may start in a very humble way, and I can give you an illustration that would best show that. Let us take the port of Naples which has been completely devastated by the Germans and possibly damaged by bombardment. Now, in the matter of rehabilitation, what is going to happen to their public utilities? Will the Department of Rehabilitation of U. N. R. R. A. go in there and make a deal with the Italian authorities for the reconstruction of their electric-light plants, their water and sewage-disposal plants, their port facilities? And on what terms and in what manner will that be done? I can foresee that for temporary assistance the U. N. R. R. A. must, working on the ground, do certain things, but I can also foresee that what might be considered temporary might grow into permanency and might be extended to very large investments.

Mr. JOHNSON. Your statement that you just made, Mr. Dewey, I think indicates clearly what U. N. R. R. A. has in mind with reference

to what is meant by the term "rehabilitation" in the resolution No. 12 which you read. Of course, that goes rather into the details from all angles with reference to rehabilitation, but there was a last clause that you read there that you underscored—

Mr. DEWEY. Yes; No. 11.

Mr. JOHNSON. Which indicates the temporary character. In other words, rehabilitation, as used by U. N. R. R. A., as I understand it, is merely incidental as it may occur with reference to relief, and it is, as this expression says, not the beginning of reconstruction, but co-terminus with relief. And as you said, suppose rehabilitation cannot begin. Reconstruction has not set up, but in granting relief there may be some temporary rehabilitation necessary. It is not rehabilitation in its broader aspect, but in its limited incidental aspect.

Mr. DEWEY. When I get to the point which I will do in just a minute in explaining this resolution, you will see that I have made provision for temporary operation by U. N. R. R. A. I do not foreclose them from doing temporary matters, but I do foreclose them from entering into commitments which may be only the front steps to a massive building program.

Mr. JOHNSON. As we understand U. N. R. R. A., there can be no commitments by U. N. R. R. A. with reference to future construction—that it winds itself up when it ends.

Mr. DEWEY. In my experience, if you please, I would like to be very definite in matters that pertain to the extension of credit. Probably you all have built a house for yourselves at one time or another, and you get your building contract for the walls and the interior painting and the windows and the plumbing, and then the "extras" begin to come in, and goodness knows, when all of those come in sometimes the extras cost more than the house. One cannot foretell in this complicated situation that we are about to enter into just what might be undertaken, and we certainly cannot stop half way because we will say, "Ah, this is but temporary," and we will then be under pressure to go ahead and extend the water service a little bit farther, or the temporary railroad line just a little bit farther.

Now, I am going to go, if you please, into the discussion of this resolution, and I would like to continue without interruption.

Mrs. ROGERS. Just before you begin, do you feel that in this way our national resources will be protected?

Mr. DEWEY. Just exactly in the same way that Mr. Crowley has requested that there should be some control over our national resources. Our national economy, our national credit, all go back to how much the taxpayers of this country can bear and how much the public debt can be increased. As far as foreign commitments are concerned, I feel that they should be brought into one parcel, to one place, where the whole requirement can be surveyed and then adequately employed.

Mrs. ROGERS. If we weaken the national resources, then we will weaken the country.

Mr. DEWEY. There is no possibility of our offering help abroad unless we are strong at home.

This Joint Resolution 207 provides for a central reconstruction fund, and it goes on further to say that it is to be used in "joint account" with foreign governments for rehabilitation, stabilization of currencies, and reconstruction.

Now, I would like again to draw your attention particularly to the words "joint account." The operation by joint account in financing various projects in the United States has been well known for many years. It is well understood by all financial people. It only means this: In the construction of a large new undertaking, be it a railroad, a public utility, or be whatever it may be, the owners or proprietors of the undertaking generally seek some financial house to obtain the credit or the cash necessary to construct the undertaking, and that financial house makes a complete study. Then it goes to other financial houses throughout the country and presents its study and says, "Would you like to enter into this project joint account with us?"

Now, there is no requirement upon any financial house to enter, but if the project is good and sound they are glad to participate. They participate on the same basis as the originator of the project. They, in fact, may offer suggestions which they think will be beneficial, and if so, they are accepted. But they go along in joint account, each one taking that share of the liability that they feel capable of supporting and as their interests lie.

Now, that is what I have done in this central construction fund. I have set up here an initial fund, a revolving fund, with an initial deposit of \$500,000,000 to be assigned to the fund from the so-called stabilization fund now under the control of the President of the United States. This fund can be used for any purpose whatsoever. In the will of the board of directors, it can be used for any purpose whatsoever provided that the purposes are for the stabilization of currencies or the production of wealth in devastated countries.

Now, this fund, as I say, will be administered by a board of directors, and they, like the financial houses that I mentioned, will get in touch with similar fiscal agents of treasury departments of or central banks of any other nation. Let us suppose that we take, for example, Greece. Greece might be one of the first countries to be entirely evacuated. I do not know who would be the manager of the situation. It might be Russia, it might be England. In fact, it might be Greece itself that would set forward a plan for rehabilitation and reconstruction of its natural resources and wealth-producing resources, and it would present such a plan to the United Nations.

This fund would be represented by a representative who would sit with the Russian representative, the British representative, and possibly the Turks, who are close neighbors and might care to come in—who can tell—and they would sit down and discuss this particular project. They would talk it all over. They would decide which one of the various participants would be most benefited, and naturally the one to be most benefited, if they had resources to carry on, would probably take the greater portion of the risk. But what I am endeavoring to explain to you is this: That each one of these projects must stand on its own legs. In each one we would go point account with other nations in trying to develop the natural resources of the liberated country. What I have always felt to be one of the great dangers of the plans proposed by the Treasury Department for currency stabilization and long-term credit is that we might get into some great organization and it might later be embarrassing to us from our economic and financial viewpoint to continue, and we might have to withdraw. I do not want to have our country ever put into the position of being called a welsher.



I want to have them always carry out those matters on which they have made a commitment, but the only way that we can at this point tell what our obligations may be is to know what each single obligation is. As a matter of fact, it is regrettable, but there may be a great deal of political difficulty in various ones of liberated nations for several years after this war is over. With whom will we make our commitments? We might want to help them a little bit right at the start, but to make the final commitment for a complete plan of reconstruction we must have available a stable government in the country in which we are dealing; hence, I, in this proposition, go joint account with any nation on any project that may be brought that has for its purpose currency stabilization and reconstruction, but for each one to stand on its own legs, each one to be considered separately, each one to have the various participants take that share of the risk which they deem to their best interest, but I limit the amount that we may ever take to the extent of 50 percent of the risk. I feel that 50-50 is a good old slogan, and if in any project the United States is willing to take 50 percent of the risk, all the other nations of the world certainly ought to do at least as much as we have done.

That, more or less, covers the operations of the revolving fund.

There is a second fund which is quite technical which will be asked for through appropriations by the Congress for the administration of the institution, and then comes the third and important fund and an important matter that links this institution up with U. N. R. R. A., and that is that when the Director General of U. N. R. R. A.—

Mr. JOHNSON. What section of the bill are you referring to?

Mr. DEWLEY. I am not referring to any particular section. When the Director General of U. N. R. R. A. comes to the Congress and the Appropriations Committee, he shall earmark in that appropriation those funds that he thinks will be necessary for rehabilitation.

Now, he must have some plan in advance of what he thinks that requirement will be and how much it might cost, and after consideration by the Appropriations Committee they will allow a certain amount for rehabilitation purposes in his budget. Any such funds as are provided for rehabilitation under U. N. R. R. A., and earmarked for that purpose, will be turned over to the central reconstruction fund as depository, and they will not be released by the board of directors of the central reconstruction fund unless it is found that the effort being made for rehabilitation by U. N. R. R. A. does not come in any opposition to, or in any way confuses plans that are already under consideration by the board of directors of the central reconstruction fund and other members of the United Nations.

Now, as Mr. Johnson has mentioned, there may be many little temporary items that will have to be accomplished, and in this resolution I provide for that and permit the executive committee set-up to consider various current situations in this reconstruction fund. I provide that such committee may release \$1,000,000 for any single project to the U. N. R. R. A. at any time upon their demand and upon the approval of the executive committee. That will take care of a lot of small projects, but when it comes to the consideration of any rehabilitation, the total cost of which will be in excess of \$1,000,000, that plan must be taken into consideration with other plans that the central reconstruction fund may have under advisement with other members, in joint account, of the United Nations. In that way there



will be an over-all safeguard, an over-all knowledge of just what our requirements and expenditures are going to be in this matter of reconstruction and rehabilitation, and I again at this point wish to recall to you that I have said nothing in this matter at all about relief. All matters of relief are completely outside of this central reconstruction fund; that is, matters of medicine, food, and clothing. It is only when they go into the rehabilitation of facilities, either for assistance in providing relief or in long-term reconstruction for the production of wealth and the developing of wealth facilities in the various countries, that we must have an over-all picture of just what is going to be done. Each one of the projects must stand on its own legs, and we will take that part in each one that seems best to us and in which our interests lie, but never more than a total of 50 percent of the total cost of the project.

I have provided for a board of governors in Joint Resolution 207, section 6 (a), which read as follows:

There shall be a Board of Governors of the fund, to be composed as follows:

(1) One member, who shall be Chairman of the Board, who is to be appointed by the President and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

(2) Two officers or employees of the State Department, to be appointed by the Secretary of State.

(3) Two officers or employees of the Treasury Department, to be appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

(4) Two directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (one from each of the two major political parties), to be appointed by the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

(5) Two Members of the United States Senate (one from each of the two major political parties), to be appointed by the President of the Senate.

(6) Two Members of the House of Representatives (one from each of the two major political parties), to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

(7) Two members of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (one from each of the two major political parties), who shall be appointed by the Chairman of such Board of Governors.

That group of men will be the Board of Governors. They will have complete powers, but I will not go into the technicalities of the resolution that you have before you. It is before you for such study as you may care to give it, but that group of men represents the executive departments, represents the several bureaus of the executive departments, and then there will be the members representing the Congress and they will be the ones who will have the over-all picture of what may be our foreign financial requirements in the post-war situation.

I think that in general, gentlemen and ladies of the committee, outlines the proposals contained in this Joint Resolution 207. I feel that there is a necessity of coordinating all the items of post-war rehabilitation and having an over-all supervision of all of their requirements. I see exactly the same necessity for doing that as there is for Mr. Crowley to have the Foreign Economics Relief Administration coordinating the exportation of tangible objects such as food, medicine, and raiment.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I do not think I care to question Mr. Dewey at length. He is always interesting and informative on matters of this kind, and I regard him as a man well informed from experience, education, and background which qualify him to speak. I am glad to have had the pleasure of hearing his excellent statement.

As I understand, he brings it in this morning, not as a substitute for this pending resolution with reference to U. N. R. R. A., but it is supplemental to it. Is that right?

Mr. DEWEY. That is quite correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Eaton.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Dewey, that is a remarkable individual that you have given birth to, remarkable to me at least, considering my ignorance of such matters. In fact, it seems fearful and wonderful.

Mr. DEWEY. I hope that it will grow into a handsome grown-up person.

Mr. EATON. If it resembles its father, it will be all right.

Mr. DEWEY. Thank you, sir. I would rather have it resemble my wife.

Mr. EATON. I notice in relief you do not raise the question of these countless millions of people who have been taken away from their homes and scattered far and wide. Would you permit U. N. R. R. A. to spend money to get them back and arrange transportation for them, and when they get them back, furnish some sort of shelter to put them in temporarily?

Mr. DEWEY. Mr. Eaton, in the resolution there is complete liberality of action given to this rather comprehensive board of governors, and there is very definitely stated here that all advances must be for wealth-producing purposes as well as currency stabilization.

Now, it will naturally be part and parcel of this whole consideration—what is the position of the replacing of exiles from their country and once restored to their homeland how far it will be the obligation of the country itself to produce opportunities of gaining a livelihood for them and for the reconstruction of their homes and how far the nations operating in the rehabilitation of that country will believe that it is their obligation. In each case it stands on its own legs. Each case is taken separately and the question is considered separately. So I would say, in answer to your question, there is a possibility of using some of the credit that would be extended for the purpose that you suggest, but how far they would go would depend upon the decision of the board of governors of the central reconstruction fund operating in concert with other nations who are willing to go into the proposition joint account.

May I say that it is necessary for us to retain our own sovereignty in every case, and this resolution protects the sovereignty of the United States in its consideration of every question, and we do not get ourselves into the embarrassing position of being a minority member in a great gathering of nations and of being placed in the embarrassing position of having some project come out which we would not care to enter into because we feel that it would be beyond our ability to carry on and because we might have to withdraw from the whole project which would have a most embarrassing effect on the whole post-war situation.

Mr. EATON. Now, of course, in setting up this organization that your resolution proposes, that places U. N. R. R. A. under two rulers, one, the F. E. A., and the other, your organization, so we will not go into that, but I would like to ask one more question. This is entirely a governmental proposition. Have you given any thought to the possibility of private enterprise of Americans going abroad? There will

be immense necessities for reconstruction of facilities and public utilities and housing. Have you given any thought to having that operation performed by the private citizens of the United States?

MR. DEWEY. That is covered in here. The governors of the central reconstruction fund may divest it to anyone they may see fit, of its obligation on any terms that are to the best interests of the United States and they consider equitable. That gives an opportunity to them to make the first investigation. Having made that investigation, if private capital would care to take the position of the central reconstruction fund, it may do so. This offers no guaranty of private loans such as is contained in the Treasury's long-term credit bank proposal. I am completely opposed to the theory of the United States Government guaranteeing private ventures.

MR. EATON. We have had, of course, an enormous export of grains and capital to the various parts of the world under private interests in days gone by. We have had great interests in Germany and Japan, Spain, Italy, and France that have been destroyed in this war, and they were replaced by American capital without any Government guaranty whatsoever. Do you think that it will end now, that we will never have it again?

MR. DEWEY. I have always believed that American industry, if left alone, can generally take care of itself very well.

No. 2, as regards the destruction of American-owned property by the Axis Powers, that matter will be taken up at the peace table.

No. 3, I think it is probably advisable to have some small control in an indirect way over the amount of foreign capital that might be rushed abroad in competition with what we have well worked out as a plan for rehabilitation.

Fourth, which is also mentioned here as one of the requirements, whenever we extend any credit to any foreign nation, we shall have the right to send along with it a chaperon of that credit, a financial observer to see that the proceeds of that credit are used exactly for the purpose for which they were intended, and without wishing to extend my remarks and taking the time of the committee too long, may I just say this, that I read to you from this Chase economic bulletin that showed that there were \$2,000,000,000 plus expended in less than 2 years on an effort to stabilize the currencies of Europe. And after that break-down it was seen that it was a rather unfruitful and futile way of going about it. Certain well-worked-out plans were then put into operation.

The first one was the so-called Dawes plan. It worked, I regret to say, far too well in stabilizing Germany, but it only took \$200,000,000 to stabilize the economy of Germany at that time as compared with that \$2,665,000,000.

A little later Jeremiah Smith of Boston was sent to Hungary, and I think his fund was \$60,000,000, and he stabilized the economy of Hungary under a well-worked-out plan.

In 1927 I was sent to Poland with \$72,000,000. That is not a small country, 35,000,000 population at that time, but in a brief 3 years we got the budget balanced, we got the balance of trade of the country on a favorable basis, and that country went along under a well-worked-out plan which supervised the use of all credits and caused them to flow only to the wealth-producing elements.



Mr. EATON. Of course, if your plan succeeds, then the foundation for private enterprise will be firm and opportunities will be very open. I am wondering if we could not send you as a delegate of the United States of America to arrange our finances.

Mr. DEWEY. I like being a Member of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. How many chaperones do you think it is going to take when you send a chaperone?

Mr. DEWEY. Well, it might be interesting to you to know what it costs to send a chaperone. My total over-all budget, including my own salary, if there was any left, was \$25,000 a year for all of my office expenses and everything that it cost the Polish Government to pay for the whole supervision. I had about eight people in my office including myself.

The CHAIRMAN. But that was you personally. You say with every loan on every project we should send with that loan a chaperone. Now, you were the representative of the Polish Government. Now, on these loans that are going over, if you are going to send a chaperone with every loan for every project, how many chaperones do you think that is going to take?

Mr. DEWEY. Just one for each of the 44 nations.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean with every project, then; you mean with each nation.

Mr. DEWEY. I mean the project of a nation is the over-all project for the nation, and with that—take, for Greece which I have already mentioned, there would be one American representative with his minimum of secretaries who would go to that project, who would make a report back constantly to the central organization.

One other item in this bill provides for a historian who will keep records that will be constant of all opportunities, both accepted and rejected, that might be of interest to the American public, or American industry or agriculture.

Mr. EATON. Did you bring back the \$72,000,000 that you took over?

The CHAIRMAN. I was over there and helped spend it.

Mr. DEWEY. The small part that the chairman helped spend was well spent. I will say this, that up until the time of the German invasion the Poles were paying their service on their loans, and their budget was in balance and they were doing very well.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Dewey, I was interested in your remarks about the need for the retention of our sovereignty in this thing. You introduced a bill sometime ago that I was interested in, some kind of a rehabilitation bill including the establishment of a kind of international bank in which the United States had over 50 percent controlling stock, did you not?

Mr. DEWEY. Mr. Richards, I never introduced that bill. That project was presented in a general way before this committee on February 17.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is right.

Mr. DEWEY. And I only presented it as a study project of a type of institution that when we got to that point might be set up as an international situation.

Mr. RICHARDS. I thought your talk that day was very fine, but the thing that I am interested in right now, the thought seems to run that you expressed then that the United States should preserve the



controlling interest, the voting interest, in any set-up; that is, if we put in half the money, we should have over half of the——

Mr. DEWEY (interposing). But my resolution does not permit the United States to put up over half of the money. In this bill the most that we can enter into in any account is 50-50, and each project is separate.

Mr. RICHARDS. It must be 50 percent?

Mr. DEWEY. Well——

Mr. RICHARDS (interposing). If the United States were allowed less than 50 percent of the voting strength, would that be a surrender of sovereignty?

Mr. DEWEY. We will take for example that the rehabilitation necessary for Greece would be \$200,000,000, and after overhauling the whole situation and surveying it, England, we will say, Russia, Turkey, and ourselves would like to go in and each one of us would take a percent participation, or probably we might take a better example, say, we would take 50 percent, and the other three countries would take 50 percent. You would write then a contract, "We will all enter the proposition on the same basis." In the past, and I say this from practical experience, in many cases we have gone in with foreign countries after the last war and all we asked was the return of our principal with interest over a period of years, but if you examined the records as I did, you would find that the other countries asked not only for that same thing; they asked for some special port authority, for some little special right to have their interest always paid promptly in the currency of the country making the loan, and so on, but in this, when I say that we retain our sovereignty rights, we only go into it on the same basis as every other country, asking no more and willing to receive no less.

Mr. RICHARDS. You mean that we should have voting power in proportion to what we put in? That is the idea that runs through most of this?

Mr. DEWEY. No, sir. I think you are confusing the voting power.

Mr. RICHARDS. Well, control.

Mr. DEWEY. With a joint undertaking, there is no voting power. We would not go into the undertaking at all unless we get the same treatment that the other nations that go in with us on this undertaking. There is no voting about it.

Mr. RICHARDS. Take U. N. R. R. A. The United States will probably put in as much as all the other nations together. Do you think under the act there is any surrender of sovereignty? We do not have proportionate control.

Mr. DEWEY. Do you mean under the U. N. R. R. A. Act?

Mr. RICHARDS. Yes.

Mr. DEWEY. Well, I think it is a matter of record. I do not know as I have the organization here, but I think that there is a central board, if I recall the name correctly, of which we are one member, England is a member, Russia is a member, China is a member. I do not see anything in the record that leads me to believe that they will not vote as individuals.

Mr. RICHARDS. And so would the United States?

Mr. DEWEY. So would the United States, and let us suppose that something comes up that would not be to the best interests of the United States.

MR. RICHARDS. They could be outvoted. Do you object to that provision on that account?

MR. DEWEY. I have nothing whatever to say about relief. I have a great deal to say regarding a resolution that will retain our sovereignty as to how much of the taxpayers' money is going to be put into Europe for any purpose we are not willing to have it put in there for. Now, every one of these undertakings stands on its own legs, each project stands on its own legs, each country, and the rehabilitation stands on its own legs, and we at that time decide whether the country can stand a \$500,000,000 extension of credit for that purpose, or whether we believe that it should be only \$200,000,000 as to which we will go no further than 50 percent, and then we will write a contract on that basis which is beneficial and fair to us.

MR. RICHARDS. In U. N. R. R. A. the contribution of each nation is in proportion to its national income. Do you think that is O. K.?

MR. DEWEY. Mr. Richards, I am not prepared to make a statement on that. I do not appear as a witness on the advantages or disadvantages of U. N. R. R. A.

THE CHAIRMAN. If you do not mind, I think that I would like to say that we have gone far afield here today. I think that we have been debating House Joint Resolution No. 207, and have not gone into U. N. R. R. A. at all. I would like to have Mr. Dewey, and I think the committee would like to have an expression from you, as to how this will affect what we have before us. When you say \$200,000,000 for Greece, I think you have in mind reconstruction.

MR. DEWEY. Rehabilitation.

THE CHAIRMAN. Well, you call it rehabilitation, but there is a part of it that will be reconstruction. Now, I think we ought to confine ourselves to the legislation that we have before us, and at some future date take up Mr. Dewey's resolution.

MR. RICHARDS. I know that the gentleman is very well informed on this subject and I have a lot of respect for his views. That is why I was trying to get his opinion as to U. N. R. R. A. itself.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is what I was trying to get.

MR. DEWEY. I will be glad to address myself exclusively to that. I never like to recall my own experience too much, but I do wish to say that in considerable experience in these same matters, rehabilitation, temporary rehabilitation goes into reconstruction, and there is no possible way under the sun to decide what is purely temporary and that which will go into long-term construction.

I would like to tie together for consideration those two matters. In that way I would like to make this resolution germane to U. N. R. R. A.

MR. RICHARDS. Will you not agree that if it is hard to define the line of demarcation between temporary and rehabilitation, and a permanent reconstruction program of rehabilitation, it is just as hard to draw a line between relief and some temporary form of rehabilitation?

MR. RICHARDS. It merges on both sides of the thing.

MR. DEWEY. You will note that Mr. Leo Crowley, in his testimony, never mentioned any matters of rehabilitation at all. He spoke only of the amount of grain that could be exported from the United States in protecting our national economy requirements.

MR. RICHARDS. But the gentleman just admitted that there would be some features of rehabilitation in relief. You just testified to that

a while ago, and you were willing to leave it to the discretion of certain authorities as to what it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Up to \$1,000,000.

Mr. DEWEY. Oh, no; I did not say anything about the connection of relief and rehabilitation and that \$1,000,000 which I mentioned.

Let us say, for the sake of example, there is a village with a little footbridge across a stream that would cost \$500 or \$600 to reconstruct to carry the people from one side of the village to the other. I do not want to go so far as to say that U. N. R. R. A. could not reconstruct the \$500 bridge; but if there was an electric-light plant in that city which had been destroyed and they wanted to rebuild an entirely new electric-light plant as part of rehabilitation and it would run into millions of dollars, my resolution says, "No," but it is provided under this \$1,000,000 for them to rehabilitate one of the motors and put a little temporary roof over it to give temporary light throughout the village. But in the bigger plan the conferees might say, "Oh, no; you do not need an electric-light plant here. We are building a big hydroelectric plant 50 miles away and we will bring the power to this village from that central hydroelectric plant. We are considering the entire power question of the country under consideration, and we have experts, and it is going to require a number of millions of dollars, and we do not want you to be upsetting our plans by rehabilitating a local power plant which later on may come in competition with the total over-all power requirement situation of the country. Now, that is what I mean by my division between rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Mr. RICHARDS. In short, as I get it, you mean this: You admitted that U. N. R. R. A. is to handle relief and rehabilitation very closely and akin to relief, and for a long range big construction program such as the light-plant construction illustration that you mentioned, then some organization should be set up in U. N. R. R. A. to tell Mr. Crowley and the rest of them to stop, that they cannot go any further. That is your proposition?

Mr. DEWEY. That is it exactly, and I think that I understand your question, Mr. Richards. You see, the funds that the Congress of the United States will be willing to earmark through the Appropriations Committee for rehabilitation will be only deposited in this fund, but it cannot be distributed from the fund unless the board of governors of the fund, who are considering the over-all situation will say, "Well, we have no plans for this at the present time, but go ahead, you may spend that money and we will liberate it to you."

The CHAIRMAN. Up to \$1,000,000?

Mr. DEWEY. No. It is the executive committee of this fund that can give them up to \$1,000,000 on any project the total cost of which is not more than that, without approval of the board. That is for your little footbridges, your little operations that are actually of temporary rehabilitation character, but suppose the U. N. R. R. A. has gone into the consideration of something large. They will have to take up that question with the board of governors of the central reconstruction fund which I propose here to see that they are cooperating in their effort and U. N. R. R. A. may be one of the ones that will go joint account up to the amount appropriated by the Congress for rehabilitation. They may take some of that fund, plus a larger amount that the fund



may be appropriating in joint account for the same purpose, plus the amounts that may be participated in by England, Russia, or any other nation going in joint account with the United States on the over-all picture.

Mr. RICHARDS. I did not know that you were much of an alphabet man, but you want to put some more alphabets in here.

Mr. DEWEY. I am never opposed to the letters of the alphabet if they have any meaning, but most of them do not spell anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. VORYS. This is certainly a wonderful suggestion coming from one of your experience. I do not know whether you heard the testimony the other day in which it was said that U. N. R. R. A. would never have any debts to it, that it would furnish anything free.

I asked, for instance, a hypothetical question about a coal mine that could be rehabilitated and if rehabilitated would avoid the necessity of hauling coal from the United States over to some cold country where they needed coal to keep from freezing to death, and I was told that the repairs and reconstruction of the coal mines sufficient to have it furnish relief coal would be paid for in local currency, and that therefore there would be no occasion for the debt.

Now, you come right to the point, and that is, that the relief coal mines becomes a permanent improvement for that country, and the man that owns the coal mine, and so forth. Now, you have had vast experience in that field. Here is what I cannot understand about your plan. You tell how up to 50 percent of it is going to work, but that still leaves the question of how the other 50 percent is going to be handled. Take, for instance, Poland, where you served before. Poland will want to know shortly after she is through with military occupation not where she is going to get 50 percent but where she is going to get 100 percent of this stuff that she is going to need. Who would Poland talk to?

Mr. DEWEY. They would take into consideration those who would be interested in Poland—primarily the Poles. Secondly, we will say the United States. The British and the Russians who are neighbors might be interested. Now, there are four countries, and we will take your hypothetical coal mine as a case in point. They need coal for supplying fuel for their railroad locomotives. Poland will say that their requirements will amount to the equivalent of \$10,000,000 a year. All right. Polish citizens put in their own raw materials \$10,000,000, but the State has to have locomotives, and they cost another \$10,000,000. The United States agrees to provide her with \$10,000,000 for locomotives. Then, there is machinery to get the coal out. England agrees to provide coal machinery.

Then there will be timber, and rails for the interior operation of the coal mine and the electrical equipment.

The CHAIRMAN. Will we give our \$10,000,000 before they agree to do this?

Mr. DEWEY. This is a picture of a project of the coal industry. That whole thing adds up to \$40,000,000, we will say. Suppose that is the only thing that Poland requires.

Mr. VORYS. The trouble is that is not a very good supposition because Poland is going to need a whole lot of stuff at the same time.



Mr. DEWEY. That is all right, but that is just the advantage of adding everything up. That is your coal mine picture, and it is \$40,000,000. Then comes along besides that the Polish slaughter houses. Poland will produce hogs, \$10,000,000 worth of hogs. We will give \$10,000,000, we will say for the machinery necessary for the slaughter houses. England will come along with some engineering ability and Russia with some other requisite in the slaughter and meat industry. That will be another project, \$40,000,000. Each one of them is taken up and studied and the total of all those situations, we will say, will be \$200,000,000.

In some of them Poland had put in her natural resources that will be her part of it, and the rest of the nations will go in in equal amount in that case on the things that Poland cannot produce. When that is all added up and it comes to \$200,000,000, England, Russia, and the United States are in joint account on this \$200,000,000 proposition, and they bring the assistance to Poland, and that is the Polish joint-account project. It has nothing whatever to do with the one that may be taken up in Poland's neighbor, Czechoslovakia. A group will go in there, as I have said a number of times, each project stands on its own legs. It might be that in one of these cases the United States does not come in. In that case, we will not have any part or parcel in the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dewey, the chairman would like to state that you are going into your resolution again and you are not talking about the legislation that the committee has before it.

Mr. DEWEY. I am only answering a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, it is 10 minutes past 1 and most of the Members want to get out. We will not have any more hearings until after the recess because a lot of the Members want to get away. So I think we had better adjourn.

Mrs. BOLTON. To my mind, it is exceedingly pertinent for Mr. Dewey to have come here to give us a picture of his suggestions. I think in a great many minds there is a grave question as to the point where rehabilitation ties in to reconstruction. Also, there have been a great many questions brought to most of us as to the financial set-up as to who will do this and that, and the fact that he has a constructive suggestion that is to my mind very pertinent to the discussion of this resolution is important because if we go through with the resolution without any consideration of other things pertinent to it, we might wish that we had considered it at this point.

I am simply making that suggestion.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair agrees with you, Mrs. Bolton, that we should get all the information we can with reference to U. N. R. R. A.

Mrs. BOLTON. This is with reference to U. N. R. R. A. It certainly is in reference to the resolution before us. It may not be in reference to the agreement, but there is something besides that in the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree something should be done with reference to what Mr. Dewey is talking about in this resolution, but Mr. Dewey stated that some of these things could be taken up at the peace table.

Mr. DEWEY. Oh, no. Mr. Chairman, with all due respect, if you please, and pardon my interruption, I did not say that. I know that I am speaking too long, but I would like to talk about one thing to show that this is quite germane to U. N. R. R. A. I naturally regret that you have not had an opportunity to read the resolution, which I

hope you will do, but I would like to say this very definitely—categorically, the Director General of U. N. R. R. A. will go before the Budget Committee and ask for a certain amount of money, part of which will be earmarked for rehabilitation. He may use that money that is earmarked for rehabilitation if it does not come in conflict with similar plans for rehabilitation done on either a short- or long-term basis by this fund, in fact this fund may carry on the temporary rehabilitation that the Director General and U. N. R. R. A. may have started. The Director General can have released from their earmarked funds for rehabilitation, funds for temporary rehabilitation at any time that U. N. R. R. A. makes a case before the board of governors that it is not in conflict with something that the fund is already doing, or which will be carried out to a greater degree after the relief period has been ended. It is just coordination.

Mr. VORYS. I would like to say that the chairman was trying to interpret my question. I think this question of how in the world we are going to coordinate relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction is germane and is vital to our consideration of what we should do with U. N. R. R. A. I think that Mr. Dewey's suggestion in this resolution is right in point. I say, however, that it is a gigantic subject to take up at this time of day, and I hope that we can possibly recall Mr. Dewey after the recess.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be glad to call Mr. Dewey or anyone else.

Mr. JOHNSON. I understood you to say at the beginning of your remarks that you hoped your resolution could be adopted as an amendment to House Joint Resolution 192. Did I understand you correctly?

Mr. DEWEY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. JONKMAN. And do you think that it could be incorporated in House Joint Resolution 192?

Mr. DEWEY. I think that it could be incorporated into House Joint Resolution 192 in the general way that it is presented in connection with rehabilitation which is mentioned here, I think in Resolution No. 12 of the journal.

Mr. JONKMAN. I am in accord with the sentiments here that the bill is germane to House Joint Resolution 192, but that is the answer that I wanted, the feasibility of running the two together.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to say, then, in answer to Mr. Johnson's question that House Joint Resolution 207 is an amendment and would not affect House Joint Resolution 192?

Mr. DEWEY. I think, Mr. Chairman, that from two points of view, on the floor and before the country, it would assist in the passage and the appropriation of adequate funds for the purposes of U. N. R. R. A. I think that in the operation of rehabilitation on a sound basis, either temporary and going on into permanency, it would be absolutely necessary and it would be of great assistance to U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. MUNDT. I think that the discussion of House Joint Resolution 207 has been relevant and pertinent to the problem at hand. I would like to suggest to Mr. Dewey if we are going to have him back for interrogation, that I have a number of questions I want to ask him. When he comes back I would like for him to bring to the committee a suggestion as to the exact manner in which the substance of House Joint Resolution 207 could be incorporated in House Joint Resolution 192

by amendment so that we will have something concrete before us. I think that would be helpful to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. As an amendment?

Mr. MUNDT. As an amendment. It would be helpful to the committee if he would do that.

Mr. McMURRAY. I do not want to take up the time of the committee, but each member has more or less had his say, and there are a great many questions of an economic, financial, and technical nature I should like to ask Mr. Dewey; however I am not going to take up the time of this committee to satisfy my private curiosity.

I should like to make one brief statement that may be partly out of order under your rule, but it is a very brief statement. I should just like to note that those beautiful stabilized currencies, stabilized against the dollar, in 1924, had to be shored up in 1929 by the Young plan; and from that beautiful and even plateau of stabilization, we went into a tail spin of world-wide depression within a year and we cracked up, as a result of that, into another world war.

Now, all the plans of that period were wrecked upon the rock of exaggerated national sovereignty, political, economic, financial, and military. And I might add that while I have great respect for idealists, that is an ideal of a nature that makes a cynic out of me. I do not think you can put Humpty Dumpty together again, and I am surprised that Mr. Dewey thinks he can.

Mr. DEWEY. I would just like to say in response to that, that then we are very foolish to have anything to do with any post-war plans, except relief, I feel, always will feel, that we owe, not as a Nation, but just as human beings, some help to those poor people who have suffered and are without food, medicine, and clothing; and having provided that to the best of our ability, then, according to your plan, we should withdraw. I am surprised at that, coming from you—

Mr. McMURRAY. I did not say we should withdraw.

Mr. DEWEY. I am surprised to have you say that; there is little idealism in my plan. If you will read it, you will see that there is a good deal of hard, common sense, based on experiences we have had in the past; common sense tempered by willingness to cooperate.

Mr. McMURRAY. Mr. Dewey, I was not questioning the hard, basic common sense of your proposal per se. I am very seriously questioning the basic assumptions upon which it rests. I just raised that, because you raised those basic assumptions in your statements to the committee, without stating them—the basic assumptions on which your plan rests. If I understood your words correctly, they are as idealistic as the basic assumptions of those people in 1920, of that great group of idealists who got control of this country in 1920 and wrecked the world. And I mean exactly what I say. It was the idealists, those who were not realists, who carried on during that decade. They were idealists because they did not understand the fundamental assumptions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to answer that, Mr. Dewey?

Mr. DEWEY. I was only going to say this, that apparently Mr. McMurray and I have not examined the same dictionary as to the meaning of the word "idealist." I think there was a great deal of anything but idealism in the Treaty of Versailles, or in the various plans that came out of that. There may have been badly constructed



economic ideals put forth. I remember among them that Mr. Lloyd George was one of the persons that said that Germany should be made to pay, I think it was \$30,000,000,000. And I remember that quite an opponent to any participation in that post-war set-up was Mr. Hiram Johnson, who was credited with saying once that if every German and every Frenchman and every Italian would drink one less glass of beer, or one less glass of wine, as the case might be, they would have enough money to pay their debts to the United States, leaving out of all consideration the transfer problem.

Now, idealism is not, in my mind, the practical way of helping Mr. Lehman put over his U. N. R. R. A., as far as relief is concerned; and the practical way of assisting nations to get on their own feet to produce the wealth domestically on which they may live in future years is very close to me.

Mr. McMURRAY. But, Mr. Dewey, if I may say what I was trying to say—perhaps I did not make myself clear—it is that it seemed to me that your basic assumptions were idealistic. And I will define that for you. An idealist is one who wants something that he cannot get; the basic assumptions upon which your plan rests are idealistic, and that makes me a cold, hard cynic.

The CHAIRMAN. And that makes Mr. Stearns the next on the list to ask questions, if he wishes.

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Chairman, before we adjourn, I would like to say this. Of course, Mr. Dewey, your project is new. We have only been able to think of it in the time that we have spent here this morning. Mr. Dewey agrees entirely on the importance of relief, the immediate importance of it. I confess that I have thought of U. N. R. R. A. as primarily a relief proposition, and probably it would be necessary to find out what part rehabilitation will play in U. N. R. R. A.

I think I should want to go over the resolution that was passed in Atlantic City, to see once more, in view of our talk this morning, how far that rehabilitation would go beyond what was necessary merely to carry on relief, and whether there would be any way of safeguarding against that expansion of U. N. R. R. A.

But I am not sure that I think that if we attached House Joint Resolution 207 to House Joint Resolution 192 that it would relieve the minds of the public, because it is going a great deal further and looks forward to plans for reconstruction that we have not yet even begun to think about. We are thinking primarily of the immediate relief problem that has got to be taken up. Offhand it would seem to me that it might be better if we could define rehabilitation under U. N. R. R. A. in some way, and to take care of that as a separate project.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, this matter should be taken up by Governor Lehman and the people in U. N. R. R. A., because we would like to know if there is any possibility of doing something that you want to do without, as Mr. Stearns has just said, destroying the objective of U. N. R. R. A. If it can be done, all right, that is very nice. You have presented your case. As a matter of fact, I had a plan of my own. I was the first one to mention a chaperon, in the matter of loaning money to Germany. What I said was that we ought to do as the banks do. We ought to ask, "What are you going to use this for?" And then see that they use it for that purpose, on architects' certificates, or



in some other way. But Germany at that time said, "We do not need a chaperon." I should have answered, "If you do not need a chaperon, you do not need our money." But that is a reconstruction problem. But I think after Mr. Dewey finishes, we ought to recall Mr. Lehman or somebody from his organization to find out what effect this is going to have on them, and what effect it is going to have on House Joint Resolution 192.

Mr. MUNDT. You do not mean, Mr. Chairman, that when Mr. Dewey finishes today, we are all through with him?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. McMURRAY. Then if Mr. Dewey returns, may I ask those technical questions at that time?

The CHAIRMAN. Of course.

Mr. DEWEY. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to say that I thank you and the members of your committee for your very courteous reception of me here today.

The CHAIRMAN. We wish to thank you, Mr. Dewey, for being here, and we shall be very glad to hear you again.

The committee will adjourn to meet again on call of the Chair.

Whereupon, at 1:25 p. m., the committee adjourned to meet at the call of the chairman.)

# TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

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TUESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1944

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Sol Bloom (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will kindly come to order. We have under further consideration House Joint Resolution 192, to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization. The members will find before them on the committee table copies of House Joint Resolution 207. I have had these placed before you with the thought in mind that there may be some questions the committee would like to ask Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson with reference to the proposal that House Joint Resolution 207 be added as an amendment to House Joint Resolution 192.

Dr. EATON. Are these hearings on House Joint Resolution 207?

The CHAIRMAN. No. I just wanted to state that we have copies of House Joint Resolution 207 before us for convenient reference in case any member wishes to ask questions regarding its relation to House Joint Resolution 192.

Dr. EATON. House Joint Resolution 207 is a very important piece of legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. You will remember that Mr. Dewey brought this up in his testimony before the committee the other day.

Mr. VORYS. It was presented also at that time by Mr. Dewey as a suggested amendment to House Joint Resolution 192; that is, Mr. Dewey suggested that it might be incorporated as an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dewey is very good on suggestions. He has suggested many other things, too, but House Joint Resolution 207 is only here for reference today. You also have before you copies of the basic documents relating to the first session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at Atlantic City.

Dr. EATON. Very good.

The CHAIRMAN. You may take these pamphlets with you, and more copies will be made available if you want them. We have with us this morning Mr. Dean Acheson, who is ready to supply the committee with further information. You may proceed, Mr. Acheson.

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman, there is nothing which I wish to add to my testimony already given to the committee unless there are some questions that the committee would like to ask me with regard to Mr. Dewey's proposed amendment, or if any member of the committee has in mind using it as an amendment to House Joint Resolution 192.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, you heard Mr. Dewey's testimony and if there is anything that you would like to explain to the committee with reference to his statements at the last hearing—or if there is anything you would like to clear up as regards the suggestion that House Joint Resolution 207 should be offered as an amendment to House Joint Resolution 192, we should be pleased to hear your comments.

Mr. ACHESON. I might state briefly to the committee that the views which I have on that suggestion, after most careful consideration, are that it would be most unwise to add to the resolution which the committee has before it, relating to U. N. R. R. A., the additional resolution of Mr. Dewey relating to a long-range financial and economic project. I have come to that conclusion after listening to Mr. Dewey's testimony and after the advantage of a conversation with him about it. Of course, it is unnecessary to say to this committee that any suggestion put forth by Mr. Dewey merits the most careful study and consideration of this committee. His knowledge and eminence in this field are well known. In my opinion, it is important that this essential resolution for the important and vital work of U. N. R. R. A. should go forward and not be complicated and delayed by association with more far-reaching projects and lengthy discussion in committee and on the floor of the Congress, which I feel sure that would involve. These two subjects would delay U. N. R. R. A. many months to the great detriment of that organization. I will state briefly the reasons for that conclusion, and it might be helpful to the committee to say that the connection will be seen if the committee will look on page 2, section 3, of House Joint Resolution 207. Section 3 sets up three funds. The first is a revolving fund of \$500,000,000, which is to be used, as a later section indicates, for stabilization of currencies. The second sets up an administrative account which is to be used for administrative expenses of the Board, and the other section says [reading]:

(3) The United Nations rehabilitation account, which shall consist of all moneys appropriated for participation by the United States in the rehabilitation work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

There are three accounts set up: a revolving fund account for the purpose of dealing with stabilization of currencies; another for administrative purposes; and a third, the rehabilitation account, which is to be made up of all funds that are appropriated for the rehabilitation work of U. N. R. R. A.

Section 4 states that—

The Board of Governors of the fund, established by section 6 of this joint resolution, through its Chairman, may use the amounts in the revolving fund account to participate, in joint account, to the extent of not more than 50 per centum of the total cost in the case of any one risk, with any other government or governments (or with any duly authorized agent or agents thereof) for the purpose of promoting the economic welfare of any nation through (1) extensions of short-term and intermediate credit for financing seasonal operations, and/or support of currencies when under speculative or economic pressure, or (2) extensions of long-term construction or wealth-developing credits.

I want to draw the attention of the committee in a moment to the fact that the operations of that fund will not bear upon the work of the U. N. R. R. A. in any direct manner.

Then the resolution goes on further to deal in section 5 with the rehabilitation account and it says as to that account that—

No moneys shall be loaned, granted, or otherwise disbursed from the United Nations rehabilitation account without the approval of the Board; except that in the case of a project the total cost of which will not be in excess of \$1,000,000, loans, grants, or disbursements may be made therefrom upon the recommendation of the Chairman with the approval of the executive committee of the fund, established by section 7 of this joint resolution. All loans, grants, or disbursements in the case of a project the total cost of which will be in excess of \$1,000,000, shall be approved by the Board, and only approved if the purpose for which they are to be made is consistent with the purposes and objectives of this joint resolution.

Therefore House Joint Resolution 207 provides that all funds which may be used for rehabilitation work by U. N. R. R. A. shall be put in a separate account and may not be disbursed without the approval of the Board, except in the case of a project the total cost of which will not be in excess of \$1,000,000, which project may be provided for upon the recommendation of the Chairman with the approval of the executive committee of the fund.

If the committee should consider attaching this resolution as a separate title or amendment to the U. N. R. R. A., we would be immediately plunged into the controversial question as to how the stabilization of currencies shall be dealt with and how long-term reconstruction loans shall be granted.

The Treasury Department has been working on both of these subjects a long time, and it has produced a plan which has been mentioned in the press for the stabilization of currencies. That has been discussed with 30 or 40 foreign countries; and such discussions are still going forward and in due course some concrete proposal will come out of those discussions and be laid before the Congress.

Whether or not the Congress should wait for Treasury action is a question with which I am not concerned. I am trying to emphasize that this is a large subject in connection with which diverse views will be held. It will require months of debate and consideration in committee and upon the floor of the House; and if we should delay U. N. R. R. A. by attaching to it that subject, it would be most unfortunate.

The same is true about the long-range reconstruction. U. N. R. R. A. has stayed out of that matter, realizing that it would be an error to confuse its operations with the reconstruction field.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION'S ACTIVITIES LIMITED TO RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

Through all stages of the U. N. R. R. A. agreement and the working out of the Atlantic City resolutions we kept the U. N. R. R. A. down to emergency relief and related work. I will point out how true that is. Therefore it would be most unfortunate to undo the work we have painstakingly attempted to do for months and involve us in a field that is full of controversy and delay.



The truth of what I have said about U. N. R. R. A. staying out of the long-range problems of reconstruction is, I think, shown by the agreement and the resolutions.

I now turn to a volume entitled "First Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Selected Documents, Atlantic City, N. J., November 10-December 1, 1943." Turn first to page 7, where you will find the agreement. Near the bottom of page 7, in article I, it says:

2. Subject to the provisions of article VII, the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows: (a) To plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

Everything that U. N. R. R. A. does under the agreement is directly related to relief. It either furnishes and distributes directly the relief articles that are specified, such as food, shelter and other basic necessities, such as medicines, and so forth, or it facilitates in such areas, but only so far as necessary for the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these relief articles, or provides services that are absolutely necessary.

The members of the committee will observe how narrowly we have defined the functions of U. N. R. R. A. in the agreement itself.

May I quote to you now the words of Director General Lehman before this committee? He said:

With regard to U. N. R. R. A.'s supply activities, I need add only one more point, that they will relate not only to direct consumer goods, like food, clothing, and medicine, but also to supplies needed to reestablish essential production in liberated areas, such as seed, fertilizer, fishing equipment, machinery, and spare parts. Only with such supplies can the liberated territories be placed in a position to help themselves at the earliest possible date. Only through them can U. N. R. R. A. liquidate itself in the shortest period of time.

Therefore the statement of the Director General and the provisions of the agreement are both directed toward the provision for relief articles and services, it being provided that the relief activities of U. N. R. R. A. relate not only to direct consumer supplies but to supplies necessary to produce within the liberated areas.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION RESOLUTIONS DEFINING SCOPE OF UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION'S ACTIVITIES

Turning now to the resolution at page 28 of the printed document to which I have just referred, we find:

##### II. The range of services which the Administration will provide.

These are under four heads, reading as follows:

1. Relief supplies: essential consumer goods to meet immediate needs, such as food, fuel, clothing, shelter, medical supplies.

2. Relief services: such as health and welfare; assistance in caring for, and maintaining records of, persons found in any areas under the control of any of the United Nations who by reason of war have been displaced from their homes and, in agreement with the appropriate governments, military authorities or other agencies, in securing their repatriation or return; and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.

3. Rehabilitation supplies and services: Materials (such as seeds, fertilizers, raw materials, fishing equipment, machinery and spare parts) needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas, and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.

4. Rehabilitation of public utilities and services, so far as they can be repaired or restored to meet immediate needs, such as light, water, sanitation, power, transport, temporary storage, communications, and assistance in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions.

In all cases U. N. R. R. A. will supply either the relief supplies and services directly or such materials as are needed to repair equipment to effect the transportation and production of relief supplies and services.

The committee that reported the resolution numbered 12 at page 41 of the document to which I have referred again stresses the narrow scope of U. N. R. R. A. work. That resolution says, beginning near the bottom of page 41, that—

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world.

Mr. VORYS. You have said "the committee." You referred to it as a committee document. It is a resolution of the same character as the others throughout the agreement, is it not?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes.

Throughout the agreement, the understanding of the Director General, and the resolutions of the Council we have kept the scope of the activities of U. N. R. R. A. narrow.

Dr. EATON. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

#### NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR RECONSTRUCTION

Dr. EATON. At page 41, as you have read, it provides that the task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the agreement.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. That is true.

Dr. EATON. Then in paragraph 4, dealing with the range of service which the Administration will provide, at page 29, it says: "Rehabilitation of public utilities and services: so far as they can be repaired or restored to meet immediate needs: such as light, water, sanitation, power, transport, temporary storage, communications, and assistance in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions." Suppose you go into a community where the lighting, the water and the sanitation systems are out of commission, and the sewer system operates limitedly or with a trickle of water, how would you explain the language I have last quoted from page 29?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. In this way: It is not the purpose of U. N. R. R. A. to construct or reconstruct the lighting system or the water system anywhere. It is true that such a system can be made to work if it is only slightly damaged by the use of comparative little

material. I may say that with all the destruction that has taken place at Naples the sewer system is still working. The Army engineers have done that work. Also, they have the electric lighting system working well enough to get by. It does not work so well as it will have to work in 10 years, but it does quite well. Even deliberate destruction does remarkably little damage in a comparative way in connection with the functioning of a great water, sewer or transport system. U. N. R. R. A. cannot possibly rebuild these systems. It can assist to place them in good temporary repair and temporary operation. That is all U. N. R. R. A. can possibly do. If its efforts are not sufficient, the situation must be accepted as it is. Things will simply have to work the best way they can.

In many cases the heaviest part of the work will already have been done by the Army itself. For instance, the most difficult job that had to be undertaken at Naples was clearing the harbor and the dock area. In the harbor the Germans sank ships, sometimes one on top of another. Those have to be gotten out. That is not a job a relief organization can do, but the Army must do it to get its troops in. Also, the Germans mined all the buildings along the waterfront and toppled all the building on top of one another so that there was chaos on the docks. The engineers had to clear that condition in order to land troops and supplies. The heavy type of clearing debris will be done, necessarily, by the Army before relief work begins.

Dr. EATON. If the Army takes over in, say, Belgium and it comes to a city like The Hague, which has been practically destroyed, as we understand. A wide avenue cuts through the city and it has been destroyed. When the Army takes over and finds the water, the sewer, and the transport systems have been destroyed, will it restore those systems completely or only sufficiently to make it possible for our soldiers to exist under reduced sanitary conditions?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. The Army will do only what is necessary for military operations. If it is using a railroad to transport troops and supplies, it will have to fix it up so that it will operate satisfactorily. If the Army should not use such a transportation system, if it be not part of a military operation, it would not be the Army's task to restore that transportation system.

Dr. EATON. This proposal contemplated occupation by the Army after victory, I take it. The Army will have to remain in an occupied country—a country that it occupies—until order is restored.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I suppose some military force will have to remain in an enemy country for some time. In Allied Nations they will turn the governing authority over to the people of those nations as soon as consistent with the interest of military operations.

#### SCOPE OF AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL REHABILITATION

Mr. SCHIFFLER. What is included in the term machinery? Does it include tractors and farm machinery necessary to reestablish agriculture?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes; that is what we have in mind. We include machinery and spare parts necessary in the field of agriculture to put in crops and gather harvests. In the industrial field there would be included machinery to make blankets, shoes, clothing or whatever else the area was making or can make. This does not



mean that every factory that has made something will be placed in condition to do so again. If by a small effort we can get a productive plant into operation, that may be the wisest and sensible thing to do.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I am speaking particularly of agriculture and agricultural machinery, as distinguished from factory machinery or machinery necessary to restore industry. Will it be—will there be machinery supplied to reestablish processing plants or factories aside from machinery that may be used in the production and marketing of food supplies?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I think the clearest answer to that question can be given in the words of the agreement itself, which says:

\* \* \* and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

The articles and services refer to food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. That may mean the reestablishment of industrial sections and the rebuilding of industrial plants in some areas, may it not?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I think it is utterly impossible, if you look at the size of the fund to rebuild manufacturing establishments everywhere. Obviously, what the agreement and the Director General and all resolutions are driving at is that there is a job of providing food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services. When one is on the spot, what the most sensible way of doing that? It may be to put the supplies on ships and carry them to the countries needing them. Or it may be wiser to repair machinery in a particular factory and produce the goods locally. If that is the most sensible thing and the wisest thing to do, it would be done.

The resolution I read points out that it cannot be the purpose of U. N. R. R. A. to see that there is employment everywhere. Its job is to see to it that the essential relief supplies are made available by importation or local production.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I am particularly interested in the line of demarcation between industry and agriculture. I have in mind the policy of lend-lease. It was primarily the purpose to eliminate transportation problems and place it upon the basis of self-support. What is troubling me is the line of demarcation in the reestablishment of industrial conditions.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. The line of demarcation, if there is such, is in the effort to provide relief; and that is what the organization is doing. That is its lodestar and its purpose, to provide relief supplies enumerated in the resolution I have read.

You do that according to your practical judgment in each situation with which you are faced. You either import them, or, if it is simpler and wiser to produce them on the spot, you do that. There is no pre-ordained line. If you give me all the facts in any case, I will give you my judgment as to how it should be handled. It is, obviously, impossible to give the answer to every case that may come up unless one has all the relevant facts connected with it.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I do not have any further questions.



## CONTRIBUTIONS BY GOVERNMENTS OTHER THAN UNITED STATES

Dr. EATON. You have mentioned the total fund that would be available. Our share, I believe, is \$1,350,000,000. Have you any definite information as to what the contributions of the other 43 nations will be to this fund?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. As I said before in regard to this subject, I would guess that the fund will be between \$2,000,000,000 and \$2,500,000,000, and probably closer to \$2,000,000,000.

We have been very much encouraged since I was here before. Some countries have already sent advance payments on account of their contributions. I do not know what the fund amounts to at this time, but it is becoming considerable. It has enabled the Director General to acquire some personnel and get started. So that there has been an encouraging demonstration on the part of other nations of their intention to participate in this proposed fund.

There are no commitments, and the various countries are free not to make any contributions if they so wish.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I have read in the newspapers that U. N. R. R. A. has on hand \$500,000,000; is that correct?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. No; that is not correct. I think the newspapers meant \$500,000.

## EXISTING RESERVES OF SUPPLIES FOR RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You have stated that consideration of House Joint Resolution 207 would delay operation of U. N. R. R. A. I should like to go into that by calling attention to two paragraphs of two articles published recently. One is an article in *Liberty* of January 8, 1944, by George H. Copeland, entitled "Relief for the World's Destitute." The article, at page 22, shows Mr. Acheson at the opening session of the U. N. R. R. A. in Atlantic City. It says, at page 56:

Medicine is probably next to food in importance. Several types of "packaged" units have been assembled for immediate shipment to needy areas. One "emergency unit" for the treatment of diseases known to be of world-wide occurrence is designed to care for a group of 100,000 persons for 1 month. Multiples of this unit can be sent to any country in the early stages of relief operations. Other units are made up to combat special diseases. Complete hospitals in "package" form (50- or 150-bed type) with fully equipped laboratories are being made up to ship abroad.

Then in the *Sunday Star*, Washington, D. C., for Sunday, January 9, 1944, carries an article by Ovid A. Martin, entitled "U. S. Ready to Feed Freed Peoples," which article says, in part:

The United States months ago began the accumulation of supplies for war relief needs. Certain definite portions of this country's supplies have been allocated to what is called a reserve for war relief and other emergency needs.

This reserve is aside and apart from supplies allocated civilians, the military services, the lease-lend program and exports to other countries.

Supplies already allocated to this reserve from the American larder includes: Wheat, 50,000,000 bushels; meats, 250,000,000 pounds; canned fish, 15,000,000 pounds; cheese, 25,000,000 pounds; condensed milk, 11,000,000; evaporated milk, 50,000,000 pounds; dried whole milk, 1,300,000 pounds; dried whole eggs, 25,000,000 pounds; citrus fruits and juices, 17,800,000 pounds; potatoes, 150,000,000 pounds; dehydrated vegetables, 34,700 pounds; edible fats and oils (exclusive of butter), 96,200,000 pounds; dry beans, 218,700,000 pounds; dry peas, 127,000,000 pounds; rice, 13,600,000 pounds, and sugar, 42,602,000 pounds.

Large quantities of cereals, dried milk, powdered eggs, canned meats, dry beans, dehydrated vegetables, sugar, and other commodities from this country already have been moved across the Atlantic to storage depots in Great Britain.

Considering what I have read, I do not see much delay in the operation of U. N. R. R. A., even for the consideration or approval of this proposal by Congress.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. In the first place I believe what the writers are referring to is not the purchase or the having available for U. N. R. R. A. of any articles whatever but rather the allocation by the agencies which are charged with the allocation of these various commodities of certain reserves which can be used if, as and when U. N. R. R. A. is set up and as the funds to acquire them are available.

For instance, of wheat and various other food items the Food Administration, which supplies all food for export from this country, has a vast reserve. From this reservoir of food there may be withdrawals for the Army, for lend-lease purposes, or for relief purposes. None of this food was purchased and earmarked for a definite purpose, but of the total reserve the allocating agency says to the best of its knowledge and belief, we ought to have these amounts of food on hand for these purposes. All of that reserve may be used for the Army, if necessary. Of it may be used for some other agency. This means that the agency of Government that has under it the allocating of various food supplies has allocated a certain amount because it may be needed for relief purposes. Therefore if we set up the U. N. R. R. A. and give it funds, there will be something it can purchase.

MR. CHIPERFIELD. Is this statement incorrect? "This reserve is aside and apart from supplies allocated civilians, the military services, the lease-lend program and exports to other countries."

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. My understanding is that there is only one reserve. There is a total amount. In considering the uses of that total amount the allocating agency says we are operating on the basis that the Army will call for so much and somebody else will call for so much, and relief will call for so much. The total supply is built up on that basis. The agency may find it is wrong, in that the Army may want all of that food, or the Soviet Union may request some or all of it, or the civilian population at home will need all of it. In case of crop failures we would need this food for other purposes. This is not an amount of food purchased and set aside—

MR. CHIPERFIELD (reading):

Several types of "packaged" units have been assembled for immediate shipment to needy areas.

What is your comment on that?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I cannot answer that. I would not know about it. That may be part of the Army program.

MR. CHIPERFIELD. Is it part of the U. N. R. R. A. program?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. U. N. R. R. A. has very little funds. If it were part of the U. N. R. R. A. program I would know about it.

#### NO CONTRACTS YET PLACED BY UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

MR. CHIPERFIELD. Here [indicating] is an article telling of the operation of U. N. R. R. A. stating that it has gone ahead and contracted for certain things. If that be correct, I want to know about it.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. It is totally incorrect in saying that U. N. R. R. A. has contracted for any article. In the first place, the resolutions of U. N. R. R. A. make it plain that U. N. R. R. A. cannot contract beyond its appropriations or resources. At the present time it has only some resources for administrative purposes, and it could not begin accumulating supplies.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is exactly what I want to bring out. I wanted to know whether U. N. R. R. A., before this committee has made an authorization, was going ahead and making purchase to be paid for by future appropriations. If that is true, I want to know it.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. It is not true.

Mr. MUNDT. Could you get a letter or memorandum from the Director General of the U. N. R. R. A. addressed to this committee definitely stating that these allegations are not correct? Obviously, you cannot speak for the U. N. R. R. A., except from the American aspect. Governor Lehman has to say "yes" or "no" to a question of that kind, I believe.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes; that is true.

Mr. MUNDT. I think we should have something from Governor Lehman in denial of these allegations so that we will know just where we stand.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. We can get that, I think. We can get a communication showing he has not acquired any rights in any property. You want to know whether the Governor has purchased under contract or reserved the right to acquire any interest in any supplies incident to U. N. R. R. A., as I understand.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 13, 1944.

The Honorable SOL BLOOM,

*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. BLOOM: Mr. Acheson has informed me of the inquiry, raised in the course of the present hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee, as to whether or not the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has as yet entered into contracts or undertaken obligations for the procurement of relief and rehabilitation supplies with funds contributed by or anticipated as the contribution of the United States. He has suggested that I write to you with respect to this inquiry so that my reply can be included in the record of the committee hearings.

In that connection I can advise the committee that no funds or supplies have been made available to United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration on behalf of the United States. Accordingly, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has not entered into any contracts or undertaken any obligations for the procurement of relief and rehabilitation supplies with funds either contributed by or anticipated as the contribution of the United States to United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. While, as I indicated in my statement before the committee, some preparation has been made by national agencies in the United States, as well as in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, for supplies for the relief and rehabilitation of victims of war in liberated areas, any such supplies becoming available are under present arrangements held and controlled by the national agencies within the United States.

Very sincerely yours,

HERBERT H. LEHMAN,  
*Director General.*

Mr. MUNDT. Yes. It is not necessary to mention the names of the articles.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. In the Evening Star of January 8 there was an article by Mr. Blair Bolles headed "Americans and British study plan to prevent post-war trade race." There is a subheading,



"U. N. R. R. A. ready to operate," under which the article says that U. N. R. R. A. has a fund of \$500,000 on hand. The final sentence of the first paragraph under that subheading is: "A currency stabilization agreement is their first goal." That is a most alarming statement, and Mr. Dewey called it to our attention. I talked to Mr. Bolles and I am happy to be able to say that the inclusion of this sentence at that point was due to a mechanical difficulty in the printing of the newspaper. There was another paragraph in the article as drafted in which Mr. Bolles referred to the Treasury plan for currency stabilization, which had nothing to do with the U. N. R. R. A. That paragraph was cut out but this one sentence was left in and added to the paragraph on U. N. R. R. A. and thus left an inaccurate impression. I am sure that nothing was further from Mr. Bolles' intention than to intimate that it is U. N. R. R. A. which is to engage in stabilization operations.

Dr. EATON. All we know is what we read in the newspapers.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Even the best newspapers sometimes have mechanical difficulties. The work of U. N. R. R. A. is relief and all its work will be closely associated with relief.

Mr. JOHNSON. Speaking of a mechanical difficulty in the make-up of the newspaper, that is caused by the scarcity of newsprint, no doubt. They try to condense. Is that what caused that inaccuracy?

#### RELIEF SUPPLIES NOT EASILY DISTINGUISHABLE FROM REHABILITATION SUPPLIES

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I am not an expert in newspaper work, therefore I do not know.

The work of U. N. R. R. A. is limited to this narrow field. If we again turn to Mr. Dewey's plan, we find it would under section 4 call for administrative machinery and under section 5 it would require all funds appropriated for rehabilitation purposes to be put into a special account and that account could not be drawn on without the consent of the board dealing with another subject matter, except as to projects costing not in excess of \$1,000,000. That involves two difficulties; first, the complete impossibility of determining when you are purchasing supplies whether these are going to be what a board would call supplies for rehabilitation or for relief. Particular supplies might be used for the immediate fixing up of something. Is that rehabilitation or relief? The same article might be relief in one case and rehabilitation in another. Secondly, the plan involves the great difficulty of determining what a project is. Suppose the program is to acquire spare axles for freight cars. Are all axles one project or are all items of railroad repair in one category? We get all mixed up in determining whether the consent of the committee or the consent of the full board is required. Therefore, it seems to me that we would gain nothing by attaching House Joint Resolution 207 to the subject of U. N. R. R. A., and we would thereby cause a very great deal of delay and confusion. There would be delay in associating the U. N. R. R. A. Resolutions with the difficult questions of stabilization of currencies and a long-range reconstruction program. I would urge the committee not to amend the resolution relating to U. N. R. R. A. by attaching to it Mr. Dewey's Resolution 207.



Mr. CHIPERFIELD. When I was home recently a great many people asked me why U. N. R. R. A. had adopted a formula that is impossible of fulfillment at the very beginning.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. In what respect?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. The contribution, as I understand, is to be based upon 1 percent of each participating country's national income; and the statement has been made here that perhaps 10 or 20 countries will not be able to pay the 1 percent required.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Their question is why was some other scheme not adopted.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. No. The question is why you adopted a scheme that is impossible of realization.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I do not believe it is impossible of fulfillment.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You have told us, as I remember, that some participating nations would not be able to contribute 1 percent of their national income.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. The question is whether or not the fact that one, two, three, four or any considerable number of countries cannot come up to the full recommendations makes the plan impossible of fulfillment.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You may put it that way.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I do not think the plan is impossible of fulfillment. This is a proposed plan that can be fulfilled by all the countries which can and will make a substantial contribution. If you should adopt a recommendation that can be lived up to by only the poorest countries and those least able to make a contribution, you would have a recommendation that will not produce the funds necessary to achieve the purpose in view. We have to set a goal, of course, which all of the countries upon which we must chiefly rely can achieve. Many others can achieve it, too. If some do not, that does not make it impossible.

#### PRESIDENT TO APPOINT AGENCY TO ADMINISTER UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTION

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. When I called attention to the fact that the funds to be appropriated would go to the President I was asked whether there was anything in this resolution to prevent the President from appointing any agency or person to carry out the administration of the fund. It was suggested that, perhaps, Harry Hopkins might be appointed. I told them, so far as I knew, there was nothing to prevent the President appointing anybody he wished to appoint to carry out this plan.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. The resolution refers to such agency or agencies as the President may designate. Whether an individual is an agency is a question.

The first part of House Joint Resolution 192 states:

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time to time to the President such sums as the Congress may determine to be appropriate for participation by the United States (including contributions in funds or otherwise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and associated governments on November 9, 1943, reading as follows \* \* \*.

Under that, the President could spend the money in any way he might think proper.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. My people also were informed that the date June 30, 1943, had been chosen, and they asked me whether the national income of any other nation had increased as ours has. They also called my attention to the fact that many of these countries had not contributed one dollar to the war effort for which they have not been repaid. The thought was that if they were on the receiving end of these funds from our Government why could they not go ahead and contribute their part.

Dr. EATON. Did they name the countries?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. No.

Mr. RICHARDS. May I ask a question?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yes.

#### PARTICIPATION OF NONCONTRIBUTING MEMBER GOVERNMENTS

Mr. RICHARDS. Suppose half of these nations contribute and the other half do not; what say-so would the noncontributing nations have through their representatives in connection with this fund?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I assume that if a country concluded it did not wish to contribute to the work of the organization it would withdraw from the organization.

Mr. RICHARDS. Would that, in accordance with the original agreement, be up to the member?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes. Such a country could remain a member, I suppose. There would not be any legal ground upon which we could say that a country would be expelled if it did not make a contribution to the work. I cannot imagine a country placing itself in that position, however.

Mr. RICHARDS. But there is no provision in the original agreement to bring about any such steps as that, is there?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. No.

Mr. RICHARDS. Nothing further now.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Again, people at home referred to the fact that we have only 1 of 44 votes. Therefore what guaranty have we that the recommendations of the U. N. R. R. A. would be in the best interests of the United States? They asked me that question, and I told them I could not give any guaranty as to that. Is there a better answer?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Going back to your first question, you asked why the date June 30, 1943, was taken. You referred to the financial plan which recommends that the contributions of 1 percent of the national income of each participating country for the year ended June 30, 1943. That date was taken because it is the latest appropriate date—or was at that time—the calendar year is, perhaps, later. Most countries have their figures based upon a fiscal year. That year was taken because it was essential in order to get fairness, the thought being that the measure of the contribution should be closely related to the current price levels in the contributing countries. Since most contributions will be made in goods of the contributing country, if you have a contribution made today and goods are measured in the terms of price levels of today, fairness is done to all. If

you take a past period and make a contribution on that basis, there will not be so much fairness.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I have not seen the national incomes of these other countries, and yet I am asked or supposed to approve that arrangement.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. No; you are not. The agreement states that each country is asked to consider this formula which the Council recommended, and to determine its own national income.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. In any way it may see fit?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. You are entirely free in this committee or in the Congress to fix the formula determining the national income of the United States. What we are trying to do is not to have competition by which a formula is devised which will place more or less of a burden upon different countries, but to have a formula that is as fair as possible and will produce as large a contribution as is necessary. The amounts in any case will not be large in relation to the problems involved.

The amount this Government would be willing to contribute, if it adopts the formula, would be less than it contributed at the end of the last war.

It is not felt that any undue request is made upon the generosity of the American people and that the American people in making it will be critical of the ability or inability of another country to make a comparable contribution.

We have no guaranty that the organization will be run in all respects or at all times or in any respect in accordance with the desires of the United States. All we know is that the continuation of contributions for this purpose is something entirely within control of the Congress. If this Administration should do things that meet with the strong disapproval of the Congress of the people, they have the power to stop the contributions and the power to withdraw from the organization.

If one looks at the organization one will see that other countries might believe that the United States has a very large share in the operation of it. The Director General is a citizen of the United States; the chairman of the Council was a citizen of the United States; and the chairmen of important committees come from the United States.

There has been no disposition on the part of any nation to question the importance of the powers of the United States or not to go along with us because of the large role we play.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I suggest that there might well be enacted a limiting date for these authorizations. I suggest 1½ years.

Mr. RICHARDS. May I ask a question?

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. RICHARDS. I have seen many figures that supposedly represented the national income of the United States. Do you know the national income of the United States?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. It is about \$135,000,000,000.

Mr. RICHARDS. You say our national income is about \$135,000,000,000 a year. Where did you get that figure?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. They are published either by the Treasury Department or the Department of Commerce.



Mr. RICHARDS. One or the other would be your yardstick, would it?  
 Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes.  
 Mr. RICHARDS. Nothing further.

UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTION TO UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION NECESSARY FOR POST-WAR STABILITY

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johnson, do you wish to question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Yes.

A little while ago you said something about the generosity of the American people in connection with the amount of our contribution. The dividends the United States will receive from this operation will not come merely from the question of generosity, but from the question of restoration of conditions throughout the world that will cause the normal flow of goods and the rehabilitation of peoples and enable them to properly carry on. If something like this is not effected, when the war ends there will be absolute chaos and instead of peace bringing a blessing it will bring a curse. The money invested in connection with the restoration of peoples would contribute largely toward that goal, would it not?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. That is very true.

If a country that has not been devastated takes no interest in the relief of other countries devastated by the war, the period between the end of hostilities and the rebuilding of stable life will be more disastrous than we can imagine. That disaster will involve us.

There is always a strong temptation to place discussions of this sort upon a purely materialistic basis and say we ought to do this from a hard headed point of view and it will pay good dividends. In a sense that is true, but it always seems to me that that is not the way in which we American people approach a question or the way in which a question is really illuminated. Unless people have more than a parochial interest in other peoples of the world, we are going to have a disaster anyway. In order to feel happy a people must take action of that sort, and it is only when we have that feeling that a people have a right to leadership in the world.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Would you undertake to say what would be the conditions prevailing throughout the world if the United States should not cooperate in U. N. R. R. A., as proposed under this plan? What would be the effect upon the recovery from the war?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I think the effect would be one of unimaginable shock. I do not believe the peoples of the world could understand what would happen. Here is a proposal that is made for the purpose of taking care of peoples who cannot live if this is not done. If we should say we are not interested, I do not believe the people would believe it. If such disinterest were recorded in the newspapers, they would say it was a mistake and is not true. The consequences would be incredible disaster. They would say this is a joke. They would say this is the work of a prankster.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The money we might spend under U. N. R. R. A. would be to save human lives, and it would be as much a part of the necessary expenditure growing out of the war as the expenditures necessary to win the war. Is it not an integral part of the war—this period we are seeking to take care of under the U. N. R. R. A.?



Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. No further questions.

Dr. EATON. Summing up Assistant Secretary Acheson's statement in one sentence, the fundamental fact is that this great Nation cannot maintain its health when surrounded by a sick world. That is a fundamental basis of this whole project, is it not?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes.

Dr. EATON. If we fail to rescue from death the victims of aggression, in what way do we differ from the Germans and the Japanese who have inflicted death by bullets and bayonets?

EFFECT OF ESTABLISHMENT OF UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION  
ADMINISTRATION ON PRIVATE CONTRIBUTIONS

The CHAIRMAN. Do you wish to question further, Mr. Richards?

Mr. RICHARDS. Yes.

Do you anticipate that the effect of this authorization and the establishment of this united group will cause better results than have taken place in the past in connection with private contributions, the contributors knowing there would be a well organized central agency to spend the funds? Do you anticipate that private contributions would be more than heretofore for such a purpose?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I cannot truthfully say that I have any evidence on that. We think this should stimulate people who have special interests in special parts of the world to an earnest endeavor, knowing that the whole subject is being organized in a broad and efficient way.

Mr. RICHARDS. And the money would be put to the best possible use.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I should think so.

Mr. RICHARDS. One more question which will come upon the floor of the House—you mentioned what is and what is not relief, where you could go so far in one place and not so far in another, because it would not be necessary. You have to leave that to somebody's judgment, do you not?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes; that is true.

Mr. RICHARDS. I do not have any further questions now.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I want to make it perfectly clear I do not think for one moment we should not give relief to these peoples after the war, but I do not believe that purpose would be defeated if we put certain safeguards in House Joint Resolution 192. I am going to propose certain amendments that I do not think would interfere with the purpose of this resolution and see whether I can get them adopted. I think we should properly protect our own American interests; and I am going to do that in every way possible.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Mr. Chiperfield, you have always taken a very warm and keen interest in this organization. You even went to great trouble to come to Atlantic City when the meeting was held there, and I know that what you do will be with the highest motives and will be done in the most intelligent way.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I do not have any further question now.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jarman, do you wish to question?

Mr. JARMAN. Yes.

In reply to someone's question I believe you said that a country could decline to contribute and still belong to U. N. R. R. A.; but I do not imagine such a country would be very influential in the organization, would it?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. No; and I do not believe it would be very happy. I believe it would be very unhappy.

Mr. JARMAN. Nothing further now.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vorys, do you wish to question?

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

#### NEED FOR A POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION AGENCY

Coming to the matter we met to discuss today, namely, Mr. Dewey's suggestion, what I want to know is this: We have U. N. R. R. A. very carefully limiting itself to relief and rehabilitation closely connected with relief. You have told us that the U. N. R. R. A. will not lend money or make loans under any circumstances. On the other hand we are going to have situations arising where reconstruction will be necessary where something that is a long-term proposition is the most efficient way to carry on relief. It is not only conceivable but entirely probable that the best way to handle a clothing situation would be to set up a new clothing factory; the best way to handle a heating situation would be to reopen a coal mine; the best way to handle a food situation would be to put up processing plants. Those processing plants, mines, and factories would be reconstruction projects, and a lasting benefit to a country where they are located.

As I understand Mr. Dewey's proposition, it is that the United States should be ready to participate in reconstruction projects at the same time U. N. R. R. A. is operating. The two do not conflict. The very fact that U. N. R. R. A. so carefully limits itself makes the necessity greater for a reconstruction bank to be ready as soon as U. N. R. R. A. gets working. As to how the two would tie together, as set forth in Mr. Dewey's proposal, if they need adjustment they could be adjusted. But where reconstruction is the most sensible thing, why not have the Congress arrange for it at this time, make a unilateral arrangement which could be temporary? It could be considered an emergency arrangement, and if other machinery grew up it could replace the reconstruction bank. Where reconstruction—to use your test—is the most sensible way to carry on relief or a relief operation, it requires financing of the kind that Mr. Dewey's proposal would afford, and therefore why not arrange for it right away?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I think all I have said or intended to say is to urge upon the members of the committee not to attempt to tie these two resolutions together, because that would delay the relief project.

I am not competent to comment upon Mr. Dewey's proposal beyond its connection with U. N. R. R. A. In that connection, there will be other people with other ideas on Mr. Dewey's subject that will be important, and you will want to give them very careful consideration. Many weeks and months will go by while you are discussing the stabilization of currencies and long-term reconstruction. We should not have U. N. R. R. A. delayed—its authorization delayed—while you go into the more difficult field. That is all I had intended to say.

Mr. Dewey has raised an important subject and it will require a great deal of time of the Congress. It is receiving a great deal of attention in other parts of the Government. I simply ask that the committee not mix that up with U. N. R. R. A., but let it be considered separately, so that U. N. R. R. A. will not be involved in a controversial and complicated field.

Mr. VORYS. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any questions, Mr. Burgin?

Mr. BURGIN. Yes.

After all is said and done, the amount proposed to be contributed by the different countries would not be in excess of the need in a great measure to supply relief. In other words, your organization considers that amount will be such that it will provide only meager relief; is that correct?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. BURGIN. The food calories will be limited to what per person per day?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I do not know what the Director General has in mind, but it will be a diet far below what we would regard as adequate in this country.

Mr. BURGIN. It would afford mass subsistence, would you say?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. BURGIN. Nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any questions, Mrs. Bolton?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes.

#### U. N. R. R. A. SUPPLIES AS A SUPPLEMENT TO LOCAL SUPPLIES

Several times in the testimony, as I remember, the point was brought up that the U. N. R. R. A. relief supplies were not going to be everything that would be supplied. When I suggested that all U. N. R. R. A. things be earmarked carefully so that the international organization would get credit rather than the local political organizations—I think I am correct—it was suggested that there might be so little from U. N. R. R. A. and so much from other sources that credit would not go to U. N. R. R. A. The situation is somewhat different. Some of us thought U. N. R. R. A. would have charge of all relief work. If needy countries are going to get help other than from U. N. R. R. A., it might be well to know what the different relief is and the amount.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. That has been brought up before, and we pointed out that U. N. R. R. A. will supplement what is produced in an area.

Mrs. BOLTON. It would be the actual production of the area; it would not be anything purchased by a country elsewhere; is that the idea?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. In some cases a country will pay for its own imports to supplement its own local production.

Mrs. BOLTON. Do those imports have to come through the U. N. R. R. A.?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I was pointing out again that countries which are able to pay in foreign currency for their imports will go ahead and place their own orders, subject to the supervision of the U. N. R. R. A., so that those countries may not get too much and some too little. Funds of the U. N. R. R. A. will be used to finance the imports of those countries without foreign purchasing power.



Mrs. BOLTON. We were told originally that one of the problems immediately facing the U. N. R. R. A. is that certain countries that had funds were making stock piles of food and this was interfering with the war effort and the possibility of a fair allocation of relief. Has the situation changed? What you say suggests a change in the situation. Now those countries are going to be permitted to go elsewhere and not submit to proper allocations under the U. N. R. R. A.

The CHAIRMAN. Information has just been received that the President's message to the Congress is about to be read, therefore it will be necessary to recess at this time, to meet at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

(Thereupon at 12:15 p. m. the committee recessed until 2:30 p. m. this date.)

#### AFTERNOON

(The committee met at 2:30 p. m., pursuant to recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that at the time we recessed Mrs. Bolton was questioning the Assistant Secretary. Had you concluded your questioning, Mrs. Bolton?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes; but I believe Mr. Acheson wishes to say something more in connection with my last questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I have had read to me some of the last questions of Mrs. Bolton and my answers to them.

Mrs. Bolton asked whether there has been any change in the situation, as I briefly described it, under which the U. N. R. R. A. had supervision of all purchases to be made by countries which are to finance their own imports.

Mrs. BOLTON. All the requests for purchases?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. All the requests for purchases. That situation is unchanged and is exactly as I described it before. Every country that wishes to make its own purchases must inform the U. N. R. R. A. of its purchase program and give the Director General an opportunity to appear before the Combined Boards to give endorsements or enter objections.

Mrs. BOLTON. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt is next.

#### RELIEF FOR INDIA

Mr. MUNDT. I want to bring up for discussion for a little while the matter of India, which I have discussed on the floor of the House briefly, and about which I have written to Mr. Acheson and Mr. Lehman, from both of whom I have received replies. Mr. Lehman stated that it was not within his province really to answer my points because he is the creature of U. N. R. R. A. and is not the one to make suggestions for changes, and it is the responsibility of Mr. Acheson, of the American commission, so far as American suggestions are concerned. I think Mr. Acheson agrees with that. I wrote him accordingly and have his reply. I am sorry that I have not had an opportunity to discuss this privately with Mr. Acheson before bringing it up. The chairman informed me that this is probably the last day Mr. Acheson will be with us and that we can hereafter discuss the matter among ourselves.



Perhaps I should preface my discussion of this question with a question of Mr. Acheson. Does the resolution before us, House Joint Resolution 192, allow amendments to it? Is it a resolution that is amenable to amendment, or is it something which we have to look upon as a legislative tablet handed down from Mount Sinai which we must accept or reject as is? I want to accept something resembling the U. N. R. R. A. and I want to vote for a relief program. If to do that I have to vote for House Joint Resolution 192 as it is without any modifications or changes, there is not much use in discussing any modifications. I might as well spend my time making up my mind whether to vote for it or not as it is.

Assistant Secretary **ACHESON**. I take it that what Mr. Mundt is asking is whether it would be possible to amend the agreement.

Mr. **MUNDT**. Yes; is it possible?

Assistant Secretary **ACHESON**. It seems to me that what you have here is a resolution authorizing funds to be appropriated for American participation in the work of an international organization created by an agreement signed last November 9, which agreement is set forth in the resolution.

The agreement has been entered into between 44 countries and has provisions for amending it.

I do not think it would amend the agreement among the nations to have the Congress change the text of the resolution. That would not affect a change between the 44 countries. Therefore, if the Congress should disapprove of certain parts of the agreement, it would have to limit its authorization of participation to certain parts of the agreement. In other words, there would have to be a reservation saying you do not agree, but to change the agreement in the resolution would merely incorrectly deal with what had been agreed upon among the nations.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Did the United States reserve the right to certain reservations in this resolution?

Assistant Secretary **ACHESON**. No.

The **CHAIRMAN**. How can we amend it by reservations?

Assistant Secretary **ACHESON**. It cannot be amended as such. It is perfectly within the control of the Congress, however, to say that we authorize the use of funds for the work of this organization, but we do not want any of these funds used to feed red-headed people. That would be a restriction which the administration would have to accept or reject on the use of funds contributed by the United States.

Mr. **MUNDT**. Conversely, if we may say in the resolution that funds may not be used to feed red-headed people we could also say we authorize the use of these funds and recommend that they be used in connection with red-headed people, could we not?

Assistant Secretary **ACHESON**. Yes.

Mr. **MUNDT**. That is my understanding of the resolution—that we cannot, as a Congress, change in any degree the text of the resolution drawn up at the U. N. R. R. A. conference, but we can write in any recommendation or suggestion or modification for any effect it might have upon the Director General and the ruling forces of U. N. R. R. A. with the hope that their anticipated return to the Congress for additional money might make them at least seriously consider the suggestion we make.

That brings me to this situation regarding India, where it seems that, through no intention, I am sure, on the part of the American representatives at the conference or perhaps anybody else attending the conference, India is excluded by a definition of terms from participating in the benefits of U. N. R. R. A. India is levied against, however, if we can use the word "levied," because it is a voluntary levy. The voluntary levy against India is \$35,000,000 for a year's contribution. Is not that correct, Mr. Secretary?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I cannot recall.

Mr. MUNDT. India has been asked to contribute \$35,000,000 for her share of the U. N. R. R. A. fund.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I do not know where that appears.

Mr. MUNDT. It is in the letter sent out by the India League of America and the letter is signed by J. J. Singh.

If that statement is not correct, I wish you would correct it now.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. So far as I know, nobody has been asked to do anything except consider the resolution on the financial plan, which has been laid before all the nations.

Mr. MUNDT. One percent of India's national income per year is supposedly \$35,000,000.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. That may or may not be correct.

Mr. MUNDT. Is it not a fact that India is in the same status as a contributor as other nations who contribute?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. It is in the same status as the United States.

Mr. MUNDT. If the figure \$35,000,000 is a little off, it may be that the Indian national income is greater or less than 100 times that amount which she is asked to contribute to the U. N. R. R. A. fund.

It seems to me that the Congress faces a rather incongruous situation, confronts a serious problem where we recognize, as you do, that there is intense suffering in India caused in part by the war and certainly largely aggravated by the way people are dying of precisely the distressing situations that are causing people to die in the lands we hope to help by U. N. R. R. A.

India is to be a contributor, but by a tortuous definition she is excluded from the benefits of U. N. R. R. A. I would like to correct that, and I feel that you also may wish to do so. I hope you are as sympathetic toward this proposal as I am.

At this point, with the approval of the committee, I should like to insert the text of my letter to Mr. Acheson under date of last December 21 and his reply thereto under date of January 10, 1944. These letters summarize the conflicting viewpoints.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the two letters will be placed in the record at this point.

(The letters referred to are as follows:)

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D. C., December 21, 1943.

Mr. DEAN ACHESON,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ACHESON: In studying the resolutions and agreements prepared at Atlantic City when the United Nations relief and rehabilitation was being established and for which Congress is asked to authorize money and mem-

bership in House Joint Resolution 192, presently before our House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I have been disturbed to find that India is not to be included among the areas to be benefited by United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

In order to be sure that I was not in error in this conclusion, I interrogated you about this matter when you were before our committee and you responded by stating that India was not considered eligible for benefits through United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration due to the fact that her territory had not been occupied by enemy troops and that consequently she would not be considered a "liberated area." To me, this interpretation of the scope of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which would compel it to ignore the starvation and suffering of one of the United Nations' most populous and patient associates is both cruel and unjustifiable.

Since I have great respect for your knowledge of what United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration includes and how it will function, I must, of course, accept your interpretation of the intent and scope of the organization, I feel very definitely, however, that the exclusion of India whether by intent or by accident of language is highly unfortunate and entirely unwarranted. It is an omission which, in my opinion, can and should be corrected.

I am of the opinion that the correction of this omission either by amendment or by placing a more generous interpretation on the present language of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration would bring House Joint Resolution 192 more closely in line with what the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Congress, and the country desire. I am addressing the House on this subject today and the reaction to my remarks may provide a test of sentiment indicating whether I am correct or incorrect in this opinion. I hope that between now and the end of the congressional recess you will take the necessary steps to have United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration amended so as to bring Indian into the list of countries eligible for its benefits. I believe this influence of the United States in United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is great enough to secure this desired change whether it be through interpretation or by amendment.

With best wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

KARL E. MUNDT.

Copy to Gov. Herbert Lehman.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, January 10, 1944.

The Honorable KARL MUNDT,  
*House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR MR. MUNDT: I have received your letter of December 21, 1943, concerning the relationship of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to India and I have also read with interest your statement before the House of Representatives on this subject on the same date, as well as the ensuing discussion. I wish to assure you at the outset that I fully share the sympathy which you and your colleagues in the House of Representatives have expressed for the victims of the terrible starvation conditions in Bengal and other areas in India.

In drafting the agreement for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the purpose was to prepare the United Nations to confront a problem unprecedented in the history of the world in its magnitude and its tragedy namely, that of dealing with the appalling barbarities which have been inflicted upon the oppressed peoples of the occupied countries of Europe and Asia by the efficient ruthlessness of the Nazi and Japanese military machines. It was intended to establish an instrument which would be prepared, in the wake of the Allied armies of liberation, to bring immediate relief for the hunger and suffering of these oppressed peoples. This, as has been brought out in the hearings before your committee, will be in itself a tremendous task, which will draw heavily upon the available resources of the supplying nations.

To prepare effectively, it was necessary to define the objective. It was expected that the resources available to United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration would be quite limited even for the purpose of bringing aid to the liberated countries. There is and will be great distress in areas all over the world which, while not having suffered from enemy occupation, have nevertheless been gravely affected by the war. To make United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation



Administration's responsibility the relief of all suffering everywhere traceable to the war would lead to the depletion of its resources for purposes quite beyond those which it was organized to perform without hope of achieving the fundamental objective. In fact, so limited are the resources likely to be, that the Council of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has specifically adopted the proposition that, even in the case of occupied countries, those which are in a position to acquire their own relief supplies should do so and that United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will not deplete its resources for the relief of such countries.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement was drafted with these considerations in mind; it was not the intention to exclude any country but rather to state an objective. The agreement, therefore, directs itself to the relief of countries which have been liberated from enemy occupation, with the additional provision in article I, 2, (a) concerning "the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of the United Nations," which was inserted to enable the Administration to render aid to displaced persons originating in the liberated areas but physically located outside of such areas.

This, as you have stated in your letter and in your address before the House, coincides with the statements which I made at the hearings before your committee.

Furthermore, as I pointed out during the hearings before your committee, if the Administration should attempt to relieve the situation in India, the problem with which it would be confronted would be exactly the same problem which the authorities in the Government of India are now struggling to overcome. There is nothing which United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration could add to these efforts. The Government of India has available ample financial resources to acquire food and relief supplies. It has available personnel to handle such problems as distribution of relief supplies, rationing and other administrative matters of this kind. The efforts of the Government of India to relieve the present famine have thus far been hampered by one great factor, namely, the lack of adequate shipping facilities to care for all of the present import requirements of the area and the insufficiency of inland transport facilities to distribute such supplies as are available within India. In attempting to deal with these shortages there is no reason to suppose that United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration could make any separate contribution to the efforts now being made. It should be emphasized that the creation of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration does not in itself add to the resources of shipping and supplies available to the United Nations; its function is to mobilize such resources as can be spared for the liberated areas and to bring about an equitable distribution thereof within these areas. Consequently it is my view that, given the realities of the situation, we would not be serving any useful purpose in amending the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation agreement in the sense which you suggest.

Furthermore, you will appreciate that such an amendment could be made only by a formal vote of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration council. To call a session of representatives of the 44 member countries who have just dispersed after the Atlantic City session would be a complicated operation, even if it were deemed desirable to call it for the purpose which you have in mind, and any decision on this question could not possibly be arrived at in time for consideration at the hearings now being held.

I have endeavored to set forth fully and frankly the factors which are involved in this situation. The pressing problem for us all is that the Administration should as soon as possible be placed in a position to undertake the grave responsibilities which the United Nations, including India, have placed upon it to bring assistance to the oppressed peoples in the countries to be liberated from the enemy. I feel sure that you are as deeply concerned as any of us with the importance and urgency of this problem and I trust that you will support the proposed joint resolution now under consideration.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON,  
*Assistant Secretary.*

Mr. MUNDT. I am exploring at the present time various legislative approaches and amendments that can be offered in committee or on the floor of the House to attain the goal I have in mind.



In my letter to Mr. Acheson I suggested that maybe this could be done by U. N. R. R. A. itself. In his reply he pointed out that the time element makes it rather difficult for U. N. R. R. A. to adopt amendments per se, even if of a mind to do so. Is that right, Mr. Acheson?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. It is a question of whether we as a Congress or a country or a committee want to blink our eyes to this unfortunate situation and see no evil in it or try to do our best to correct it with what small modicum of legislation we can direct in connection with an agreement already signed, sealed, and agreed to. With that background I want to ask some questions about Mr. Acheson's letter and my letter to him.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Would it be helpful to read the two letters?

Mr. MUNDT. I shall be glad to do so. Shall I do so, Mr. Chairman? I wrote identic letters to Mr. Acheson and Mr. Lehman.

The CHAIRMAN. Read them.

Mr. MUNDT. I have with me my letter addressed to Mr. Lehman, but it is, as I have said, the same letter that was addressed to Mr. Acheson.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I have copies of the two letters.

The CHAIRMAN. Then I suggest that you read the letter you addressed to Mr. Acheson rather than the one addressed to Governor Lehman.

(Mr. Mundt read his letter to Mr. Acheson and Mr. Acheson read his reply to Mr. Mundt's letter.)

Dr. EATON. Will Mr. Mundt yield for a question now?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Dr. EATON. It is surprising to me to learn that there is a place where India is specifically placed outside the pale. Is India specifically named?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; in these letters.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. This is an exchange of letters between Mr. Mundt and myself.

Mr. MUNDT. In the first place, you say in the second paragraph of your letter that—

It was intended to establish an instrument which would be prepared, in the wake of the allied armies of liberation, to bring immediate relief for the hunger and suffering of these oppressed peoples.

That provision is amended to the extent that the Director General deems advisable and nullified by article I, 2, (a), page 2, of your letter. Is not that correct?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. What is the question?

Mr. MUNDT. Paragraph 2, page 1, of your letter says that—

It was intended to establish an instrument which would be prepared, in the wake of the allied armies of liberation, to bring immediate relief for the hunger and suffering of these oppressed peoples.

It seems to me that such statement is modified, at page 2 of your letter, and to the extent that the Director General advises, in fact nullified entirely. The part of your letter to which I refer appears in paragraph 2, page 2, and reads:

The agreement, therefore, directs itself to the relief of countries which have been liberated from enemy occupation, with the additional provision in article I, 2, (a) concerning "the relief of victims of war in any area under the control

of the United Nations," which was inserted to enable the Administration to render aid to displaced persons originating in the liberated areas but physically located outside of such areas.

Provision has been made for practically every contingency except the Indians living in India, who starve in their homes.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Not in the least. I will quote what the United Nations said as to their purpose. It appears in the preamble of the agreement and reads:

The governments or authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto, being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war, being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof may receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing, and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services, have agreed as follows \* \* \*:

Everything following that is for the purpose of achieving these objectives. The objective is that upon the liberation of an area by the allied armed forces or the withdrawal of the enemy, the population shall receive this relief, and that preparation shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes. Many of these displaced persons were driven from the liberated area, and they may be anywhere, in Mexico, Persia, India, or elsewhere throughout the world.

Article I, section 2, page 7, enumerates the purposes and functions of the Administration, and says, in part, that the purposes of the Administration shall be—

to plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services \* \* \*.

MR. MUNDT. Read that again and then tell me why India could not benefit.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. The purpose is—

to plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services \* \* \*.

What I say in my letter is that the reference to any area under control of any of the United Nations, if it is broader than the preamble or appears to be, is drafted so because there are these exiles outside the area. It was not intended by saying "the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of the United Nations" that any person who might be described as a victim of war and who was in any country under control of the United Nations should be relieved. There may be many victims of war in the United States or the United Kingdom or other parts of the world, but it is not the purpose of U. N. R. R. A. to relieve them. The main purpose of the agreement is to take care of needed relief in the liberated areas, and to reach those people outside the liberated areas who are displaced.

MR. JOHNSON of Texas. Those outside the liberated areas, or many of them, were once residents of the liberated areas, were they not?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes. In India many were driven there. Many were driven into India. The U. N. R. R. A. would take care of those and enable them to get back to their homes.

If the U. N. R. R. A. should be charged with responsibility for caring for any victim of war anywhere, it would be taking on a colossal job and one that it was not understood it would take on.

It is an unnecessary task in the case you have in mind, because there is nothing U. N. R. R. A. can do that the Government of India cannot do and do better. The Government of India has the funds and a better call on shipping and railroad facilities. There is no question about the existence of wheat. It is in Australia, but the question is one of transporting it.

Mr. MUNDT. Suppose it operates as intended by U. N. R. R. A. and you have this organization working to get food for the suffering peoples of all those liberated areas and these displaced peoples, what other large populations, aside from India, have not come within the benefits set up by the organization? Is not India virtually the only large population outside the benefits of U. N. R. R. A.?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. India is in no different status than the United States or Brazil or any other country. If you are worried by the fact that U. N. R. R. A. does not believe that part of its duty is to take care of the people of India, you should be more worried about the resolution we adopted which says we will not use funds of U. N. R. R. A. in occupied countries if those countries have sufficient funds of their own.

Mr. MUNDT. Does it not come back to this situation—India is the only large country with large population with intense suffering and with very great need that is left outside the benefits of the U. N. R. R. A. so far as the United Nations are concerned and our side of the conflict? Can you name any other nation in the status of India?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. You raise the question of how far U. N. R. R. A. funds can be used to take care of a vast part of the world extending from the easternmost limits of the German invasion of Russia to the place where the Japs stopped coming into China. Many in that area will need aid. The extent to which U. N. R. R. A. can furnish relief in that area is a question. The idea is to take care of people in the liberated areas.

Mr. MUNDT. U. N. R. R. A. has authority, if it has the means, to disburse aid in the area between Japan and China, has it not?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. That would have to be taken up. The question is, obviously, difficult by reason of the fact that part of the country has been occupied. The thing that this whole agreement is about is to take care of peoples in the areas that have been liberated. If we find some country has a line where liberation leaves off and occupation continues, we will still have to take care of those people; but areas wholly untouched by war present a serious question, and it would have to be taken up with the Council.

Mr. MUNDT. Are any of the other big sufferers among the United Nations under the present wording and interpretation of the U. N. R. R. A. sharing the fate of India, which is being excluded from the benefits of U. N. R. R. A.?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. In the first place, nobody has been excluded. Secondly, I do not know who and where the big sufferers are. I imagine there is much suffering in Africa and parts of the



Middle East and various other parts of the world. There is quite a good deal of suffering in South America, which will be greater before this thing is over. Those are the principal areas affected.

Mrs. ROGERS. Are there any refugees in South America?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. There may be some. There are refugees in Mexico and, I think, the Dominican Republic. The suffering in India comes from transport difficulties; and there will be a like difficulty elsewhere.

Mrs. ROGERS. The great difficulty in China is due to a lack of food. Have you considered sending the same letter to the four members of the Ad Hoc committee?

Mr. MUNDT. I sent letters to the American representative and the Director General only. I did not try to go down through the committees. I had in mind that, perhaps, if a solution could be worked out, it probably could be done with these two. If not, and if it is advisable, it might be done by legislation, or maybe they could convince me it was inadvisable to include India. I just addressed the American representative and the Director General to get the facts. It seems to me that India, while not excluded by name and yet while not included in fact in the operations of the organization, occupies a rather unusual and unfortunate position in connection with the U. N. R. R. A. I think it is the only large population with intense suffering that cannot, for some reason, be expected to benefit from the operations of the U. N. R. R. A., yet it is being handed a due bill for considerable money to finance the operations of U. N. R. R. A. I think that is unfortunate. I am not sure it is unavoidable, but I know it is unfortunate.

I can see some unfortunate repercussions in connection with this matter. Mrs. Bolton asked whether one of the reasons for the creation of the U. N. R. R. A. was not to prevent competition and unnecessary and unfair building up of stock piles of food in preparation for the inevitable condition after the war. That was one of the strong arguments before this committee for the whole program. I think it was a good argument, too. I think it is just as good today as it was when first made, and I think it applies to India. I think it would be unfortunate if we set up a competition spawned from the necessity of facing starvation whereby the procurement agents for U. N. R. R. A. were bargaining with Argentina, for example, for wheat and ships against India's representative. I have particularly in mind the starving people of India, and I think we should eliminate that, if we can. Is that an erroneous way of thinking? Anyway, when people are starving will they not make that effort?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. One of the great efforts we had in mind at Atlantic City and achieved was the submitting of all these requests through the Combined Boards. Therefore that which you are fearful of will not occur. If it is necessary to allocate wheat and there is not enough, so that there might be an unfair distribution of it, the board would deal with that condition and determine whether it is more needed in Great Britain, India, or liberated areas.

Mr. MUNDT. If India cannot get any wheat purchased through U. N. R. R. A. when will the Indians get bread?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. In exactly the same way that the United Kingdom or Brazil or the liberated areas or any other country would get it.

Mr. MUNDT. In open competition?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. No; by putting in a request for wheat with the Combined Board and receiving an allotment. The Board will consider the military and other needs and effect an equitable apportionment of wheat.

Mr. MUNDT. Would that apply to ships also?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. What would be the practical difference in operation if India were included the same as any other country? She might get wheat from the Combined Board and pay for it because she has the resources, but she would be part of the same humanitarian program as the other countries. Would it not operate the same if the status existed as you said and give India more direct access to supplies?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. If your concern is to get wheat to India you will not advance the thing by saying it should go through U. N. R. R. A., which has less opportunity in this connection than the Government of India itself. The one great problem of India, as I have said, is transportation. The Government of India can control the inland system of transportation in India while U. N. R. R. A. cannot. So far as shipping is concerned, so long as shipping is very limited, the Government of India has the same, if not more, power to get ships than U. N. R. R. A. would have.

Mr. MUNDT. Both have to get them through the Combined Board?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. From the only place where shipping is allocated, that is from the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board, which has to meet all such needs.

Mr. MUNDT. Is it not a simple matter of logic and practical application, however, that when that day comes and these various representations are made to the Board for these things the Combined Board will listen to the representatives of U. N. R. R. A. speaking for 44 United Nations, 43 of which are qualified for help, rather than to the lone voice of India, which has to make a separate appeal? Do you not think it would be better if the same voice could speak for all?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Nothing could be further from the fact. There will not be 43 nations speaking through 1 voice and 1 nation speaking through 1 voice. The United States, like Great Britain and countries of South America, and elsewhere, will speak through its own representatives and not through U. N. R. R. A.

Dr. EATON. Will Mr. Mundt yield?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Dr. EATON. I call attention to the fact that the lady from Massachusetts (Mrs. Rogers) has not had opportunity to call attention to the suffering of the people of New England.

Mr. JARMAN. May I make an observation?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. JARMAN. Following your line of argument, Mr. Mundt, about the unfortunate situation of one country, only one suffering country, and in view of the statement of Mr. Acheson that there might be much suffering in, say, Africa, to positively correct the injustice that you see here, would it not be necessary to cover the whole world; would it not be necessary to evolve a blanket provision for all?

Mr. MUNDT. I do not think so. This is a United Nations organization, and you would have to cover that only. Since it is such I think it should apply equally to all members of the organization. I think

it should see to it that those members of the United Nations in need of assistance should receive the benefits of this organization's activities whether in the case of some country it is a matter of ships, as is true in India, whether it is a matter of wheat, as in India, whether it is a matter of medicine in some other country or in India. I would meet the problem whatever it might be. In India the problem is one of transport, not money, while in other countries we have the problem of money in addition.

Mr. JARMAN. This would not be cured if India were permitted to participate in these benefits.

Mr. MUNDT. It would be ameliorated.

How are these applications going to be transferred from the needy countries to the source of supply? I picture an appeal being made to the Combined Board, but Mr. Acheson says I am wrong about that.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. The thing that was wrong is the statement that all the requests of the world are presented through one channel except that of India. You stated that only one country was left out.

Mr. MUNDT. All the requests of the needy elements of the world, except India, are presented by U. N. R. R. A., while India speaks as a lone voice. Is that not true?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. No.

Mr. MUNDT. For whom does U. N. R. R. A. speak?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. The liberated areas, which have been occupied by the enemy.

Mr. MUNDT. It speaks for the victims of war under control of the United Nations?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. In that connection, we are referring only to these displaced people not within the liberated areas but who came from them. They were driven into adjacent territory, such as Egypt and Persia. Some such groups have been brought to this hemisphere.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you feel that this sentence might be what we call diplomatic hyperbole: "There is nothing which U. N. R. R. A. could add to these efforts"? Do you not think there is something U. N. R. R. A. could do with its vast resources of money, brains, medicine, ships, doctors, nurses, and other facilities; do you think there is not anything that organization could do for India if it had the money and the intention and the authority? Nothing is so very little indeed; nothing is not very much.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. We are dealing with a condition that is acute because the war is going on. That is the reason the condition is acute. If we did not have the condition of shipping we have today, that situation would not exist.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that true solely of India?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. We are talking about India, if we can stick to it. While this war is going on there is absolutely nothing that U. N. R. R. A. can add to the efforts now being made by governmental authorities to get ships or get inland transportation to carry food. The problem is one of getting more ships from military sources. The U. N. R. R. A. cannot do anything about that.

Mrs. ROGERS. Since I have to leave very soon, may I question out of order?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.



Mrs. ROGERS. What are your plans for reeducating the people of these countries?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I have none.

Mrs. ROGERS. Has the council any such plan? Do you know of any movement in this country or in the Department of State for the reeducation of the people of foreign countries?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. The only mention of that subject in connection with U. N. R. R. A. is at page 29 of the resolutions. In subhead 4 of section II of resolution 1, speaking of rehabilitation of public utilities and services, it says that among the things that U. N. R. R. A. may do is to assist in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions.

Mrs. ROGERS. You know of no plan that U. N. R. R. A. or the Department of State has for the reeducation of these people we have in mind, as I understand.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I believe there is a division in the Department of State, or perhaps it is an interdepartmental group, that is considering that question; but I am not familiar with it. It is not in my field of operation.

Mrs. ROGERS. I am wondering whether others are to be called before the committee before this matter is concluded?

The CHAIRMAN. If there is any information for any source that would be beneficial to the committee, I do not see any objection to getting or hearing it. If it is desired that we delay in order to hear other witnesses, no doubt that could be done.

Mrs. ROGERS. I should like to have representatives of the lend-lease organization called before the committee before we vote on this resolution. Also, representatives of the State Department who have the reeducation question of persons in foreign countries in mind.

Mr. JOHNSON. These are matters that will come up in executive session.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Crowley has been before the committee in this connection twice, but if anybody wants to recall him, there is no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS. I think we can get further information that will be helpful in determining this matter.

Mr. VORYS. May I ask a question?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; go ahead.

Mr. VORYS. According to my understanding, India is one of the 44 nations signatory to this agreement; am I right?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. VORYS. I notice that India's representative, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, signed with a reservation under article 9, which says it shall be put into force with respect to the Government of India as soon as approved by the Indian legislature. Has the Indian legislature approved this proposal?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. VORYS. In any event, the representative of India in the Council agreed, did he not, to the position the Council took with respect to India?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I have no recollection that the Council took any position or that this question was before it in any way.

The member from India, Mr. Bajpai, was one of the most distinguished members of the Council and he presided over one of the important committees at the session.

Mr. VORYS. Sir Girja Bajpai, the representative of India, was the last member of the Council to speak in the whole proceedings and he spoke with apparent approval of the reference you made, Mr. Acheson, as chairman, to the special case of India.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. His remarks are at page 203 of the printed document.

Mr. VORYS. I have just been reading them. We may all have our own views as to the extent to which Sir Girja Bajpai represented India or the Council of India, and we may have similar views or inward questions as to others who was there; but he was accepted just as were the representatives of the other 43 nations, was he not?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. What is the question?

Mr. VORYS. Sir Girja Bajpai was accepted as the representative of his country just as were the representatives of the other 43 nations signature to this agreement, was he not?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes; he was the accredited representative or member of the Council from India.

Mr. VORYS. So far as you know, he did not cast a dissenting vote on behalf of his country to the arrangement made; is that right?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. He did not.

Mr. VORYS. And he or somebody else for India would be on the Council to call the attention of the Council to the condition of India at any time the official representatives of India might feel that they should have some different sort of treatment by U. N. R. R. A; is not that true?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes; that is true.

Mr. VORYS. Nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt, do you wish to resume questioning?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes. Is it not also true that representations were made at the Atlantic City Conference on behalf of India for including her on the same basis as other countries?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I think the correct answer to that question is "No." What you are referring to is an exchange of letters which you put into the Congressional Record between me and the gentlemen whose name you read, Singh, who represents a society in this country having to do with India.

Mr. MUNDT. I do not have any more questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wadsworth, do you wish to question?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Bolton, do you wish to question further?

Mrs. BOLTON. I want to know the identification of Mr. Singh. Is he the Indian who has not been back to India during the last 16 or 20 years?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I am not familiar with his history.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am in thorough sympathy with India, but I think we are inclined to accept the opinion of those who are not up to date as to conditions in their own countries.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Mr. Mundt may know his title.

Mr. MUNDT. He is president of the India League. I believe he is frequently in India.

Mrs. BOLTON. No further questions.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Acheson, you are either the best diplomat I know or the diplomat I know best, and maybe you are both.

Do you feel, therefore, that there might be any psychological or diplomatic function served by tending to include India on the same status as other countries, since it appears from the actual operation of the procedure, as you have described it, the representatives through the combined board of finance and relief, and so forth, would operate much the same whether India is as she is now on the periphery or whether she is included within the benefits of the U. N. R. R. A.? Might there be some advantage psychologically or diplomatically in giving her that consideration? Might it not lead to a better acceptance of the U. N. R. R. A. in India itself?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. There would not be any advantage. I think what you are faced with is either sticking to the purpose for which this Administration was organized; namely, to deal with the liberated areas, or else get into a scheme to relieve all suffering due to the war in any of the United Nations, which latter purpose, I think, would get us into very great difficulty. We would have all of Africa on our hands, as well as other lands. I believe that when the Congress thought that over it would see that the effort was too large for us to entertain.

Mr. MUNDT. Is it necessary, in order to amend or modify in any way these agreements signed at Atlantic City, to have another Council meeting; is there any way that can be done without reassembling the 44 nations?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. It has to be done at a Council meeting.

Mr. MUNDT. Issued to all 44 members?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McMurray, have you any questions?

Mr. McMURRAY. Yes; but I want to ask them off the record. I have very few.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jonkman, have you any questions?

#### CHARACTER OF UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTION

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes; one that was asked at a previous session of the committee. As I remember, the United States will make 10 percent of its contribution to the U. N. R. R. A. fund in foreign exchange, and the remainder otherwise. Will the United States have the option of furnishing that remainder in supplies or may the Director General call upon the United States for further exchange?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. The Congress or the President or whoever is to act as disbursing agent may do whatever he chooses. The Director General has no control over the matter. I should think the contribution should not be restricted to 10 percent in exchange. If we make more than 10 percent available in foreign exchange, that can be used to draw upon resources from outside of the United States rather than on our own.

Mr. JONKMAN. If the Congress makes the authorization and appropriates the money it will be discretionary with the Director General, will it?



Assistant Secretary ACHESON. No. If you impose no limit, it would be discretionary with the President. The Director General may request, but the President may grant or refuse.

Mr. JONKMAN. The President could say that the request should be filled by supplies or foreign exchange?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. JONKMAN. You think the option rests with the paying country.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes. It is a matter solely within the control of the United States.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. There is in circulation a pamphlet giving questions and answers by United Food, Inc. Have you seen it?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. No; I have not seen it.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. One of the statements was since only 10 percent of the funds furnished had to be in international exchange that meant 90 percent of the funds appropriated for this purpose would be spent in this country. That is not necessarily true, is it?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. No.

Mr. JONKMAN. Only this morning I heard of 15,000 canned goods in a little town that I did not think of, and the indications are that we will have plenty of food and other supplies; and it seems to me that we should have the right to furnish goods and supplies. If we are not allowed to furnish goods and supplies, we will, perhaps, be deprived of a great deal of foreign trade, if the Director General has discretionary power.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. That would be within the discretion of the President.

Mr. JONKMAN. Nothing further.

Mrs. BOLTON. I was hoping that we would have opportunity for a little further discussion of Mr. Dewey's resolution. We have heard Mr. Acheson's remarks about it. Are we going to hear Mr. Dewey in connection with Mr. Acheson's remarks of this morning about the Dewey resolution?

The CHAIRMAN. We will hear Mr. Dewey at the appropriate time.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Have you received notification of approval by any Government that signed the agreement with reservation?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I know that at least one Government has acted upon it. That is Mexico but I do not remember whether it made any reservation.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. It did. It stipulated that the agreement shall be ratified by the United Mexican States. That is at page 18 of the book.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Mexico's ratification was done while we were still at Atlantic City. So far as I know that is the only country to date although it has been submitted for approval by various other governments which signed with reservations.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I think that is important.

Has India taken any action with respect to approval by the Indian Legislature?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I believe not.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. Does anybody else wish to question further? [After a pause:] Apparently not.

Mr. Secretary, it is indeed a great pleasure to have you here again, and we thank you very much for your statement.

Mr. VORYS. I would suggest, in line with Mr. Chipperfield's questioning of this morning, that we get a statement from Governor Lehman as to whether U. N. R. R. A. or O. F. R. R. O. has undertaken the allocation of supplies in this country. I think that information would be most helpful to us in our deliberations and in presenting this matter on the floor of the House. We should have a statement for the record as to who in our Government has made the allocations of supplies that are referred to in the press articles Mr. Chipperfield brought to our attention today. As I understand it, our Government before the creation of U. N. R. R. A. was proceeding through O. F. R. R. O. and possibly other organizations to assemble and allocate supplies for relief purposes, and that those supplies and the value of them are definitely known. Therefore I suggest that we get a statement from whoever knows about this matter for inclusion in the record.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I will get what I can as to that.

#### STATEMENT ON MATERIALS PROCURED FOR RELIEF PURPOSES

The Foreign Affairs Committee, during the course of its hearings on January 11, 1944, in connection with House Joint Resolution 192, requested that there be submitted to it a statement with regard to the supplies that have been procured by the United States Government for relief purposes. There is set forth below such a statement. Since there has been no procurement of supplies in this country by or on behalf of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the following statement relates only to activities of the United States civilian agencies.

At the time of the extension of the Lend-Lease Act, the Foreign Affairs Committee expressed itself as follows in its report with respect to the furnishing of civilian supplies for the liberated areas:

"Supply of areas liberated from Axis control is a necessary part of the process of waging war, as our experience in North Africa indicates. In North Africa, the problem is on a small scale, as compared with that to be expected on the Continent of Europe. North Africa is normally a food-surplus area. It should in time be in a position to supply not only its own needs, but should also be able to contribute to our forces, and the United Kingdom's, with food and other commodities of all kinds. Even now, the United States and Britain are acquiring from North Africa such critical raw materials as manganese, cobalt, cork, and phosphates. Our joint supply program is helping the French to become again an effective fighting member of the United Nations.

"It is the understanding of this committee that the aid which we send to North Africa is sent only on the requisition of our military high command in that area, whether that aid consists of weapons for soldiers or food for hungry civilians. Military considerations in their broader aspects are the elements considered."

Subsequently the House Appropriations Committee in making its appropriation for lend-lease purposes for the fiscal year 1944, referred in its report to the necessity for providing supplies in liberated areas. The committee said in this connection:

"The committee has recommended the reappropriation of the free funds—\$377,000,000—presently available in category 9. Some of these funds will be required for certain aspects of the lend-lease program which cannot be budgeted, such as the salvage of ships which are disabled or sunk as the result of enemy action or accident. Some of the funds will be required, if industrial equipment and manpower are available, to finance the expansion of dehydration and compression plants. Some of the funds will be needed for lend-lease missions abroad.

"In addition, funds must be available so that as military operations expand and new victories are won, the necessary demands for food, clothing, and essential equipment can be met. Supplies will undoubtedly be required for the civilian populations behind the lines. In North Africa, for example, General Eisenhower requested that lend-lease civilian goods be made available to prevent famine, plague, and disaffection which might endanger our lines of communication and supply.

"The committee has inquired extensively into the operations of the Lend-Lease Administration in North Africa and into the plans for lend-lease operations in

areas still to be liberated. The committee believes that the experience in North Africa has demonstrated the need for sending essential lend-lease supplies to civilian populations in liberated areas. The War Department has agreed that it is necessary to make provision for liberated areas, and the committee is advised that the program of the Office of Lend-Lease Administration has been so coordinated that no supplies will be shipped into any area during military occupation without the prior approval of the War Department.

"Funds available to the Lend-Lease Administration are used for the procurement of goods which can be shipped to any of the lend-lease countries as the need develops. The committee understands that the articles and commodities acquired for liberated areas will not be locked upon in a warehouse unavailable for any other purpose but that the demands of liberated areas will be a claim against lend-lease supplies subject to diversion to meet more pressing demands of a military or domestic nature, should they develop."

Accordingly, the Office of Lend-Lease Administration, in conjunction with the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations and the military authorities, proceeded with the procurement of supplies for the liberated areas as a matter of military necessity. The supplies procured for use in the liberated areas by the Office of Lend-Lease Administration and the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations have, since the consolidation of these two agencies into the Foreign Economic Administration, been transferred to the latter for liberated area purposes. These stocks may be made available in whole or in part to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration when and if funds are made available to it for procurement of supplies within the United States.

For the confidential use of the committee, there is attached hereto information with respect to the amount of specific commodities and supplies which are on hand or contracted for under lend-lease procurement authority. It should be pointed out that this information does not refer to supplies which may be contained in the general procurement programs of the military authorities and which may eventually be used by them for relief purposes during the course of military operations.

It will be noted that the attached table does not include any food items since no food has been procured specifically for liberated areas. The War Food Administration has a general inventory of food reserves on hand and likewise makes quarterly allocations of the total food supply, available or expected to be available, among the various claimant groups such as the Army, Navy, civilian requirements, lend-lease, etc. For some time, each quarterly allocation has made allowance for the possible need of food supplies for civilian relief operations in liberated areas. Since, however, it has not been necessary to deliver food for this purpose (except for small amounts in French North Africa), the food supplies which have been allocated for relief purposes have been released for other uses. Through this mechanism and with the general reserves of food under control of the War Food Administration, it is hoped that there will be a supply available at any time when a specific need of food for relief purposes arises; these reserves may also be drawn upon for lend-lease purposes, or for meeting the increased needs of the armed forces or for emergency civilian use in the United States. There are, therefore, no specific segregated reserves set up for relief purposes.

Likewise it will be noted that these data do not include medical supplies. As in the case of food, no medical supplies have been procured specifically for liberated area purposes. The Office of Lend-Lease Administration and the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations (now consolidated into the Foreign Economic Administration), working with the Surgeon General of the United States Army, developed a joint program for the procurement of medical supplies. The medical supplies procured under this program which are not needed for the Army medical-supply program, are placed in a pool which may be drawn on to meet the most urgent requirements as they arise. Accordingly, this pool may be used for relief purposes, for lend-lease purposes, or for meeting the increased needs of the armed forces or for emergency civilian use in the United States. The amount of supplies held in this pool is such, in relation to expected demands other than relief demands that undoubtedly substantial quantities of medical supplies will be available from this pool for liberated areas. The specific quantity, however, cannot be computed as the exact amount of other needs cannot be foretold and emergency situations may arise which would require unanticipated withdrawals.

It should be noted that the stocks on hand, excluding food and medical supplies which are now available for immediate shipments for civilian relief pur-



poses, are small. With the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the increasing possibility of an early liberation of enemy occupied areas, it becomes necessary immediately to commence a forward buying program on an ample scale for liberated area purposes. Many of the items to be procured require processing over a considerable period of time. Furthermore, it will be necessary for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to make immediate reimbursement for any supplies which may be transferred to it out of stocks of supplies for liberated area purposes held by the Foreign Economic Administration. Consequently, it is essential that substantial funds be made available to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in time so that adequate preparations may be made for the needs of the liberated areas.

#### EFFECT OF A TIME LIMIT IN THE RESOLUTION

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I would like to have the opinion of the Secretary as to what effect it would have upon the practical application of U. N. R. R. A. if this resolution were amended as to the time limit, fixing its time as of July 1, 1945, in permitting authorizations under the resolution or permitting appropriations to be made as a result of the resolution. Do you think that would have any effect upon the practical application of U. N. R. R. A. and its work?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. That is something entirely within the discretion and control of the committee. It would seem that if a limitation were placed upon the period it would be wise to have it not shorter than 2 years. July 1, 1945, would be a year and some months. U. N. R. R. A. cannot begin to operate until the military have cleared the enemy from a territory and believes it is proper for the U. N. R. R. A. to come in. Before that time it would spend money in preparation, but it cannot do more than acquire commodities before it begins to operate. After that it will spend the bulk of its money for supplies, administration, and so forth.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Would it not be well to place a restriction as to the time of operation? I do not mean the operation of the agreement. I mean a restriction upon the time covered by appropriations for U. N. R. R. A. Obviously, the success of it will have much to do with its future.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I hope that any limitation will not be less than 2 years. It is almost impossible for the organization to plan and get started if it has too short a life.

Mr. JOHNSON. We do not know when the war will end.

#### TRANSBLOCKADE FEEDING OF OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

Mr. MANSFIELD. Why would it not be better to appropriate money to feed children now rather than appropriate money for U. N. R. R. A. to feed people in the future? Why should children undergo the suffering that could be alleviated through the use of an agency in operation and which can do a good job, such as the Red Cross, the Quakers, and others?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. That is a comparative question. Do you want me to compare the two or shall I address myself to the problem of feeding through the blockade?

Mr. MANSFIELD. You would have to feed through the blockade at the present time. This is for relief in liberated countries.

The CHAIRMAN. We appropriated \$85,000,000 for feeding of peoples of the occupied territory. Of that amount, \$60,000,000 had been spent up to December 1, 1943. There is an unexpended balance of \$25,000,000 in the Treasury for that purpose, if food could get through the blockade. The Government has sufficient money to feed peoples of the occupied territories and refugees if it were possible to do so.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Under the appropriation you have just mentioned, I understand that food can go through the blockade.

The CHAIRMAN. No; you are mistaken, unless the military authorities of the respective governments will let it go through, and they have refused to do that.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Under U. N. R. R. A. people, grown-ups, and children, will be fed in occupied territories by the armies of the Allied Nations, as I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. I mean after the enemy is pushed out of that territory.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. U. N. R. R. A. does not deal with feeding of people in countries occupied by the enemy; only when an area has been liberated can U. N. R. R. A. commence operations.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. It would have to operate under the military.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. The military forces invite U. N. R. R. A. to come in.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. The United States would contribute \$1,350,000,000 and the other countries would contribute about \$650,000,000 to this U. N. R. R. A. fund. Are those figures correct? That would be about \$2,000,000,000.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. I think that under the plan recommended by the Council the contribution of the United States, if the Congress follows it, would be \$1,350,000,000, and the total contributions from all sources would be between \$2,000,000,000 and \$2,500,000,000, including our own, and it would probably be nearer \$2,000,000,000 than \$2,500,000,000.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. That sum for us is arrived at on the basis of 1 percent of our national income, which was, as I understand, \$135,000,000,000 last year.

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Many people are going to raise the question that, proportionately, the United States will be furnishing two-thirds of the money and all the rest of the 43 nations will be furnishing only one-third. What is the answer to that?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. The answer will be that the statement is true.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. That is the amount the nations will contribute if the contribution is to be based upon 1 percent of each nation's annual national income?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. Yes. We are in the fortunate position of having a very large part of the income of the free world.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Would it not be possible to have this money appropriated, if it is, so that it could be spent under the super-

vision of the Department of State? I think Mr. Schiffler brought up a question about the money being given to the President for administration as he sees fit. The Department of State will have a part in the administration of this fund; therefore what would you think about a suggestion like this?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. That was discussed at an earlier session of your committee. I think I said then that it would seem wiser to leave it as provided in the bill, subject to the discretion of the President. I think the Secretary has always thought that it is best to keep the Department as far as possible free from involvement in too much administrative work.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Food is not permitted to go into these occupied countries now, as I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. It cannot go through the blockade.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. For what did we spend \$60,000,000?

The CHAIRMAN. That was spent for general welfare of refugees and to put them in certain places.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. We appropriate the money for food and it is spent for other purposes; is that the idea?

Assistant Secretary ACHESON. It was for general relief. We could not feed them in the occupied territories and we arranged to have them brought out and then fed them in the places where they were taken to.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dewey.

Mr. DEWEY. I am afraid I shall have to accuse the Secretary of being a little Siddonesque in his reading of the purposes of House Joint Resolution 207, because the only thing I heard emphasized was that the revolving fund is to stabilize currencies and later undertake long-term construction.

I am a great believer in continuity of purpose and I am not as sure in my own mind as the Secretary appears to be that rehabilitation by U. N. R. R. A. is going to be held to a small percentage of its relief operation. I have had practical experience in these matters and the very fact that we are only one of 44 nations will mean that we will be handicapped if there is much pressure to go deeper into the development of rehabilitation than probably the council now proposes, the limits being set out in the statements in the pamphlet from which the Secretary read.

I am very sympathetic toward the purposes of the U. N. R. R. A., namely, effecting relief. I am very sympathetic to reasonable help in rehabilitating the countries where the operations of the U. N. R. R. A. are going to take place, and which have been devastated by a common enemy. I am very sympathetic toward aiding those people in devastated countries to regain their livelihood after the relief period has passed.

My only purpose in offering H. J. Res. 207, which I believe to be germane to H. J. Res. 192, is to coordinate the efforts of the U. N. R. R. A. If H. J. Res. 207 is not to be made an amendment to H. J. Res. 192, I certainly believe it should be considered **very promptly** as a companion of H. J. Res. 192, in order that the two efforts may be made simultaneously and there be collaboration between the board of directors set up under H. J. Res. 207 and the members of the U. N. R. R. A. operating in the same countries. Therefore, I should like to suggest and urge that if this committee feels that it would be



unwise to consider H. J. Res. 207 as an amendment of H. J. Res. 192, and the members of the U. N. R. R. A. as represented by the Secretary feel it would embarrass the situation and cause delay, there be an early hearing by the committee on H. J. Res. 207.

Mr. Acheson has stated that studies now being made by the Treasury Department for a great fund to stabilize the currencies of the world or to set up a long-term construction bank will eventuate in an early bill. It is my belief that it will not be such a bill that will receive the favorable consideration of the House of Representatives. It is inconceivable at this time to consider the stabilization of all currencies of the world. However, if there is a stop-gap organization to collaborate with the efforts of the U. N. R. R. A., I think we will get out of the whole relief and rehabilitation matter much quicker and with less expense. It is apparent that we are called upon to put up most of the money, hence our Government should have liberty of action. This is provided by H. J. Res. 207 and it should be given early consideration.

I am going to read some figures for the record to show that sometimes these relief operations, even when the intention is the very best, do not come out as planned. These figures refer to the finance of the post-armistice relief after the last war. There was a total of \$3,142,344,468 expended and of that amount the United States made cash or exchange contributions amounting to \$275,581,000; by charity, \$144,153,000; by loans and advances, \$2,377,558,000. These loans and advances are still loans and advances and have never been repaid. When we get into matters of rehabilitation, such as may be undertaken by the U. N. R. R. A., I can assure you gentlemen of the committee that the sum of \$2,377,000,000 will be small pickings compared to what it may cost this country.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the permission to have made this statement. This whole subject is something about which I feel very earnestly, indeed. I know that it will be helpful to the U. N. R. R. A. if a system such as is proposed by H. J. Res. 207, operating at the same time the U. N. R. R. A. is operating, is enacted into law.

The CHAIRMAN. I have told Mr. Dewey that we will be glad to take up his resolution after disposing of this U. N. R. R. A. matter and give it thorough consideration.

We thank you very much for your statement, Mr. Dewey.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is nothing further, the committee will go into executive session.

(Thereupon at 4:20 p. m., Tuesday, January 11, 1944, the committee went into executive session.)



## APPENDIX I

The work of the U. N. R. R. A. Council was done in the first instance by four main committees and their subcommittees. The four main committees were:

Committee on Organization and Administration (Committee I).

Committee on General Policy (Committee II).

Committee on Finance and Supplies (Committee III).

Committee on Relief and Rehabilitation Policies (Committee IV).

The reports of these committees and the resolutions recommended therein were then reviewed, and in some respects modified, by a Committee on Ad Hoc Committees. They were then submitted to the Council. After embodying all of the resolutions in a single document entitled "Resolutions of Policy of the First Session of the Council," the Council formally adopted the resolutions. At the same time the Council embodied the reports of the committees in a separate document entitled "Reports of Committees of the Council, First Session" and formally accepted the reports under a separate resolution. These reports and resolutions were included in the Daily Journal of the Council, Journal No. 19, parts II and III. Part I of the same Journal contained the resolutions accepting the various reports, adopting the resolutions and authorizing their incorporation in a single document. The resolutions and reports considered by the Foreign Affairs Committee were those which appeared in Parts I, II, and III of Journal 19.

The Resolutions on Policy are contained in the following Appendix. The reports of the committees of the Council, together with the Resolutions on Policy and the relevant resolutions which appeared in Parts I, II, and III of Journal No. 19, together with certain other selected documents of the First Session of the Council, may be found in the publication entitled "First Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Selected Documents, Atlantic City, N. J., November 10-December 1, 1943" (Department of State, Publication No. 2040, Conference Series 53), copies of which publication have been made available to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

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## RESOLUTIONS ON POLICY OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE COUNCIL

## PART I—GENERAL POLICIES

## RESOLUTION No. 1

*A Resolution Relating to the Scope of the Activities of the Administration*

(Reception No. 299)

## RESOLVED

That the following shall be the broad policies of the Administration with respect to the scope of its activities:

## I. AREAS IN WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION WILL OPERATE

The exact geographical areas in which the Administration will operate and the kind of operations it will undertake in each case must be determined by the Director General (in the light of policies laid down from time to time by the Council) only after consultation with, and with the consent of, the government or authority (military or civil) which exercises administrative authority in the

area. The Administration's activities in seeking to achieve the objectives referred to in the preamble of the Agreement setting it up will be governed as follows:

1. In the case of a liberated area in which a government or recognized national authority does not yet exercise administrative authority, the Administration will operate from such a time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the military command and the Administration, and subject to such control as the military command may find necessary. The Administration shall, so far as circumstances permit, seek the advice of the government or recognized national authority concerned.

2. In the case of a liberated area in which a government or recognized national authority exercises administrative authority, the Administration will operate only after consultation with, and with the consent of, the government or recognized national authority concerned regarding the form of activities to be undertaken by the Administration within the whole or part of such area.

3. If it appears necessary for the Administration to operate in an enemy or ex-enemy area in carrying out the purposes of the Agreement, it will do so only from such a time and for such purposes as may be agreed upon between the military command, the established control authority or duly recognized administration of the area on the one hand and the Administration on the other, and subject to such control as the military command or the established control authority may find necessary; provided that the Council approve the scale and nature of the operations it is proposed to undertake and the standard of provision, and that all expenses connected with such possible operations in an enemy or ex-enemy area should be carried by the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned. The Director General will consult with the military command or established control authorities having control of enemy or ex-enemy areas with a view to securing information as to any surpluses of supplies from time to time available in such enemy or ex-enemy areas from which relief and rehabilitation import requirements of liberated areas might be met.

Nothing in the above should be taken as preventing the Administration from carrying on activities in other areas in order to perform the tasks laid upon it in the Agreement, provided that the government or authority (military or civil) exercising administrative authority in the area concerned agrees.

## II. THE RANGE OF SERVICES WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION WILL PROVIDE

The supplies and services of which the Administration will seek to insure the provision fall under four heads:

1. *Relief supplies*: essential consumer goods to meet immediate needs, such as food, fuel, clothing, shelter, medical supplies.
2. *Relief services*: such as health and welfare; assistance in caring for, and maintaining records of, persons found in any areas under the control of any of the United Nations who by reason of war have been displaced from their homes and, in agreement with the appropriate governments, military authorities or other agencies, in securing their repatriation or return; and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.
3. *Rehabilitation supplies and services*: materials (such as seeds, fertilizers, raw materials, fishing equipment, machinery and spare parts) needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas, and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.
4. *Rehabilitation of public utilities and services*: so far as they can be repaired or restored to meet immediate needs; such as light, water, sanitation, power, transport, temporary storage, communications, and assistance in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions.

### III. RELATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION WITH EXISTING INTERGOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITIES AND AGENCIES ESTABLISHED TO DEAL WITH SUPPLIES, SHIPPING, AND RELATED QUESTIONS

1. The activities of the Administration in bringing assistance to the victims of war will be so conducted that they do not impede the effective prosecution of the war. The prosecution of the war demands that scarce supplies and shipping tonnage shall be carefully controlled and allocated in order to assure not only that the supplies and shipping requirements of the armed forces are fully met, but also that a fair distribution of supplies is made between the civil populations of the various areas having due regard to their actual or potential contribution to the war effort. It will therefore be essential, both for the conduct of the war and in order to promote a fair distribution of supplies between the inhabitants of areas with which the Administration is concerned and those of other areas, that demands upon supplies and shipping presented by the Administration should be coordinated with other demands through the use of the existing intergovernmental agencies concerned with the allocation of supplies and shipping.

2. It will be an essential part of the functions of the Administration to secure a fair distribution of goods which are in short supply and of shipping services to and among the various areas liberated or to be liberated. For this purpose the Administration must have full knowledge of all the relief and rehabilitation import requirements of such areas, whatever arrangements may be contemplated for procurement or finance. Therefore, member governments shall keep the Administration fully informed of their requirements and programs of intended purchases. The Director General may present to the intergovernmental allocating agencies such recommendations or objections as he may deem necessary to obtain a fair distribution to and among both liberated and to be liberated areas. The Director General will present before the intergovernmental allocating agencies the over-all requirements for relief and rehabilitation of all areas liberated and to be liberated in order to permit a global consideration of these needs with all other needs. He may also present the particular requirements of any country for which the assistance of the Administration has been requested. It is anticipated that the Director General and, where necessary, the Chairman of the Committee on Supplies, will be fully consulted by the intergovernmental allocating agencies when any matter touching the interests of the Administration is under discussion.

3. In order that the supplies allocated by the appropriate intergovernmental agency against requirements presented and supported by the Administration may be procured expeditiously and without duplication of effort, the Director General, after consultation, where necessary, with the appropriate intergovernmental agency, will make use wherever possible of the established national agencies concerned with the procurement, handling, storage, and transport of supplies. The member governments to which such national agencies are responsible would agree on their part to put the services of such agencies at the disposal of the Administration. Such additional responsibilities would form part of those already undertaken in prosecuting the war effort of the United Nations.

### IV. RELATIONSHIP OF THE ADMINISTRATION WITH THE MILITARY COMMAND

1. Before an area is liberated, the Administration will, when requested by the military authorities,

- (a) consult with them in the planning of supplies for the relief and rehabilitation of the area during the period of military control;
- (b) arrange for the advance procurement of such supplies as may be agreed on to supplement supplies to be provided by the military authorities.

2. During the period when a liberated area is under military control, the Administration, so far as the Director General deems practicable, will, when requested by the military authorities,

- (a) arrange for the procurement of supplies to supplement supplies being provided by the military authorities;
- (b) furnish expert personnel and services, and advise on the conservation and utilization for relief purposes of stocks and productive resources;
- (c) assist in the carrying out of policies with regard to the repatriation or return of displaced persons as formulated in paragraph II, 2, above;
- (d) undertake other relief and rehabilitation activities;
- (e) assume responsibility in whole or in part for such activities.



In undertaking any of these functions the Administration shall, so far as circumstances permit, seek the advice of the government or recognized national authority concerned.

3. It is recommended to the member governments that the Administration be kept informed so far as is practicable of the operations of the civil affairs branches of the military command and control authorities, in order that the Director General may make the necessary preparations for the provision of staff and facilities so that a smooth transition from the period of military control may be insured and the flow of supplies maintained.

4. It is recommended to member governments that the transition in each area from military to civilian relief and rehabilitation operations be consummated at the earliest date that military considerations permit.

#### RESOLUTION No. 2

##### *A Resolution Relating to Non-discrimination*

(Reception No. 299)

#### RESOLVED

1. That, in any area where relief and rehabilitation operations are being conducted through the employment, in whole or in part, of the Administration's resources, relief and rehabilitation in all its aspects shall be distributed or dispensed fairly on the basis of the relative needs of the population in the area, and without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief.

2. That, in determining the relative needs of the population, there may be taken into account the diverse needs caused by discriminatory treatment by the enemy during its occupation of the area.

#### RESOLUTION No. 3

##### *A Resolution Relating to Assistance From Member Governments*

(Reception No. 299)

#### RESOLVED

That the Council recommends that member governments take such steps as may be necessary and feasible to facilitate any operations of the Administration within areas under their control, assisting the Administration in obtaining such services, facilities, and personnel as may be required to carry on such operations, and arranging to the extent possible that the Administration's expenditures for services, facilities, supplies, equipment, and personnel be minimized so that its resources may be devoted directly to relief and rehabilitation.

#### RESOLUTION No. 4

##### *A Resolution Relating to Administration Publicity*

(Reception No. 299)

#### RESOLVED

That the Council recommends that member governments, consistently with such measures as they consider necessary to regulate the dissemination of information while hostilities or other military necessities exist, afford the Administration opportunity to make public information with regard to its operations, and that they permit the use of special labels or other designations on supplies and equipment belonging to or furnished by the Administration.

#### RESOLUTION No. 5

##### *A Resolution Relating to the Relations of the Administration With Intergovernmental Agencies Other Than Those Established To Deal With Supplies, Shipping, and Related Questions*

(Reception No. 299)

#### RESOLVED

1. That the Council reaffirm the principle of cooperation between the Administration and other intergovernmental agencies as set forth in the report of the Temporary Committee on Admission of Observers adopted by the Council on November 12, 1943.

2. That the Council invite representatives of the League of Nations Technical Organizations, the International Labor Organizations, the Intergovernmental

Committee on Refugees, and the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture (or representatives from the Permanent Organization for Food and Agriculture now represented by the Interim Commission), to attend as observers and to participate in the meetings of the Council, its committees, and subcommittees, and in the meetings of regional committees and technical standing committees, in accordance with appropriate provisions in the Permanent Rules of Procedure.

3. That the Director General avail himself of the organizations mentioned in paragraph 2 above as the nature of the work and other circumstances make appropriate.

4. That the Director General, in pursuance of the principle set forth in paragraph 1 above, cooperate to such a degree and to such extent as he may deem desirable in the interests of the Administration with all other inter-governmental agencies whose operations and specialized services may be of value to the Administration, including the sending of his representatives as observers to the meetings of other intergovernmental agencies, as well as those mentioned in paragraph 2 above.

#### RESOLUTION No. 6

##### *A Resolution Relating to Collaboration With Regard to Economic Measures*

(Reception No. 299)

#### RESOLVED

That the Council recommends that member governments consult with the Director General with a view to avoiding, so far as possible, the subjection of the funds, supplies, equipment, and services of the Administration to economic measures which might diminish the effectiveness of such activities or impose financial burdens on the Administration.

### PART II—RELIEF AND REHABILITATION POLICIES

#### RESOLUTION No. 7

##### *A Resolution Relating to Relief Distribution Policies*

(Reception No. 311)

#### RESOLVED

That the Council approves the following statement as a guide to activities with respect to relief and rehabilitation distribution:

1. That at no time shall relief and rehabilitation supplies be used as a political weapon, and no discrimination shall be made in the distribution of relief supplies because of race, creed, or political belief.

2. That in general the responsibility for the distribution, within an area, of relief and rehabilitation supplies should be borne by the government or recognized national authority which exercises administrative authority in the area.

3. That distribution should be so conducted that all classes of the population, irrespective of their purchasing power, shall receive their equitable shares of essential commodities. When supplies are sold to consumers, prices should be set at such levels as to facilitate the flow of supplies into the proper hands, and to avoid maladjustments in the price structure of the areas.

4. That distribution of relief and rehabilitation supplies should take place under effective rationing and price controls. The suppression of black markets should not be left to general pronouncements and decrees, but should be the subject of active measures of enforcement applied vigorously and unremittingly.

5. That the government or recognized national authority which exercises administrative authority in the area should take appropriate measures to insure that so far as the distribution within a liberated territory of relief and rehabilitation goods is done through private trade, the remuneration earned by private traders for their services is no more than is fair and reasonable.

6. That use should be made to the maximum practicable extent of normal agencies of distribution (governmental, commercial, cooperative), to the particular ends of combating inflation and restoring normal economic activity. This principal, however, cannot be pursued at the expense of measures found necessary under emergency conditions to insure an adequate control of the distribution of supplies and their direction to the appropriate consumers.

7. That if the Administration is called on by the military authority to furnish distribution services through its own organization and personnel in a liberated territory in which a government or recognized national authority does not yet exercise administrative authority, the Administration should, subject to the general provisions governing the relation of the Administration to the military authority and the government or recognized national authority concerned, make the fullest possible use of local authorities and of local organizations.

8. That the Administration be prepared to render direct assistance in distribution whenever, because of unusual circumstances, the government or recognized national authority concerned requests such aid within its territory. Wherever as a consequence of such request, the Administration is directly concerned with internal distribution, it should follow, in cooperation with the national or local authorities, the same general principles as those recommended above.

9. That the Director General should be kept fully informed concerning the distribution of relief and rehabilitation supplies within any recipient areas, and under all circumstances there should be the fullest working cooperation between the governments or recognized national authorities concerned and the Administration for this purpose.

#### RESOLUTION No. 8

##### *A Resolution Relating to Health and Medical Care*

(Reception No. 312)

#### RESOLVED

1. That the Council urge its members, when nominating alternates for membership of<sup>1</sup> the standing technical Committee on Health to designate as such alternates accredited and technically competent representatives of their respective national health services.

2. That the Council recommends that governments and recognized national authorities cooperate fully with the Administration in establishing at the earliest possible date regional and other emergency agreements and arrangements for the notification within the limits of military security, of diseases likely to become epidemic, uniformity in quarantine regulations, and for other measures of prevention.

3. That the Council recommends that governments and recognized national authorities, whenever so requested by the Administration, offer all facilities in making available to the Administration suitable personnel for its health organization, including the temporary loan of technical experts and the services of scientific institutions.

4. That the Council recommends the closest collaboration at the earliest possible time between the Administration and the Allied Military Authorities, particularly in relation to the notification of infectious diseases, within the limits of military security, and to the orderly transfer to the Administration of the epidemic control and other public-health measures put into operation by the military authorities.

5. That the Council recommends that governments and recognized national authorities whenever so requested by the Administration, facilitate in every way possible the assignment of their nationals from the occupied countries for technical training especially in the newer aspects of medical and sanitary sciences in the countries where such training is available; under the condition that the request be filed by the government concerned.

#### RESOLUTION No. 9

##### *A Resolution Relating to Welfare Services and Voluntary Relief Agencies*

(Reception No. 313)

#### RESOLVED

1. That welfare services administered by or in cooperation with the Administration be provided without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief.

2. That it shall be the policy of the Administration to enlist the cooperation and seek the participation of appropriate foreign voluntary relief agencies, to the extent that they can be effectively utilized in relief activities for which they have

<sup>1</sup> So in original.



special competence and resources, subject to the consent and regulation of the Director General in accordance with Article IV, paragraph 2, of the Agreement.

3. That the extent to which foreign voluntary relief agencies should be used for assistance in the relief and rehabilitation of distressed people in any country should be a matter to be determined by the Director General in consultation with the government or recognized national authority concerned.

4. That within the framework of its total program and with the closest collaboration between the health, welfare, and other appropriate organization units, the Administration should make specific provision for welfare services for victims of war—in particular for children, expectant and nursing mothers, the aged, and the disabled.

5. That, in general, welfare services should be administered, so far as possible, by the government or recognized national authority concerned and the Administration should make its resources available to the appropriate agency in accordance with plans agreed upon between the Administration and the national agency.

Continuous cooperation should be maintained and information exchanged between the government or recognized national authority concerned and the Administration.

6. That the Administration should be prepared to administer welfare services directly, either in part or in whole, when called upon by a government or recognized national authority, which for any reason is unable itself to administer these services.

7. That because of already prolonged suffering due to war and because of critical needs, the Administration should arrange to provide, as promptly as possible, the necessary welfare services, to be available when countries are liberated or occupied by the United Nations.

8. That welfare services should be designed to help people to help themselves. Wherever possible constructive work opportunities and measures for self-help should be provided to permit those receiving relief to produce at least some of their own basic requirements.

9. That because of the magnitude and complexity of the welfare problems confronting the Administration, and the necessity for effective technical guidance, there should be established a standing technical Committee on Welfare.

#### RESOLUTION No. 10

##### *A Resolution Relating to Policies With Respect to Displaced Persons*

(Reception No. 314)

#### RESOLVED

1. That the Council recommends that member governments and the Director General exchange information on all phases of the problem, including such matters as the numbers and places of temporary residence of their nationals in other countries, and of the presence of the nationals of other countries, or stateless persons, within their territories.

2. That the Council recommends that member governments consult with and give full aid to the Director General in order that he may, in concert with them, plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of orderly and effective measures for the return to their homes of prisoners, exiles, and other displaced persons.

3. That the Council recommends that member governments consult with the Director General for the purpose of carrying out measures with respect to the repatriation or return of displaced persons; and that the classes of persons to be repatriated be those referred to in paragraphs 5 and 6 of the report of Subcommittee 4 of Committee IV.

4. That the question of the assistance to be given by the Administration in the return to their homes of displaced persons of enemy or ex-enemy nationality who have been intruded into homes from which nationals of the United States have been expelled should be considered as a separate issue to be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 11 and 12 of the report of Subcommittee 4 of Committee IV.

5. That steps be taken to insure the closest cooperation with the Committee on Health, as well as with the national health authorities of the various countries

concerned, with a view to preventing and controlling any epidemics which may be expected to arise in connection with the repatriation of large groups of displaced persons.

6. That the Director General take steps to insure the closest cooperation with such agencies as the International Red Cross and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and any other appropriate bodies of suitable standing whose assistance may be of value, with a view to invoking their collaboration in the work of the repatriation of displaced persons.

7. That the Director General should establish the earliest possible contact with the military authorities of the United Nations with a view to concerting plans for dealing in a uniform and closely coordinated manner with any large groups of displaced persons which may be found in any liberated or occupied territory on the entry of the forces of the United Nations into that territory.

#### RESOLUTION No. 11

#### *A Resolution Relating to Policies With Respect to Agricultural Rehabilitation and Other Means of Increasing Food Essential to Relief*

(Reception No. 315)

##### RESOLVED

That the Council approves the following statement as a guide to activities with respect to agricultural rehabilitation and other methods of increasing food essential to relief:

1. That for the first crop year after liberation in any area the Administration, through its agricultural rehabilitation and food production program, should give priority to the production of food for direct human consumption. For that year the war production pattern in liberated areas should generally be continued with emphasis upon maximum output both from the soil and from fisheries. In certain areas, however, modification in this policy may be undertaken where a continuance of the war production pattern results in a disproportionate sacrifice in productivity, provided essential foods are otherwise available.

2. That it shall be the responsibility of the Administration to assist governments and recognized national authorities in the liberated areas immediately to take the necessary steps in providing the supplies and services needed to enable farmers to sow and harvest essential crops during the first crop year, to maintain their dairy herds, and to rehabilitate their farms for immediate food production. It shall also be the responsibility of the Administration to assist in restoring necessary processing facilities; in providing for the early expansion of fisheries and of the whaling industry; in reinstating the agricultural labor needed to carry out the production program; and, to the extent that they can contribute to the solution of relief problems, in reestablishing experimental stations and essential agricultural institutions, organizations, and services, in making the necessary technical surveys to determine agricultural requirements and to lay the basis for production programs.

3. That it shall be the policy of the Administration to integrate to the fullest possible extent its short-run agricultural rehabilitation and food production efforts with the longer-run reconstruction objectives of the United Nations Organization for Food and Agriculture, and to shape its policies so as not to hamper the achievement of those objectives, which call for the progressive realization in all countries of diets adequate both in quantity and quality.

4. That since priorities between various agricultural items will vary from area to area, such priorities shall be determined by the government or recognized national authority concerned in conjunction with the Director General in accordance with the general policy outlined above. In determining such priority for agriculture and fishing requirements the test should be applied whether the supply of these requirements will bring early and large returns in the form of crops and fish for direct human consumption.

5. The Administration should be prepared when requested by a government or recognized national authority to assist them in making technical field surveys in establishing priority on the need for supplies in making available information concerning production surpluses in nearby areas, and in providing such other technical assistance as is required.

## RESOLUTION No. 12

*A Resolution Relating to Policies With Respect to the Rehabilitation of Such Industries, Transport, and Other Services as Are Essential to Relief*

(Reception No. (316) 325)

## WHEREAS

The preamble of the Agreement states that preparations and arrangements shall be made for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed industrial production and the restoration of essential services, it is therefore

## RESOLVED

That, subject to the provisions of Resolutions Nos. 1 and 17 of this Session, the Council approves the following statement as a guide to activities with respect to the rehabilitation of such industries, transport and other services as are essential to relief:

1. Rehabilitation supplies are to consist of materials, such as raw materials, machinery, and spare parts needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated territories; and, within the scope of the Administration, the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, so far as they can be repaired and restored to meet immediate, basic needs, such essentials as light and water, power, transportation, and communication. These needs include rehabilitation of essential relief industries, such as those which provide food, shelter, clothing, medical supplies.

2. Raw materials may be supplied by (a) the liberated country in which the industry is situated and in which the materials are to be used, (b) another liberated country, or (c) any other country. The task of the Administration in cases (a) and (b) should be the rehabilitation of the raw material producing industries such as coal mines, mineral mines, construction materials industries, etc.

3. If the raw materials required must be imported from overseas, it should be the responsibility of the Administration, through the appropriate national or intergovernmental agencies, to arrange for necessary allocation and procurement of supplies, so that there may be created as promptly as possible, reserves to be available at the request of the Director General when and wherever the need arises.

4. It is recommended that pools be created of materials such as processing materials, machine tools, mobile power units, maintenance equipment, industrial machinery of both standard and special types, and spare parts.

5. It is recommended that in cases where home production exceeds home consumption, the government or recognized national authority concerned should take all steps necessary to enable the excess of production available in a country to be put at the disposal of other liberated areas which may need such supplies to cover their deficits.

6. It should be the policy of the Administration to help those countries whose industries can be rehabilitated for production of relief and rehabilitation goods urgently required in other liberated areas. It is recommended that in attainment of these objectives the following be considered: special allocations of raw materials, machinery, and spare parts, by placing at the disposal of those countries, at the request of their governments, an experienced staff, and by providing special priorities for the return of skilled personnel awaiting repatriation.

7. It is recommended that the governments or recognized national authorities having administrative authority in a liberated area will keep the Director General and the appropriate regional committee fully informed as to any surplus of supplies from time to time available in such area, to meet, when circumstances permit, relief and rehabilitation import requirements of other liberated areas.

8. It is recommended that the Administration should, in consultation with the governments or recognized national authorities concerned and the appropriate international coordinating authority, assist liberated areas in restoring the transport and communications system to satisfactory working condition; it should also help to restore equipment, repair shops, workshops, shipyards, etc. It is recommended that a pool of transportation equipment both fixed and mobile should be created either from stocks manufactured overseas or in Allied or in neutral countries. Equipment which has been the property of the enemy may also form part of the pool.

9. It should be the task of the Administration to participate in conjunction with military and other appropriate authorities in the organization and coordi-



nation of the transportation of relief and rehabilitation supplies during the relief and rehabilitation period.

10. It is recommended that the requirements for raw materials, machinery, spare parts, and processing materials should be established within each country and that a definite order of priority be established taking into consideration: (a) technical factors, such as, on the one hand, the necessity of restoring the public services (gas, water, electricity), and, on the other, the needs of various types of consumer goods; (b) social factors, such as the necessity of providing reemployment; (c) temporary economic factors, such as scarcity of certain raw materials and shipping.

11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the Agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are important but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world.

#### RESOLUTION No. 13

#### *A Resolution Relating to Policies With Respect to Shelter*

(Reception No. (317) 326)

#### RESOLVED

That the Council approves the following statement as a guide to activities with respect to shelter:

1. Any general rebuilding policy for the areas to be liberated is in the sphere of long-term reconstruction and does not, therefore, come within the purview of the Administration.

2. In the relief period priority in the rehabilitation of essential shelter or accommodation in the liberated areas should be given to:

hospitals and schools;

habitations for homeless persons, especially for workers engaged in essential public services and in industries having high priority in relief, as well as for farmers and agricultural workers.

3. Where it may be necessary, however, there should be imported construction tools such as hand tools, building supplies and equipment, including excavating machinery, should essential materials and equipment not be found available, or be in short supply.

4. As regards the problem of shelter for displaced persons, which falls into two parts—temporary accommodation at collecting points and at frontiers, and accommodation of a more permanent, though not necessarily final character, for persons who cannot be returned to their homes either because their homes have been destroyed or because these are in territories still occupied by the enemy—wherever possible existing buildings, camps, barracks, and other buildings, should be used as they are or can be made suitable.

5. Where, in some enemy-occupied territories extensive enemy colonization has taken place, and where consolidation of holdings and construction of military installations has been accompanied by destruction of farmhouses and buildings, there should be provided camp accommodations for farmers and agricultural workers upon return to their own country. Any large-scale permanent reconstruction of holdings and the rebuilding of farmhouses and other structures should not be undertaken by the Administration. Pools of building materials shall be promptly created so that advance arrangements can be made for the accommodation of farmers and agricultural workers.

6. Where prefabricated housing is a specialized industry in any of the territories of a member government, the importance of making these supplies available as a part of the contribution of these governments should be recognized.

7. Where there is widespread destruction of particular areas caused by military operations or of a deliberate "scorched earth" policy on the part of the enemy, although priority should be given to housing repairs as indicated in paragraph 2, accommodation or shelter for workers in the food processing industries should be provided.

8. It is of importance that arrangements should be made, with the consent of the government concerned, for an expert assessment of this damage, so that detailed and accurate specifications of the equipment required in the reconstruction of factories providing essential relief requirements and the shelter or ac-

commodations for the workers engaged in those industries may be obtained at as early a date as possible. In order that this work may be started, if possible, during the period of military responsibility for civilian relief and rehabilitation, the Council recommends to its member governments that the military authorities be invited to advise the Administration, to the fullest extent consistent with military security, of conditions found in the area affecting civilian relief and rehabilitation requirements and supplies.

### PART III—FINANCE AND SUPPLIES

#### RESOLUTION No. 14

##### *A Resolution Relating to a Financial Plan for the Administration*

(Reception No. 298)

#### RESOLVED

That the following Financial Plan for the Administration be adopted:

#### ADMINISTRATIVE BUDGET AND PROGRAM OF OPERATIONS

##### *Section 1. Program of Operations.*

The Director General shall prepare as soon as possible, and submit to the next session of the Council, a program of operations covering proposed activities of the Administration in connection with relief and rehabilitation including the care and transportation of displaced persons. This program may cover the entire period of contemplated operations of the Administration, or any part thereof. The operating program shall serve as a guide to the activities of the Director General, but, except as provided in Article IV, paragraph 2 of the Agreement, shall not limit his action when the situation requires other action. From time to time, the Director General shall submit to the Council revisions of, or supplements to the operating program which experience may show to be desirable.

##### *Section 2. Annual Administrative Budget.*

The Director General shall prepare annually a budget covering the estimated administrative expense of the Administration for a calendar year. The budget shall be accompanied by an explanation and justification of the amount required. The proposed budget shall be submitted to the Council in accordance with the regulations of the Council with respect to administrative expenditures and receipts.

##### *Section 3. Supplementary Administrative Budgets.*

The Director General may submit supplementary budgets to the Council covering the necessary administrative expenses not provided for in the annual budget.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS

##### *Section 4. General Contributions.*

As to the amount and character of the contribution of each member government, to be determined by its constitutional bodies as provided for in Article V of the Agreement, the Council recommends that each member government whose home territory has not been occupied by the enemy shall make a contribution for participation in the work of the Administration, approximately equivalent to one percent of the national income of the country for the year ending June 30, 1943 as determined by the member government.

The Council recognizes that there are cases in which the recommendation above may conflict with particular demands arising from the continuance of the war or may be excessively burdensome because of peculiar situations, and therefore recognizes that the amount and character of the contribution recommended is subject to such conditions.

##### *Section 5. Character of Contribution.*

Subject to the provisions of Article V, paragraph 1, of the Agreement the Council recommends that as much as possible, but not less than 10 percent, of the amount contributed by each member government as recommended in section 4 hereof, shall be in such form of currency as can be expended in areas outside of the contributing country; and that the balance thereof shall be in the

form of a credit in local currency which shall be available for the purchase of the contributing country's supplies and services.

*Section 6. Contributions Toward Administrative Expenses.*

A member government may treat its share of the administrative expenses, as determined by the Council under Article VI of the Agreement, as included in its contribution made under sections 4 and 5 hereof.

*Section 7. Contributions by Other Member Governments.*

The Council recommends that member governments other than a member government referred to in section 4 hereof, which are able to contribute to the work of the Administration for relief and rehabilitation outside its own territory (in addition to its annual contribution for allocated administrative expenses), should do so.

*Section 8. Additional Contributions by Members Governments.*

The Council recommends that member governments desiring to make contributions in addition to those recommended in section 4 hereof should do so.

*Section 9. Contributions by Non-member Governments and Non-governmental Sources.*

The Council expects that contributions will be received to the work of the Administration from non-member governments or non-governmental sources. Such contributions may be accepted in accordance with rules and regulations established by the Director General in conformity with general policies of the Administration.

*Section 10. Action on Contributions.*

The Council recommends that each member government take at the earliest possible time such constitutional budgetary, administrative, or legislative steps as may be necessary to make its contribution available when needed for the purposes of the Administration.

*Section 11. Direct Contributions to Liberated Areas.*

The Council recommends that member governments giving to or receiving from foreign sources, direct contributions or other direct aid in the nature of relief and rehabilitation in addition to contributions to or from the Administration, shall do so only after prior notification and consultation with the Director General.

*Section 12. Immediate Administrative Expenses.*

In order to meet immediate administrative expenses, the Director General may ask such of the member governments as may be in a position to do so to make immediate advance payments in the amounts necessary, with appropriate credit toward the general amounts recommended in sections 4 and 5 hereof.

EXPENDITURES: ADMINISTRATIVE AND OPERATIONAL

*Section 13. Rate of Contributions.*

The Council recommends that, so far as is consistent with efficient operation, contributions of all member governments for the work of the Administration shall be called upon at an approximately equal rate.

*Section 14. Administrative Expenses.*

The Director General may incur obligations and make expenditures for administrative purposes from the general resources of the Administration, in accordance with approved administrative budgets.

*Section 15. Use of Currency.*

The Director General may use so much of the foreign exchange available to the Administration as he may deem necessary for defraying administrative and operational expenses which cannot be met from local currency credits. Such expenditures may be made in any country, whether or not the government thereof is a member government. The consent of a member government must be secured for the use of any of its local currency to finance expenditures in any other country.



## DISTRIBUTION

*Section 16. Governments in a Position to Pay With Suitable Means of Foreign Exchange.*

It shall be the policy of the Administration not to deplete its available resources for the relief and rehabilitation of any area whose government is in a position to pay with suitable means of foreign exchange.

*Section 17. Determination of Whether a Government is in a Position to Pay With Suitable Means of Foreign Exchange.*

When a member government considers that it is not in a position to pay as in the foregoing section, the Director General, in consultation with the member government involved and on the advice of the appropriate committee or sub-committee of the Council, shall determine whether the government or country is not in a position to pay for relief and rehabilitation supplies and services. In case of disagreement, either the member government or the Director General may refer the matter to the Council.

In making the determination the applicant's foreign exchange assets and its sources of foreign exchange shall be taken into account. Although payment for relief and rehabilitation supplies and services shall be considered to have a strong claim on the foreign exchange assets of the applicant country, due consideration shall be given also to its need of foreign exchange for other purposes.

The Director General, from time to time, shall review such determination in the light of changing circumstances.

*Section 18. Policy on Relief Debt Burdens.*

It shall be the policy of the Administration that an applicant government shall not be required to assume the burden of an enduring foreign exchange debt for the procurement of relief and rehabilitation supplies and services.

*Section 19. Supplies and Services for Which Member Governments Are Not in a Position To Pay With Suitable Means of Foreign Exchange.*

The Council recommends that governments not in a position to pay in suitable means of foreign exchange for necessary relief and rehabilitation supplies or services make available to the Administration in whole or in part the local currency proceeds from the sale of supplies furnished by the Administration. It shall be the policy of the Administration to use any such local currency for relief and rehabilitation work, including the care and movement of displaced persons, and for such other purposes as may be agreed upon with the government. Programs for the utilization of such local currency shall be formulated by the Director General and the member government involved.

*Section 20. Expenses Met With Local Currency.*

The Council recommends that so far as possible all expenses of the Administration within a liberated area shall be borne by the government of such area, and shall be paid in local currency made available by the government of the area or derived from the proceeds of the sale of supplies.

*Section 21. Distribution of Gold or Convertible Currency Forbidden.*

Under no circumstances shall any distribution of gold or convertible currency resources be made by the Administration to any member or nonmember government except for purchases of essential supplies and services.

## CUSTODY AND MANAGEMENT OF FUNDS

*Section 22. Form of Assets.*

All funds and currency credits of the Administration shall be retained, so far as advisable in the form in which they are received until needed.

*Section 23. Fiscal Agents.*

The Director General shall in consultation with the appropriate member government, select such fiscal agents for the Administration as he may require.

*Section 24. Accounting.*

The Director General shall prescribe a procedure to secure careful accounting for all funds and other property of the Administration and shall require all officials, employees, and agents of the Administration to comply with such procedure.

*Section 25. Audit.*

All financial transactions of the Administration shall be audited annually by an auditor selected by the Council upon the recommendation of the appropriate committee of the Council.

## RESOLUTION No. 15

*A Resolution Relating to Insurance*

(Reception No. 298)

## RESOLVED

That if it appears to the Director General conducive to the efficient and economical discharge of the business of the Administration, the Administration may carry its own risks without insurance except as may be otherwise directed by the Council.

## RESOLUTION No. 16

*A Resolution Relating to Taxation of Relief and Rehabilitation Supplies*

(Reception No. 298)

## RESOLVED

1. That the Council recommends that all member governments make appropriate measures according to their constitutional procedures to insure that relief and rehabilitation supplies and services furnished by the Administration are not subjected to taxation in a manner which reduces the resources of the Administration.

2. That so far as may be required for the attainment of the above purpose, the Council recommends to all member governments that, *inter alia*,

- (a) export taxes on supplies to be furnished by the Administration to a member government for relief and rehabilitation be waived, or other equivalent action taken; and such supplies be exempted from any new or additional export taxes. The Council recognizes that such action on existing export taxes may be equivalent to a part of a member government's general contribution under Section 4 of the Financial Plan, but urges that such contribution be made under Section 8 of the said Plan;
- (b) appropriate action be taken where the necessary arrangements do not already exist to provide that supplies of the Administration in transit through a member government's country are not subjected to any burden of taxation;
- (c) relief and rehabilitation supplies furnished by the Administration be not subjected in liberated areas to the burden of any form of taxation in a manner which reduces the resources of the Administration.

3. That the appropriate Committee of the Council concern itself with the relationship of customs duties and other taxes in liberated areas to relief and rehabilitation work, and that a study of the problem and the preparation of recommendations be undertaken for the future guidance of the Council with regard to relief and rehabilitation work.

## RESOLUTION No. 17

*A Resolution Relating to Procedures for Ascertaining and Meeting Deficits in Supplies Requiring Importation*

(Reception No. 298)

## RESOLVED

That the following shall be the policies of the Administration with regard to procedures for ascertaining and meeting deficits in supplies requiring importation:

A. POLICIES RELATING TO PROCEDURES FOR ESTIMATING AND MEETING IMPORT REQUIREMENTS

*I. Preparation and Presentation of Over-all Requirements.*

1. The Committee of the Council for Europe and the Committee of the Council for the Far East will recommend, from time to time, as policies to be adopted by the Council whatever basis or bases the Committees think appropriate for the whole or parts of their respective areas.

2. The Council will consider these recommendations and, from time to time, determine the policies to be adopted, on the basis of which over-all estimates of relief and rehabilitation requirements shall be made.

3. The Director General, in consultation with the appropriate regional committees, will compute estimates of over-all requirements for their respective areas in conformity with the bases and policies approved by the Council.

4. The Director General will present before the intergovernmental allocating agencies estimates of over-all requirements for relief and rehabilitation of all areas, liberated and to be liberated, in order to permit a global consideration of these requirements and all other requirements.

## *II. Preparation and Presentation of National Requirements.*

1. The Director General may present to the intergovernmental allocating agencies the particular requirements of any country for which the assistance of the Administration has been requested.

2. In cases where requirements or programs of intended purchases are presented directly to the intergovernmental allocating agencies by the government of a country liberated or to be liberated, such government, in advance of their presentation, shall keep the Director General fully informed of such requirements or programs. The Director General may present to these agencies such recommendations or objections in respect of these requirements or programs as he may deem necessary to obtain a fair distribution of relief and rehabilitation supplies to and among the various areas liberated or to be liberated.

3. In determining what requirements he should present to the intergovernmental allocating agencies in respect of countries for which the assistance of the Administration has been requested, and what recommendations or objections he should make in respect of requirements presented by member governments directly to such agencies in order to obtain a fair distribution of relief and rehabilitation supplies, as provided in paragraphs 1 and 2 immediately preceding, the Director General shall pay due regard to the degree of urgency of particular relief and rehabilitation requirements and to the extent of damage suffered by member governments in a part or the whole of their respective areas as a result of hostilities or of occupation by the enemy.

4. It is expected that the Director General will be fully consulted by the intergovernmental allocating agencies when any matter touching the interests of the Administration is under discussion, and where necessary the chairman of the Committee on Supplies will likewise be consulted.

## *III. Procedures for Obtaining Supplies.*

1. Subject to Article I, paragraph 2, of the Agreement, the Director General, after consultation when necessary with the appropriate intergovernmental agency, will make use whenever possible of the established national agencies concerned with procurement, handling, storage, and transport of supplies; such use to be subject to the general agreement of the government concerned. By consultation with the government concerned, or otherwise, every effort will be made to prevent any dislocation of the economy of a supplying country resulting from procurement by or on behalf of the Administration.

2. The Director General will consider it one of his first and most important tasks to seek, through the appropriate national and intergovernmental agencies, to arrange for necessary allocations and procurement of supplies and their storage, shipping, and handling, so that there shall be created as promptly as possible balanced reserves which shall be available at the request of the Director General whenever and wherever the need arises.

3. Member governments having administrative authority in a liberated area will keep the Director General and the appropriate regional committee fully informed as to any surplus of supplies from time to time available in such area, to meet, when circumstances permit, relief and rehabilitation import requirements of other liberated areas.

4. The Director General will consult with the military command or other established control authorities responsible for enemy or ex-enemy territories, with a view to securing information as to any surplus of supplies from time to time available in such enemy or ex-enemy territories, from which relief and rehabilitation import requirements of liberated areas might be met.



## B. RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO PERIOD OF MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR CIVILIAN RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

With regard to the period when a liberated area is under military control, the Council recommends to member governments that:

1. The military authorities be invited to advise the Administration, to the fullest extent consistent with military security, of conditions found in the area affecting civilian relief and rehabilitation requirements and supplies, so that planning and estimating may be as accurate as possible.

2. Representatives of the Administration enter the area at the earliest possible date to assist in the preparations for the transition from military to civilian responsibility, after having first secured the permission of the appropriate military command, and, whenever practicable, after consultation with the national government or recognized national authority concerned.

## PART IV—ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

## RESOLUTION No. 18

*A Resolution Fixing the Composition of the Committee of the Council for Europe*  
(Reception No. 332)

## WHEREAS

In paragraph 5 of Article III of the Agreement there is established a standing Committee of the Council for Europe and,

## WHEREAS

The Agreement further provides that the said Committee "shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the European area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area as shall be appointed by the Council"; and,

## WHEREAS

The terms "Europe" and "European area" are not defined in the Agreement; it is therefore

## RESOLVED

1. That for the purposes of the Committee of the Council for Europe, the terms "Europe" and "European area" shall be construed to include the entire continent of Europe, the British Isles, Iceland, and all islands in the Mediterranean.

2. That the Committee of the Council for Europe shall consist of the members of the Council or their alternates representing Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the French Committee of National Liberation, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia, being countries included within the European area, and in addition the members of the Council or their alternates representing Brazil, Canada, and the United States of America.

3. That the Central Committee is authorized to appoint additional members to the Committee in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.

## RESOLUTION No. 19

*A Resolution Fixing the Composition of the Committee of the Council for the Far East*

(Reception No. (282) 322)

## WHEREAS

In paragraph 5 of Article III of the UNRRA Agreement there is established a "Committee of the Council for the Far East"; and,

## WHEREAS

The Agreement further provides that the said Committee "shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the

problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area as shall be appointed by the Council"; and,

WHEREAS

The terms "Far East" and "Far Eastern area" are not defined in the Agreement; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That for the purposes of the Committee of the Council for the Far East the terms "Far East" and "Far Eastern area" shall be construed to include eastern continental Asia, the East Indies, Philippine Islands, Australia, New Zealand, and the islands of the eastern Indian and western Pacific Oceans.

2. That the Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of the members of the Council or their alternates, representing Australia, China, the French Committee of National Liberation, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippine Commonwealth, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America; and

3. That the Central Committee is authorized to appoint additional members to the Committee in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.

RESOLUTION No. 20

*A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East*

(Reception No. (282) 322)

RESOLVED

That the functions of the Committee of the Council for Europe and the Committee of the Council for the Far East shall be:

1. In the light of conditions prevailing in Europe and the Far East, and with the advice of such technical or special subcommittees as may be created, to recommend from time to time, as policies to be adopted by the Council, whatever basis or bases for over-all requirements the committees think appropriate for the whole or parts of their respective areas; and to advise the Director General with respect to the computation of over-all requirements for their respective areas in conformity with the bases and policies approved by the Council.

2. To advise the Director General with respect to the fair and equitable apportionment of relief and rehabilitation supplies available to areas within the European and Far Eastern regions respectively where the Administration may operate; and to assist him in securing the maximum production and interchange of any surplus supplies which can be made available within each region, by promoting appropriate national or intergovernmental action on the part of member governments.

3. To receive and discuss the periodic reports covering the programs and activities of the Administration in Europe and the Far East, respectively; and to advise the Director General on the organization of measures to assist displaced persons and the coordination of national action in regard to medical and other relief and rehabilitation problems common to each region; and

4. Generally to consider relief and rehabilitation policies in Europe and the Far East, respectively; to formulate recommendations on such policies,<sup>2</sup> and to discuss such recommendations with the Director General or his representative; and to transmit such recommendations to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee.

RESOLUTION No. 21

*A Resolution Fixing the Composition of the Committee on Supplies*

RESOLVED

1. That the Committee on Supplies shall consist of members of the Council or their alternates representing Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, the French Committee of National Liberation, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

2. That the Central Committee is authorized to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.

<sup>2</sup> So in original.

## RESOLUTION No. 22

*A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Supplies*

(Reception No. 298)

## WHEREAS

Article III, paragraph 4, of the Agreement provides that "The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies designed to assure the provision of required supplies", it is therefore

## RESOLVED

That the functions of the Committee on Supplies shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General on general policies regarding the provision, financing, and transport of supplies.

2. To discuss with the Director General broad programs for securing the provision of supplies, as such programs affect the supplying countries.

3. To cooperate with the Director General and the established intergovernmental supply and shipping agencies regarding supply policies and, when necessary, make recommendations to supplement the actions of such agencies and to assure the availability of required supplies.

4. To cooperate with the Director General and the established intergovernmental and governmental agencies in efforts to increase production and the availability of supplies.

5. To cooperate with the Director General and the intergovernmental supply and shipping agencies concerned, so that as between contributing countries, their supplies and services shall be drawn upon in an equitable manner; and that any necessary financial adjustments among them may be arranged.

6. To consider whether there are unjustifiable differences in the valuations placed by the contributing countries upon the supplies and services purchased by or made available to the Administration, and make necessary recommendations regarding the adjustment of such valuations. These recommendations would be made after having given due regard to the points of view expressed by the representative of the contributing country concerned.

## RESOLUTION No. 23

*A Resolution Relating to the Appointment of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Supplies*

## RESOLVED

That the Council approve the appointment by the Chairman of the Committee on Supplies, after consultation with the Chairman of the Committee on Financial Central Committee policies designated to assure the provision of required supplies would be drawn from the Committee on Supplies with the other member or members drawn from the Committee on Financial Control, and that this subcommittee be considered the appropriate subcommittee to advise the Director General relative to determining whether a government is in a position to pay, as provided in section 17 of the Financial Plan.

## RESOLUTION No. 24

*A Resolution Fixing the Composition of the Committee on Financial Control*

## RESOLVED

1. That the Committee on Financial Control shall consist of the members of the Council or their alternates representing China, Greece, Mexico, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

2. That the Central Committee is authorized to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.

## RESOLUTION No. 25

*A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Financial Control*

## RESOLVED

1. That the functions of the Committee on Financial Control shall be:

(a) To review the annual budgets and any supplementary budgets of the Director General and to make reports, comments, and recommendations to the Council on these budgets.



- (b) To receive the quarterly reports of the Director General on Administrative expenditures and receipts and to make reports to the Council regarding them.
- (c) To recommend auditors to the Council and to advise the Council regarding the scope and frequency of the reports to be obtained from the auditors. Such auditors' reports shall cover, in particular, the system of accounting employed by the Administration, the funds expended in the purchase and received from the sale of supplies, the liabilities of the Administration and, generally, any matters of substance which the auditors may raise on examination of the Administration's accounts.
- (d) To make recommendations to the Council regarding the share of the Administrative expense of the Administration to be provided by each member government.
- (e) To give attention to the effect, if any, which the receipt and expenditure by the Administration of local currency proceeds, referred to in section 19 of the Financial Plan, may have upon inflation in any country in which the Administration may operate, and make recommendations as to procedures in relation to such receipts or expenditures which may aid in counteracting inflationary trends.
- (f) Generally to advise the Council on all financial matters within the competency of the Administration other than those falling within the scope of the Committee on Supplies.
- (g) To advise the Director General upon any of the foregoing matters when he so requests.

2. That the Central Committee is hereby authorized to make any further arrangements necessary in regard to the work of the Committee on Financial Control.

#### RESOLUTION No. 26

#### *A Resolution Relating to the Creation and Composition of Standing Technical Committees*

(Reception No. (282) 322)

##### WHEREAS

Many of the policy problems of the Council and of its regional committees are highly technical in character; and,

##### WHEREAS

In paragraph 6 of Article III of the Agreement, the creation of standing technical committees is authorized; it is therefore

##### RESOLVED

1. That the Council hereby creates standing technical committees on:

Agriculture  
Displaced Persons  
Health  
Industrial Rehabilitation  
Welfare

2. That such committees shall consist of such members of the Council as indicate to the Director General their intention to participate in the work of a committee or committees, or of alternates nominated by such members of the Council as shall elect to do so, such alternates to possess special competence in the problems relating to the work of the committee to which they are nominated.

3. That the Central Committee is hereby authorized to make any further arrangements necessary in regard to the work of these committees and to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.

## RESOLUTION No. 27

*A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Agriculture*

(Reception No. (282) 322)

## RESOLVED

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Agriculture shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General as to the nature of and scope of problems relating to agriculture, fisheries, and food production and the rehabilitation of industries concerned therewith in areas in which the Administration will operate.

2. Periodically to review the programs of the Administration with regard to agriculture, fisheries, food production, and related subjects, and consult with the Director General thereon with respect to any suggested modifications.

3. To formulate proposals on technical policies in regard to agriculture, fisheries, and food production and the rehabilitation of the industries concerned therewith and related subjects, discuss such proposals with the Director General, and transmit such proposals to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee; and

4. When requested by and in consultation with the Committees of the Council for Europe or for the Far East or such other regional committees as may hereafter be established, to appoint subcommittees to advise the regional committee and the chief representative of the Director General in the region concerned with respect to agriculture, fisheries, and food production and the rehabilitation of the industries concerned therewith and related subjects.

## RESOLUTION No. 28

*A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Displaced Persons*

(Reception No. (282) 322)

## RESOLVED

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Displaced Persons shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General on the organization of the work of the Administration in assisting in the repatriation and return of persons who have been obliged to leave their homes as a result of the war.

2. Periodically to review the programs of the Administration with respect to displaced persons with a view to calling the attention of the Council to any features in those programs which in their view require modification; and

3. When requested by, and in consultation with, the Committees of the Council for Europe or for the Far East or such other regional committees as may hereafter be established, to appoint subcommittees to advise the regional committee and the chief representative of the Director General in the region concerned, with respect to problems of displaced persons.

## RESOLUTION No. 29

*A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Health*

(Reception No. (282) 322)

## RESOLVED

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Health shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General as to the nature and scope of problems relating to health, medicine, and nutrition in areas in which the Administration will operate.

2. Periodically to review the programs of the Administration in the health, medical, nutrition, and related fields, and consult with the Director General thereon with respect to any suggested modifications.

3. To formulate proposals on technical policies relating to health, medical, nutrition, and related fields, discuss such proposals with the Director General, and transmit such proposals to the Director General for transmission to the Council and to the Central Committee; and

4. When requested by, and in consultation with, the Committees of the Council for the Far East or for Europe, or such other regional committees as may hereafter be established, to appoint subcommittees to advise the regional committee and the chief representative of the director general in the region concerned, with respect to health and related special problems.

#### RESOLUTION No. 30

##### *A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Industrial Rehabilitation*

(Reception No. (282) 322)

#### RESOLVED

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Industrial Rehabilitation shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General as to the nature of and scope of problems in fields relating to the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, to the rehabilitation of industries producing urgently needed goods, and to rehabilitation supplies in areas in which the Administration will operate.

2. Periodically to review the programs of the Administration in such fields of industrial rehabilitation, and consult with the Director General thereon with respect to any suggested modifications.

3. To formulate proposals on technical policies relating to the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, to the rehabilitation of industries producing urgently needed goods, and to rehabilitation supplies, to discuss such proposals with the Director General, and transmit such proposals to the Director General for distribution to the Council and to the Central Committee; and

4. When requested by, and in consultation with the Committees of the Council for Europe or for the Far East or such other regional committees as may hereafter be established, to appoint subcommittees to advise the regional committee and the chief representative of the Director General in the region concerned, with respect to problems of industrial rehabilitation.

#### RESOLUTION No. 31

##### *A Resolution Relating to the Functions of the Committee on Welfare*

(Reception No. (282) 322)

#### RESOLVED

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Welfare shall be:

1. To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General as to the nature and scope of welfare problems in areas in which the Administration will be operating; including the direct provision to victims of war of relief through other than normal economic channels of distribution; emergency measures for the care of children, expectant and nursing mothers, the aged and disabled, and other victims of war; and the measures necessary to secure the effective cooperation in this work of voluntary relief organizations.

2. Periodically to review the programs of the Administration in the above fields and consult with the Director General with respect to any suggested modifications.

3. To formulate proposals on technical policies relating to welfare problems, discuss such proposals with the Director General, and transmit such proposals to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee; and

4. When requested by and in consultation with the committees of the Council for Europe or for the Far East or for such other regional committees as may hereafter be established, to appoint subcommittees to advise the regional committee and the chief representative of the Director General in the region concerned, with respect to welfare problems.



## RESOLUTION No. 32

*A Resolution Relating to Facilities and Immunities for the Administration, Its Council and Committee Members and Its Staff*

(Reception No. (282) 322)

## WHEREAS

The Council is desirous of insuring to the Administration and its agents the independence necessary for the efficient performance of the duties entrusted to them, and of avoiding the imposition of financial burdens upon the funds contributed by member governments to the Administration; it is therefore

## RESOLVED

## I. That the Council recommends:

1. That the member governments accord to the Administration the facilities, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which they accord to each other, including

- (a) Immunity from suit and legal process except with the consent of, or so far as is provided for in any contract entered into by or on behalf of, the Administration;
- (b) Inviolability of premises occupied by and of the archives of the Administration;
- (c) Exemptions from taxation, including customs duties;
- (d) Exemptions from or facilities in respect of foreign exchange controls.

2. That member governments take any steps that they may consider necessary to enable the Administration to exercise within their jurisdiction the powers conferred on it by Article I, paragraph 1, of the Agreement.

3. That member governments accord to representatives of member governments on the Council and its committees and to the officials and employees of the Administration when engaged on the business of the Administration, the following privileges and immunities in their respective territories:

- (a) immunity from legal process of any kind in respect of acts performed by them in their official capacity and falling within their functions as such;
- (b) immunity from taxation on official salaries, allowances, or other emoluments as representatives, officials, or employees of the Administration;
- (c) the same immunities from immigration restrictions, alien registration and military service obligations and the same facilities as regards exchange restrictions as are accorded to representatives, officials, and employees of similar rank of other member governments;
- (d) any further privileges and immunities that the Director General may request as necessary to safeguard representatives, officials, or employees in the territories of any member government where they are engaged and particularly those engaged in field operations in the areas in which the Administration may be undertaking relief and rehabilitation.

Provided that each member government shall determine to what extent the above recommendations shall apply to its own nationals, and to non-nationals in permanent residence in its territories.

4. That the member governments make any necessary arrangements with the Director General for the application of the foregoing recommendations.

## II. That the Council requests the Director General,

1. To initiate immediate negotiations with member governments to bring such arrangements into operation as rapidly as possible.

2. Wherever appropriate, to approach non-member governments with a view to their granting such of the above-mentioned facilities, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be desirable to facilitate the work of the Administration.

## RESOLUTION No. 33

*A Resolution Relating to Immunities and Priorities for Transit Goods*

(Reception No. 299)

## RESOLVED

That the Council recommends that each member government expedite to the extent possible supplies and equipment of the Administration in transit, and that it exempt such supplies and equipment of the Administration from adverse legal action or seizure.

## RESOLUTION No. 34

*A Resolution Relating to Official Correspondence of the Administration*

(Reception No. (282) 322)

## WHEREAS

The Council recognizes the need for expedition, economy, and secrecy in the transmission of the official correspondence of the Administration; it is therefore

## RESOLVED

## I. That the Council recommends:

1. That the member governments accord to the official correspondence of the Administration

(a) the same treatment as is accorded by them to the official correspondence of other member governments, including:

- (i) Priorities for telephone and telegraph communications, whether cable or radio, and for mail transmitted by pouch or by courier.
- (ii) Government rebates for official telegrams.
- (iii) Diplomatic status for couriers and pouches of the Administration.
- (iv) Under appropriate safeguards, exemption from censorship of the official correspondence of the Administration.
- (v) Appropriate arrangements for the use of codes and of cable addresses for the telegraphic correspondence of the Administration.

(b) Appropriate postal facilities, including such franking privileges or arrangements for the use of specially printed or overprinted stamps as may be possible.

2. That the member governments make any necessary arrangements with the Director General for the application of the foregoing recommendations.

## II. That the Council requests the Director General:

1. To initiate immediate negotiations with member governments to bring such arrangements into operation as rapidly as possible.

2. Wherever appropriate, to approach nonmember governments with a view to their granting such of the above-mentioned facilities, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be desirable to facilitate the work of the Administration.

## RESOLUTION No. 35

*A Resolution Relating to Communications With Neutral Governments*

(Reception No. 299)

## RESOLVED

That the Council recommends that member governments extend to the Director General technical facilities for communicating with governments neutral in the present conflict.

## RESOLUTION No. 36

*A Resolution Relating to Travel Facilities for the Staff of the Administration*

(Reception No. (282) 322)

## WHEREAS

The Council has in mind the importance of securing the expeditious and unhindered travel of officials and employees of the Administration necessary to

permit the prompt fulfillment by the Administration of the urgent tasks entrusted to it; it is therefore

RESOLVED

I. That the Council recommends:

1. That the Director General issue to officials and employees of the Administration for use when traveling on official business a document identifying the official or employee and requesting in the name of the Administration that all appropriate facilities be granted to the bearer.

2. That all member governments give full recognition to such documents and instruct their diplomatic, consular, customs, and immigration services and any other services which may be concerned to recognize such documents as entitling the bearer to all appropriate facilities.

3. That in respect to passports and visas the member governments accord to the officials and employees of the Administration the same treatment as is accorded to the officials and employees of comparable rank of their own or other governments.

4. That all member governments take the necessary steps to grant all appropriate and possible priorities for the travel of the officials of the Administration on official business and government rebates for such travel.

5. That the member governments make any necessary arrangements with the Director General for the application of the foregoing recommendations.

II. That the Council requests the Director General:

1. To initiate immediate negotiations with member governments to bring such arrangements into operation as rapidly as possible.

2. Wherever appropriate, to approach nonmember governments with a view to their granting such of the above-mentioned facilities, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be desirable to facilitate the work of the Administration.

RESOLUTION No. 37

*A Resolution Relating to Personnel Policies*

(Reception No. 322)

WHEREAS

The Council desires to promote the concept of a truly international civil service; and

WHEREAS

It recognizes that the success of the Administration will in large part depend upon the vision, competence, integrity, and loyalty of the men and women who will become its administrative officers, and comprise its technical staff; and that the vesting, by the Agreement, of full executive authority and responsibility in the Director General, requires that he act with the greatest possible freedom in the selection of personnel and the establishment of personnel standards; it is therefore

RESOLVED

1. That the staff of the Administration should be of an international character, selected upon the basis of individual competence, character, and integrity, without discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, nationality, or creed, and recruited upon as wide a geographic basis as is possible, compatible with efficient administration; and that salary standards be established at a sufficiently high level to make it possible for the Administration to secure the employment of persons possessing the highest qualifications within their own particular field of endeavor; and that due consideration should be given to the special problems which will arise because of the varying salary standards that will prevail in the different countries in which the Administration will operate.

2. That the Council recommends:

(a) That all member governments endeavor to make available to the Administration such persons in their own civil service as the Director General may invite to join the staff of the Administration; and to take proper steps to insure that the established rights and status of such persons shall be in no way adversely affected by their temporary employment by the Administration.



- (b) That international agencies be urged to adopt the same policy with respect to such of their employees as may be invited to join the staff of the Administration.

## RESOLUTION No. 38

*A Resolution Relating to the Administrative Budget and the Allocation of Administrative Expenses*

(Reception No. 322)

## RESOLVED

1. That the annual budget covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration for the calendar year 1944 and the unelapsed part of the year 1943 submitted by the Director General in the amount of \$10,000,000 is hereby approved.

2. That the total amount of \$10,000,000 approved in the preceding paragraph is allocated to the member governments in the following proportions:

	Percentage		Percentage
Australia	1.50	India	4.00
Belgium	1.00	Iran	.10
Bolivia	.10	Iraq	.10
Brazil	1.50	Liberia	.05
Canada	3.00	Luxembourg	.05
Chile	.20	Mexico	.70
China	5.00	Netherlands	1.50
Colombia	.30	New Zealand	.30
Costa Rica	.05	Nicaragua	.05
Cuba	.20	Norway	.30
Czechoslovakia	1.00	Panama	.05
Dominican Republic	.05	Paraguay	.05
Ecuador	.05	Peru	.25
Egypt	.70	Philippines	.05
El Salvador	.05	Poland	1.00
Ethiopia	.05	Union of South Africa	1.00
French Committee of National Liberation	4.00	U. S. S. R.	15.00
Greece	.50	United Kingdom	15.00
Guatemala	.05	U. S. A.	40.00
Haiti	.05	Uruguay	.20
Honduras	.05	Venezuela	.10
Iceland	.05	Yugoslavia	.70
			100.00

## RESOLUTION No. 39

*A Resolution Relating to the Salary of the Director General*

## RESOLVED

That the salary of the Director General be the salary of the members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States of America.

## RESOLUTION No. 40

*A Resolution Relating to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the Rules of Standing Committees of the Council*

(Reception No. (286) 322)

## RESOLVED

That the Rules of Procedure of the Council attached hereto, together with Annex I thereto, Rules of Standing Committees of the Council, shall be the rules of procedure of the Council and the rules of Standing Committees of the Council.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Rules of Procedure of the Council follow on p. 69; Annex I, on p. 76.

## RESOLUTION No. 41

*A Resolution Relating to Regulations With Respect to Expenditures and Receipts of the Administration*

(Reception No. (289) 322)

## RESOLVED

That the Council adopts the regulations attached hereto which shall be considered as Annex II to the Rules of Procedure of the Council.<sup>4</sup>

## RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COUNCIL

## ARTICLE I—SESSIONS OF THE COUNCIL

1. In accordance with Article III, section 2, of the Agreement, the Council shall be convened in regular session by the Central Committee not less than twice a year. It may be convened in special session whenever the Central Committee shall deem necessary, and shall be so convened within thirty days after the request therefor by one-third of the members of the Council. Such request shall be communicated to the Director General who shall transmit it forthwith to the Central Committee.

2. The Director General, after consultation with the Central Committee, shall fix the time and place of the first meeting of each session of the Council and shall notify the member governments<sup>5</sup> not less than sixty days in advance of a regular session and not less than three weeks in advance of a special session.

3. As a general rule, the plenary meetings of the Council shall be public, but the Council may decide that any meeting shall be held in private.

4. All decisions of the Council which may have been taken at a private meeting shall be announced at an early public meeting of the Council.

## ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE COUNCIL

1. At the opening of each session of the Council, the Director General shall preside until the Council has elected a Chairman for the session.

2. The Council shall, after consideration of the report of the Committee on Nominations, elect a Chairman and three Vice Chairmen of the Council. The Chairman and Vice Chairman shall hold office until the close of the session at which they are elected. In the event of the death, resignation, or other inability of the Chairman to complete his term, a new Chairman shall be elected for the unexpired term.

3. In addition to the other powers conferred upon the Chairman by these Rules of Procedure, he shall declare the opening and closing of each meeting of the Council. He shall direct the discussions of the Council, insure observance of these Rules of Procedure, accord the right to address the Council, put questions to the Council, and announce the results of all votes.

4. In the absence of the Chairman during a meeting, or any part thereof, one of the Vice Chairmen, taken in rotation according to the alphabetical order of the governments which they represent, shall preside. A Vice Chairman acting as Chairman shall have the same powers and duties as the Chairman.

5. The Chairman, or a Vice Chairman acting as Chairman, shall not vote but may appoint an alternate to act as the representative of his government on the Council.

## ARTICLE III—THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

1. The Director General or his representative may attend and address any meeting of the Council and of its committees and subcommittees and may participate in the discussions, but may not vote.

## ARTICLE IV—THE SECRETARIAT

1. In accordance with Article IV, section 4, of the Agreement, the Director General, or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General, shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities as shall be required by the

<sup>4</sup> Annex II appears on p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> Whenever the term "member government" is used in these Rules of Procedure and any Annex thereto, it shall be construed to mean a member of the Administration whether a government or an authority.

Council and its committees, including the regional committees and subcommittees.

2. The Director General shall be responsible for the organization and direction of the secretariat of the Council.

3. It shall be the duty of the secretariat to receive, translate, and distribute documents, reports, and resolutions of the Council and its committees; to prepare the records of the proceedings of the Council and its committees; to distribute reports and recommendations of committees of the Council to the Council and the Central Committee; and to perform such other work as the Council shall require.

4. The secretariat shall distribute to member governments proposals and other documents relating to the agenda of any session of the Council as far as possible in advance of the opening of such session.

#### ARTICLE V—THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1. Meetings of the Central Committee may be convened by the Director General whenever he deems advisable and shall be convened by him within ten days after the request therefor by any member of the Central Committee.

2. The time and place of the meetings of the Central Committee shall be fixed by the Director General after consultation with the members of the Central Committee.

3. The meetings of the Central Committee shall be held in private unless it shall, by unanimous vote, decide that any meeting shall be public.

4. In accordance with Article III, section 3, of the Agreement, the Central Committee shall invite the participation of the representative of any member government at those of its meetings at which action of special interest to such government is discussed. It shall invite the participation of the representative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affecting the provision of supplies are discussed.

5. The minutes of each meeting of the Central Committee shall be sent as soon as possible to members of the Central Committee and to the representatives of those member governments participating in such meeting of the Central Committee, who shall, within forty-eight hours, inform the Director General of any corrections which they may desire to have made in the record of their own remarks. As corrected, the minutes shall be filed with the Director General and communicated promptly to each member government of the Administration.

6. At each session of the Council, the Director General shall render a full report on the work of the Central Committee since the preceding session of the Council.

#### ARTICLE VI—COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION OF THE COUNCIL

1. At the opening of each session, the Council shall elect a Committee on Nominations consisting of eleven members of the Council. This Committee shall submit to the Council nominations for the offices of Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Council, for the four members of the General Committee to be elected by the Council, and for appointments to each standing or other committee of the Council for which new appointments may be required.<sup>6</sup>

2. At the opening of each session, the Council shall establish a General Committee consisting of the Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Council, the members of the Central Committee, and four other members elected by the Council. The General Committee shall, subject to the concurrence of the Council and in consultation with the Director General, determine the order of business of the Council, set the date of adjournment of the session, fix the time and place of each meeting during the session, decide what matters are to be considered at each meeting, pass upon the provisional agenda in accordance with Article VIII of these Rules of Procedure, coordinate the work of all committees of the Council during the session, and otherwise facilitate the orderly dispatch of the business of the Council and its committees. The Chairman of the Council shall convene and preside at the meetings of the General Committee.

3. Subject to the provisions of Article III of the Agreement, the Council shall, after consideration of the report of the Committee on Nominations, designate the member governments to be represented on the Committee on Supplies, the Committee of the Council for Europe, the Committee of the Council for the Far

<sup>6</sup> Whenever the term "standing committee" appears in these Rules of Procedure, it shall be construed to include the Committee on Supplies of the Council.



East, and such other standing committees, other than standing technical committees, as the Council may establish.

4. In accordance with Article III of the Agreement, the Council shall, after consideration of the report of the Committee on Nominations, appoint the members of all standing technical committees which the Council may from time to time establish.

5. The rules of procedure applicable to all standing committees of the Council are set forth in Annex I of these Rules of Procedure.

6. The Council may appoint, or in particular cases authorize the appointment of, such temporary or special committees as may be required for advice or investigation, or for report on specific matters. Unless the Council decides otherwise, each temporary or special committee shall elect its own chairman and, if deemed necessary, a vice chairman and a rapporteur. The term of these committees shall end when their respective assignments have been completed or when the Council so decides.

7. Even when nominations are submitted to the Council by any committee pursuant to these Rules of Procedure and any Annex thereto, the members of the Council shall, within the limitations imposed by Article III of the Agreement, retain the right to propose and to vote for persons other than those nominated by such committee.

#### ARTICLE VII—ATTENDANCE OF OBSERVERS

1. The Council and the Central Committee may invite observers, or may invite public international organizations, nonmember governments or authorities, relief and welfare agencies or others to send observers, to attend all or any of their meetings or parts thereof, or to participate in such meetings or parts thereof, without vote, under such conditions as the Council or the Central Committee, respectively, shall determine. All such invitations shall be transmitted by the Director General.

#### ARTICLE VIII—AGENDA

1. The provisional agenda of each session of the Council shall be prepared by the Director General, and shall include

- (a) all items proposed by the Council at any previous session;
- (b) all items proposed by the Central Committee;
- (c) all items proposed by any member of the Council and transmitted to the Director General at least ten days in advance of the session; and
- (d) any item which the Director General desires to put before the Council.

2. The provisional agenda shall be communicated to member governments as far as possible in advance of and not less than three weeks before the opening day of the session. Items transmitted to the Director General too late for inclusion will be at once communicated to member governments.

3. The provisional agenda so communicated shall be passed upon by the General Committee and submitted to the Council for approval as soon as convenient after the opening of any session.

4. The Council may later revise or add to the agenda.

#### ARTICLE IX—PROCEDURE FOR THE CONDUCT OF COUNCIL BUSINESS

1. Every proposal which may be introduced into the Council by a member and which involves formal action by the Council on any item of the agenda shall forthwith be referred by the Chairman of the Council to the appropriate committee or committees. No action or vote shall be taken by the Council on any such proposal until a report thereon by such committee or committees has been presented and circulated to the members of the Council, unless the Council shall, by two-thirds vote, determine otherwise. Such reports shall, so far as practicable, be circulated at least twenty-four hours prior to the meeting at which the Council takes action or votes thereon.

2. The chairman or rapporteur of a committee shall be accorded preference for the purpose of explaining or defending the report of the committee.

3. During the discussion of any question, any member may move the previous question or the adjournment. Any such motion shall have priority in the debate.

4. A member may at any time move the closure of the debate. If application is made to speak against the closure, it may be accorded to not more than two speakers. If the Council decides in favor of the closure, the Chairman shall declare the closure of the debate.

## ARTICLE X—VOTING

1. A majority of the members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for any formal action by the Council, except that for any proposal to amend the Agreement three-fourths of the members shall constitute a quorum.

2. Each member government represented on the Council or on any of its committees or subcommittees shall have only one vote.

3. When any representative is unable to attend one or more meetings of the Council, his place may be taken by an alternate. The name of such alternate shall be communicated to the Chairman of the Council.

4. Except as otherwise provided by the Agreement or by these Rules of Procedure, all decisions of the Council shall require an affirmative majority vote of the members present.

5. Voting shall be by show of hands except as hereinafter provided.

6. In case of doubt as to the result of any vote by show of hands, the Chairman shall cause a record vote to be taken.

7. A record vote shall be taken in all cases where a special majority is required by the Agreement.

8. A record vote shall also be taken on any question if requested in writing by not less than five members of the Council and handed to the Chairman in advance of the vote or immediately after a show of hands.

9. Record votes shall be taken by calling upon members in the alphabetical order of the governments which they represent.

10. The vote of each member participating in any record vote shall be inserted in the verbatim report of the meeting.

11. On decisions relating to individuals, a secret ballot shall be taken whenever requested in writing by at least five members of the Council.

## ARTICLE XI—LANGUAGES OF THE COUNCIL

1. English shall be the official language of the Council and its committees.

2. Upon the request of any member of the Council that the final recommendations and resolutions of the Council and its committees shall be rendered both in English and in his own language, it shall be so provided.

## ARTICLE XII—RECORDS OF PROCEEDINGS

1. A verbatim report of all plenary meetings held during each session of the Council shall be prepared by the secretariat and filed with the Director General. Such report shall be made available to any member government upon request. It shall not otherwise be distributed or published unless the Council shall decide to the contrary.

2. The secretariat shall prepare minutes of each session of the Council which shall be printed and circulated to member governments and which may be made public. The minutes of all private meetings shall be printed separately, distributed to member governments, and kept confidential.

3. The texts of all resolutions and formal decisions adopted at each session of the Council shall be transmitted by the Director General to each member government as soon as practicable after the adjournment of the session.

## ARTICLE XIII—ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS

1. Regulations with respect to the administrative expenditures and receipts of the Administration are set forth in Annex II of these Rules of Procedure.

## ARTICLE XIV—SUSPENSION AND AMENDMENT OF RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COUNCIL

1. Any of the foregoing Rules of Procedure may be suspended by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Council present at any meeting.

2. Amendments thereto may be adopted by a simple majority of the members present at any meeting subject to the proposal having first been reported upon by a committee of the Council.

## ARTICLE XV—TRANSITORY PROVISION

1. The adoption of the foregoing Rules of Procedure shall constitute a validation of the appointment of all standing committees of the council made at its first session.

## ANNEX I

RULES OF STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE COUNCIL <sup>7</sup>*Article I—Appointment and Tenure*

1. Subject to the provisions of Article III of the Agreement, the Council shall, after consideration of the report of the Committee on Nominations, appoint the members of the standing committees of the Council.

2. Such appointments, in the case of the Committee on Supplies, the standing regional committees, and such other standing committees other than standing technical committees, as the Council shall establish, shall be made by designating the member governments whose representatives or alternates shall serve as members of such committees.

3. In the case of standing technical committees, such appointments shall be made by naming members of the Council or alternates nominated by such members because of special competence in their respective fields of work.

4. Except in the case of appointments made by the Central Committee in accordance with section 5 below, the appointment of members of the Committee on Supplies, the standing regional committees, and such other standing committees other than standing technical committees as the Council shall establish, shall continue until changes or replacements therein are made by the Council. The appointment of members to the standing technical committees of the Council shall be made at each regular session of the Council. Until such appointments are made, the membership of such committees shall continue. Members of all standing committees shall be eligible for reappointment.

5. In accordance with Article III of the Agreement, the Central Committee, if previously authorized by the Council, may make emergency appointments to any standing committee between sessions of the Council. Such appointments shall continue until the next regular or special session of the Council.

6. Members of standing committees may be accompanied to the meetings thereof by advisers and assistants, who may participate in the discussions under such conditions as the committee shall prescribe but shall not be entitled to vote.

7. The travel and other expenses of members of the standing committee of the Council, and of their advisers and assistants, shall be borne by the member governments which have nominated them.

*ARTICLE II—Meetings of Standing Committees of the Council*

1. The Director General shall fix the time and place of the first meeting of each standing committee and he or his representative shall preside at the meeting until the committee has elected its chairman.

2. Subsequent meetings of each standing committee shall be convened by the chairman at such time and place as may be decided upon by the committee, provided that meetings of the Committee on Supplies, the Committee on Financial Control, and all technical standing committees of the Council shall, in addition, be held so far as possible at the same time and place as each regular session of the Council. The chairman shall convene meetings of a standing committee whenever requested by at least one-third of its members.

3. The meetings of each standing committee shall be private unless the committee shall decide by a two-thirds vote of the members present that any meeting shall be public. Any standing committee may invite observers, or may invite other public international organizations, nonmember governments or authorities, relief and welfare agencies or others to send observers, to attend all or any of its meetings or parts thereof, or to participate in such meetings or parts thereof, without vote, under such conditions as the committee shall determine.

*ARTICLE III—Officers of Standing Committees of the Council*

1. At its first meeting each standing committee shall elect a chairman, a first vice chairman, a second vice chairman and, if deemed necessary, one or more rapporteurs. The chairman and vice chairmen shall hold office until a new election takes place.

2. A new election of chairman and vice chairmen of any standing committee shall be held if, after a period of not less than a year from their election, the

<sup>7</sup> Including the Committee on Supplies of the Council.



committee shall so decide. In this event, the election shall be held at the next meeting of the committee. The officers of all standing committees shall be eligible for reelection.

3. Upon the death, resignation, or inability to serve of any officer of any standing committee, an election to fill the vacancy thus created shall be held as soon as practicable.

4. Upon the death, resignation, or inability to serve of the chairman of any standing committee, the first vice chairman, or if he is not available the second vice chairman, shall serve as chairman *ad interim* until a new chairman is elected.

5. The chairman, or a vice chairman acting as chairman, shall have the same powers and duties, in respect of committee meetings, as are provided for the Chairman of the Council in Article II, sections 3 and 5, of its Rules of Procedure.

#### ARTICLE IV—*Agenda*

1. The provisional agenda for each meeting of each standing committee of the Council shall be prepared by the Director General or a Deputy Director General in consultation with the chairman of the committee, and shall include:

- (a) all items proposed by the committee at any previous meeting;
- (b) all items proposed by the Council, the Central Committee, or another standing committee of the Council;
- (c) all items proposed by any member of the committee and transmitted to the Director General at least five days in advance of the meeting; and
- (d) any item which the Director General desires to put before the committee.

2. The provisional agenda shall be communicated to the members of the committee as far as possible in advance of the meeting. Items transmitted to the Director General too late for inclusion in the provisional agenda shall be at once communicated to the members of the committee.

3. The committee may revise or add to the agenda.

#### ARTICLE V—*Procedure for the Conduct of Committee Business*

1. A majority of the members of each standing committee shall constitute a quorum for any formal action by such committee.

2. Unless otherwise provided by these rules, all decisions of a standing committee shall require an affirmative majority vote of the members present at the meeting.

3. Any standing committee may establish such *ad hoc* subcommittees as it considers necessary for the facilitation of its work. The chairman of the committee shall, with the approval of the committee, appoint the chairman and members of each such subcommittee, which shall report only to the committee which established it. In case of need, the chairman may proceed to appoint such *ad hoc* subcommittees with the authorization of a majority of the members, subject to subsequent formal approval by the committee.

4. Any request from a regional committee to any technical committee for the establishment of a technical subcommittee to advise the regional committee shall be transmitted to the Director General, who shall forthwith inform the chairman and members of the technical committee concerned. The chairman of the technical committee shall, with the approval of the committee, appoint the chairman and members of each such subcommittee. In case of need, the chairman may proceed to appoint such technical subcommittees with the authorization of a majority of the members, subject to subsequent formal approval by the committee.

5. Any subcommittee so appointed shall report to the regional committee concerned through the appropriate representative of the Director General, who will transmit copies of the report to the Director General for his information. A copy of the report shall be distributed to the technical committee and to any other standing committee concerned.

6. Each standing committee may adopt such other rules governing the conduct of its business and the business of its subcommittees as are not inconsistent with the Agreement, the Permanent Rules of Procedure of the Council, and any Annex thereto.

#### Article VI—*Records and Reports of Standing Committees*

1. All reports and recommendations of standing committees, whether made on their initiative or at the request of the Council, the Central Committee, the Direc-

tor General, or any member government, shall be transmitted to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee.

2. The secretary of each standing committee shall prepare minutes of each meeting which shall contain a record of the conclusions reached by the committee. When approved by the chairman, the minutes shall be filed with the Director General, who shall distribute a copy thereof to each member government of the Administration.

3. A verbatim report of the meetings of any standing committee shall be kept if the committee so decides. Such report shall be filed with the Director General and made available to any member government of the Administration upon specific request, but shall not otherwise be distributed or published.

#### *Article VII—Amendment of Annex I*

1. The rules contained in this Annex shall apply to all standing committees of the Council but not to the Central Committee.

2. The rules contained in this Annex may be amended by the Council in the same manner as provided for the amendment of the Rules of Procedure of the Council.

#### ANNEX II

##### REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT TO EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION

1. The fiscal year of the Administration shall be the calendar year.

2. The Director General shall submit to the Council at its regular session next preceding the commencement of the calendar year an annual budget covering the estimated administrative expenses of the Administration for that year. The budget for the calendar year 1944 shall include estimated administrative expenditures for the year 1944 and for the unelapsed part of the year 1943. The budget shall be accompanied by a statement of the estimated receipts, a statement of the actual expenditures through the end of the quarter preceding the submission of the budget, and by an explanation and justification of the amount budgeted.

3. The Director General may submit to any session of the Council supplementary budgets or a budget amending a previously approved budget.

4. The proposed budget or a supplementary budget shall be referred for consideration to the appropriate committee of the Council for report, comment, and recommendation for action by the Council.

5. The approval of the budget or a supplementary budget by the Council shall make available to the Director General from the general resources of the Administration, for obligations and expenditures for administrative purposes during the year to which the budget relates, the amount specified therein but not exceeding such amount.

6. Pending the consideration which may be required for the final determination of a method of allocation, the amount of administrative expenses of the Administration approved by the Council in the annual budget or in a supplementary budget shall be allocated for the year 1944 to member governments in the proportions shown in the resolution adopted by the Council relating to the Administrative Budget and the allocation of administrative expenses. The consideration of the question whether the proportions shown in the Appendix require revision in order to provide a method of allocation for subsequent years appropriate to the Administration shall be referred to an appropriate committee of the Council upon its establishment. The Council recognizes that the criterion of allocations hitherto adopted by other bodies is not suitable to the Administration.

The allocation to member governments for the succeeding year shall be adjusted for any differences between the provisional allocations and those finally determined.

Upon the admission of a government as a member, its share of administrative expense shall be fixed by the Council upon recommendation by the appropriate committee of the Council.

7. Each member government undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its share of the administrative expenses so determined. A member government may treat its share of the administrative expense as included in its general contribution for participation in the work of the Administration.

8. The Director General shall prescribe the procedure for setting up and maintaining accounts showing administrative and operating expenditures and the

receipts from each government of its contribution, including its share of the administrative expense.

9. The Director General shall make provision for the bonding of employees to insure the administration against loss by their acts.

10. The Director General shall designate the depositories of any funds held in the name of the Administration.

11. The Director General shall, in consultation with the appropriate member government, select such fiscal agents for the Administration as he may require.

12. The Director General shall submit to the appropriate committee of the Council quarterly reports of operating and administrative expenditures and receipts, and copies thereof furnished to each member of the Council.

13. Upon nomination by the appropriate committee of the Council, the Council shall appoint a person or firm to make annually an independent audit of the accounts and records of the Administration, and a copy of each audit shall be furnished to each member of the Council.



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## AUTHORIZING THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

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JANUARY 17, 1944.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the  
state of the Union and ordered to be printed

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Mr. BLOOM, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the  
following

### REPORT

[To accompany H. J. Res. 192]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, having considered the same, report favorably hereon with certain amendments and as so amended recommend that the resolution do pass.

#### RELIEF OF HUMAN SUFFERING

This war is causing great suffering. America has always heeded the call of human suffering. America has a genius for organization. This genius, applied to this great human need has resulted in the community fund system throughout the United State. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is an international organization, developed on the principles of the American community fund system, to relieve human suffering caused by war. The characteristic elements are there; each member's contribution is voluntary, yet through organization the human needs are analyzed, the means to meet the needs are allocated and the value of each contribution is thus enhanced. The U. N. R. R. A. is the community fund of the United Nations.

#### PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT RESOLUTION

Section 1 of the joint resolution authorizes the appropriation to the President of such sums as the Congress may determine, and as amended by the committee provides that such sums are not to exceed in the aggregate \$1,350,000,000, so that the United States may make contributions in kind or in funds to the U. N. R. R. A. for use in its operations, including its necessary administrative expenses. The

amounts so appropriated can be used by the President not only for contributions in funds to the U. N. R. R. A. and for the purchase of supplies to be contributed in kind but also for procurement, handling, storage, transportation, and other services and expenses necessary to make supplies or services available for use by the U. N. R. R. A. in its relief and rehabilitation work. The agreement, which was signed on November 9, 1943, by the 44 United Nations and associated nations, is quoted in full in the joint resolution so that it may be before the Congress, for its information. The signatory nations are:

Commonwealth of Australia  
Belgium  
Bolivia  
United States of Brazil  
Canada  
Chile  
China  
Colombia  
Costa Rica  
Cuba  
Czechoslovakia  
Dominican Republic  
Ecuador  
Egypt  
El Salvador  
Ethiopia  
French Committee of National Liberation  
Greece  
Guatemala  
Haiti  
Honduras  
Iceland  
India  
Iran  
Iraq  
Liberia  
Luxembourg  
United Mexican States  
Netherlands  
New Zealand  
Nicaragua  
Norway  
Panama  
Paraguay  
Peru  
Philippine Commonwealth  
Poland  
Union of South Africa  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland  
United States of America  
Uruguay  
Venezuela  
Yugoslavia



It should be understood that amendments to the text of the agreement may be made only by appropriate action of the signatory governments in accordance with provisions of article VIII, which is found on page 13 of the joint resolution.

Section 2 provides that the amounts appropriated under the resolution shall be expended under the direction of the President through such departments and agencies of the Government as he may designate, thus making possible a desirable flexibility of administration. In this way, the actual administration of the amounts appropriated may be handled by the departments and agencies of the Government which are performing similar or related functions and have the necessary qualifications and experience, without overlapping and in ways which meet changing conditions.

Provision is also made in the joint resolution for quarterly reports to be submitted to the Congress by the President, showing the expenditures under any appropriations authorized by the joint resolution and reporting on operations under the agreement.

Section 3, proposed as a committee amendment, recites the policy to be followed by the U. N. R. R. A. with respect to relief as distinguished from reconstruction.

The U. N. R. R. A. is the first service agency of the United Nations and associated nations to be constituted. The signing of the United Nations relief agreement is a milestone in the development of the foreign policy of the United States, as well as that of other nations. The success of the Atlantic City conference greatly strengthened the already strong bonds between the signatory governments. While the war lasts, the success of the organization is a military necessity, for the work of the U. N. R. R. A. will minimize disease and unrest behind the fighting lines. In the crucial emergency period of readjustment after hostilities have ceased, the U. N. R. R. A. will likewise be a necessity. It will strive to restore the liberated peoples to the level at which they can help themselves.

#### HEARINGS

The joint resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives on November 15, 1943. At the extensive hearings held by the committee, comprehensive inquiry and study was made of the nature and scope of the U. N. R. R. A.'s proposed operations and the extent of the United States' participation in the financing and direction of its work. The hearings covered 8 days and the following witnesses were heard in support of the resolution: Assistant Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson, Chief of the United States delegation and chairman of the first session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council; the Honorable Leo T. Crowley, Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration; Francis B. Sayre, special assistant to the Secretary of State; and Oscar S. Cox, general counsel of the Foreign Economic Administration. The Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, was invited to appear before the committee and discussed the purposes and policies of the international service organization which he now directs. Representative Smith, of Ohio, appeared in opposition to the resolution and Representative Dewey, of Illinois, appeared and proposed H. J. Res.

207 as an amendment to H. J. Res. 192. He withdrew this suggestion, however, on receiving definite assurance from the Chairman that hearings would be held on H. J. Res. 207 after action was concluded on H. J. Res. 192.

A letter recommending passage of the resolution was received by the committee from Secretary of State Cordell Hull and there is set forth below a portion of his letter:

The broad plans growing out of the Moscow Conference, which Congress has so warmly endorsed, will need the work of this great organization to insure, in the words of the four-nation declaration, "a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace" so that we may proceed to our announced purpose of "maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments."

It is as essential to be prepared for the emergency which will follow the end of war as it is to be prepared for the great operations which will bring the victorious peace. This organization must begin its work close upon the heels of the armies of the United States, not only to assure that the liberated peoples will live and be strengthened for the tasks of peace but to assure that the end of the fighting brings peace and not disorganization and further conflict. An instrument of great promise has been forged for this purpose by all the United and Associated Nations. That instrument is ready: the task is imminent. I earnestly recommend that the Congress authorize the funds for full and effective participation by this country.

The record of the committee hearings includes not only the testimony of the witnesses but various documents and charts submitted in response to requests of the committee. The committee also had before it the resolutions agreed upon at the first session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council, which was held at Atlantic City between November 10 and December 1, 1943, and which are included in the appendix to the hearings on the joint resolution; and State Department Document Publication No. 2040, Conference Series 53, which contains the basic documents relating to the first session of the Council.

It should be emphasized at this point that a study of the international agreement and the proceedings of the Council at Atlantic City makes it clear that each member government retains for itself the right to govern its participation in the undertaking in accordance with its usual constitutional procedures. Obviously this means that, in the case of the United States, its appropriations and contributions must be authorized by the Congress and approved by the President.

#### THE BACKGROUND OF THE AGREEMENT AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 192

The concept of joint action by the United Nations to deal with problems of relief and rehabilitation in liberated areas dates back to September 1941, when a meeting of European governments was called in London by the British Government. There was then formed the Inter-Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements on which most of our European allies were represented. After the United States entered the war it was also represented on the committee. The task of the Inter-Allied Committee was solely that of determining the post-war requirements of the Allied countries in Europe; it had neither operating powers nor an executive.

The work of this committee was a promising beginning, but the need for a far more comprehensive approach was soon realized. Both the United States and the Soviet Governments suggested a more broadly

international organization which could both plan and arrange for the execution of equitable relief and rehabilitation programs. Such an organization might deal with the relief problems of the Far East, as well as those of Europe. Accordingly, in 1942, our Government began discussions with representatives of the British, Chinese, and Soviet Governments, which finally produced, with their informal approval as the basis for further discussions, a draft document proposing an international agency to perform these tasks.

This draft then became the subject of discussion with the other United Nations and associated governments. Representatives of the State Department also discussed the draft with the leaders of both Houses of Congress.

In July 1943, discussions were held with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and a subcommittee was appointed, consisting of Senator Connally, Senator Green, Senator Thomas of Utah, Senator Vandenberg, and Senator La Follette, to study the text of the draft agreement and to make recommendations thereon. Thereafter conversations were carried on during the succeeding weeks between Assistant Secretary Acheson, Mr. Francis B. Sayre, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, and the members of the subcommittee.

Also during July 1943, Assistant Secretary Acheson met with the House Foreign Affairs Committee, laid before them the text of the proposed draft agreement, and entered into a detailed explanation and discussion with the committee with regard to the draft agreement and the plans for forming U. N. R. R. A. As a result of these various meetings, modifications in the text of the draft agreement were suggested by Members of Congress, and it was agreed that the joint resolution now under consideration would include the U. N. R. R. A. agreement in full and would be introduced immediately after the signing of the agreement, so as to give the fullest opportunity to Congress to consider the extent of United States participation in the U. N. R. R. A.

Following these meetings, State Department representatives continued in constant touch with members of both the Senate and House committees and with other congressional leaders. Further meetings in executive session to discuss the United Nations relief program were held with the full Senate Foreign Relations Committee on September 22, 1943, and on November 5, 1943, and with the House Foreign Affairs Committee on September 23 and November 8.

The textual modifications suggested by Members of the Congress and by representatives of other governments were fully considered in the preparation of the final text of the agreement. When all the governments concerned had reached full accord, the agreement was signed at the White House on November 9, 1943, by representatives of the 44 United Nations and associated governments. The President transmitted a message to the Congress on the subject on November 10, 1943.

The committee believes that the U. N. R. R. A. is sound and practicable. Several members of this committee attended the first session of the U. N. R. R. A. Council to obtain first-hand information of its proceedings. Members of the committee who attended this conference found the meetings of the Council and of the committee and subcommittees through which it worked were an example of



what can be achieved by cooperative international action when men of good will resolve to reconcile their differences in a larger cause. Delegates came to the Atlantic City meeting with different points of view. They discussed them fully, and sought through the democratic process of debate and open discussion to find wise solutions, compatible with their separate national interests. That common ground was found shows that in this area, as in others, national interests are completely consistent with an effective program of international action. That all the policy recommendations of the Council were unanimous, despite the intrinsic difficulty of some of the problems confronted, is a tribute to the members and to the spirit in which they approached their task.

The U. N. R. R. A. is the first civilian operating agency of the United Nations. Its organization is simple and workable. It should provide an adequate administrative basis for the execution of the international job which must be done. The U. N. R. R. A. is a forward step, carrying toward the peace the teamwork we have achieved in war. We can make progress toward cooperation only by cooperating.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE U. N. R. R. A.

Under the agreement of November 9, the U. N. R. R. A. is organized democratically, along lines which assure the fullest appropriate representation to all member governments. The term "member government" is used in the agreement to identify the signatories of the agreement, whether recognized governments or authorities of different status, such as the French Committee of National Liberation. Each member government has one representative on the Council of the U. N. R. R. A., which acts as the central policy-making body of the organization, and meets at least twice a year. At the same time, the executive authority of the agency, vested in the Director General, is wisely given ample scope for action, within the limits of the policies established by the Council. In closest association with the Council and its committees, the Director General will take the initiative in making plans and arrangements for relief work within the liberated areas. He is directed to act in full cooperation with the military authorities of the United Nations, and with the agencies which control the flow of supplies. He will work also with representatives of the member nations which are to be liberated, in the preparation of estimates of need and programs of supply. He will work with the supply authorities of member nations to arrange programs of relief export.

Between sessions of the Council, its Central Committee acts for the organization, making policy decisions of an emergency nature when necessary. That Committee consists of representatives of the United Kingdom, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States, with the Director General presiding without vote. Its decisions are open to reconsideration at sessions of the Council.

The Council of the U. N. R. R. A. has other important committees, some specifically provided for in the agreement, others established at the Atlantic City meeting. The chief among them are:

(a) The Committee on Supplies, the general function of which is to advise the Council, the Central Committee and the Director

General on general policies regarding the provision, financing and transport of supplies. The membership of the Committee on Supplies, which under the agreement is to represent those member governments likely to be principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation was fixed as the members of the Council or their alternates representing Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, the French Committee of National Liberation, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

(b) The Committee on Financial Control, the general function of which is to advise the Council on all financial matters of the Administration except those within the competence of the Committee on Supplies. The membership of the Committee on Financial Control was fixed as the members of the Council or their alternates representing the United States, China, Greece, Mexico, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United Kingdom.

(c) The Committee of the Council for Europe, the general function of which is to recommend policies to be adopted by the Council and to advise the Director General with respect to relief and rehabilitation operations in the European area. The membership of the Committee of the Council for Europe consists of the members of the Council or their alternates representing member governments included within the European area and the members of the Council or their alternates representing the United States, Brazil, and Canada.

(d) The Committee of the Council for the Far East, the general function of which is identical with respect to the Far Eastern area as that of the Committee of the Council for Europe. The membership of the Committee of the Council for the Far East consists of the members of the Council or their alternates representing the United States, Australia, China, the French Committee of National Liberation, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippine Commonwealth, and the United Kingdom.

(e) The standing technical committees of the Council on: (i) Agriculture, (ii) Displaced persons, (iii) Health, (iv) Industrial Rehabilitation, and (v) Welfare, the general functions of which are to advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General as to technical policies and programs within their respective fields. The membership of each of these standing technical committees is to consist of such members of the Council as indicate to the Director General their intention to participate in the work of a committee or committees or of alternates nominated by such members because they possess special competence in the problems of the committee to which they are nominated.

Apart from establishing the Council and its committees, and the Director General and his staff, the agreement lays down certain broad lines of policy. It clearly establishes in article VII and article IV the subordinate relationship of the organization to the military authorities in liberated areas. It provides that the Director General shall coordinate and control the work of foreign voluntary or charitable relief agencies operating within a liberated area. This provision does not mean that Red Cross and other experienced relief agencies

are not to be called upon to participate in relief administration. On the contrary, it is intended that they be used wherever appropriate. But it does require the coordination of all field work in the light of general relief policies agreed upon by the governments concerned. The agreement also requires full periodic reports from the Director General to the Council, both as to the use of funds and as to his other activities. And it sets up suitable machinery for amendment and procedure.

#### THE SCOPE OF U. N. R. R. A. OPERATIONS

The task of the U. N. R. R. A. is international in scope, directly involving and affecting many countries. It cannot be solved except through cooperative international action.

The agreement itself defines the job in these terms: That the signatory nations are determined—

that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing, and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.

The U. N. R. R. A. is therefore directed in article I of the agreement—

to plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

After the cessation of hostilities in a liberated area, the U. N. R. R. A. will thus be concerned with the emergency task of providing relief to the victims of war in that area. But the U. N. R. R. A. is not to be responsible for the whole of the vast job of relief and rehabilitation. It will not be concerned with reconstruction, such as plans for rebuilding bombed cities, or reestablishing the economic life of devastated areas. The agreement does not authorize or contemplate any project involving the control of educational policies in liberated territories. The program of the U. N. R. R. A. is a relief program, designed to provide relief supplies, and such emergency industrial or agricultural supplies as are needed to facilitate at the earliest possible moment the flow of locally produced relief supplies.

There are four general categories of supplies and services which the U. N. R. R. A. will assist in furnishing to liberated areas: (1) Essential consumer goods, such as medical supplies, food, fuel, temporary shelter, and clothing; (2) health and welfare services, including the care and repatriation of displaced persons; (3) materials necessary to the resumption of the production of relief supplies within liberated areas, such as seed, fertilizer, fishing equipment, essential machinery, and spare parts; and (4) materials and technical help to repair, so far as they can be repaired or restored to meet immediate needs, essential utilities and public services.

Thus, the scope of the term "rehabilitation" in the plans of the U. N. R. R. A. is limited generally to work which will enable a recipient



country to produce or transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas and to the repair or restoration of public utilities to the extent necessary to meet immediate needs. In the field of agriculture it is limited to short-run agricultural rehabilitation and food-production efforts. Rehabilitation is stated in a resolution of the Council to be coterminous with relief, rather than the beginning of reconstruction, and is not to comprehend any general rebuilding program. Rehabilitation is strictly limited in the resolutions of the Council. The language of paragraph 11 of resolution No. 12 is incorporated in the joint resolution as an amendment, as follows:

SEC. 3. In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the first session of the Council, summarized in paragraph 11 of Resolution Numbered 12, and reading as follows:

"11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the Agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world."

The victims of war must be fed as soon as possible. Chaos and anarchy caused by human suffering would endanger us all. The permanent reconstruction of devastated areas and the reestablishment of currencies are different types of problems. These are long-term problems which should be considered separately from emergency relief; they have been left to agencies and arrangements other than the U. N. R. R. A.

It has been reliably estimated that more than 90 percent of the needs of liberated areas will be either locally produced or provided through imports for which these countries will pay. It should be clearly understood that the U. N. R. R. A. does not propose to finance all such imports as may be necessary for relief within the liberated areas. Many of the countries now occupied by the enemy have funds in gold or foreign exchange with which they will pay for their imported relief supplies. The U. N. R. R. A.'s job with respect to supplies for such countries is to make representations to insure that there will be an equitable division of goods in short supply to and among the liberated areas, and to see to it that the necessary imports are available for those liberated areas the governments of which are too poor to buy such supplies themselves. That task must be accepted as a common responsibility of all nations fortunate enough not to have suffered the horror of invasion, and interested in restoring a world of trade and peace.

Apart from questions of supply, U. N. R. R. A. will assist in caring for displaced persons and in coordinating and controlling their movement in the interest of the health and economic life of all nations. It does not encompass the political questions presented to the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, established by the Evian Conference, nor does it deal with the vital and tragic problems considered at the recent Bermuda Conference on the fate of refugees in Europe.

The U. N. R. R. A. will necessarily take an active part in the problem of public health. It will provide for the organization of adequate

measures to protect the public health of the countries which are now occupied by the enemy. Particularly in connection with the treatment of displaced persons, and with the quick restoration of adequate public-health services, an international problem of great magnitude will be presented in all liberated areas.

#### U. N. R. R. A.'S FIELD OPERATIONS

U. N. R. R. A.'s activities will be confined to countries which have been liberated from enemy occupation. However, operations in the enemy or ex-enemy territories may also have to be carried on. Disease and epidemics know no boundaries, and their outbreak in any area may endanger all adjacent areas, as well as the health of our occupying troops. The policy resolutions adopted by the Council specifically provide that the Council must approve the scale and nature of such operations and that all expenses of operations in an enemy or ex-enemy country should be borne by that country.

In all cases the U. N. R. R. A. can operate in an area only with the consent of the government or authority (military or civilian) exercising administrative authority in the area. Since the occupied areas will be freed by military action, all activities in an area during the initial period of military necessity must be carried on by the military forces. U. N. R. R. A. will, however, stand ready to act during the military period to the extent that it is requested to do so.

The U. N. R. R. A. must necessarily depend upon the support and assistance of the various governments or authorities if it is to operate. It will operate as a service agency and it is expected that the primary responsibility for the distribution of relief supplies and for rehabilitation work will be borne by the government or recognized national authority which exercises administrative control in the area. Although it must closely supervise the distribution of its supplies, it will have no facilities for large-scale distribution through its own agencies, no powers to control distribution through rationing or otherwise. It is not intended to be a governmental body with powers of local administration which only a government can perform.

U. N. R. R. A. is an agency limited to the job of relief. It cannot recognize or refuse to recognize governments nor engage in political activities or decisions. Effort has been made in many of the Council's resolutions to insure its firm policy that relief supplies shall not be used as a political weapon by any faction or group.

The U. N. R. R. A. agreement in no way limits the freedom of this Government to act on such questions; U. N. R. R. A. will deal with the governments or authorities recognized by the United Nations as competent to speak for their areas. It will deal with authorities actually exercising administrative authority in liberated territories, as it must do if its job is to be done efficiently. We are satisfied that everything is being done that can be done to make the distribution of relief as fair and nonpolitical as circumstances will permit. The need for relief is the only criterion which has been accepted to guide relief distribution, and extensive steps have been taken to see that this standard is fulfilled.

## ALLOCATION AND PROCUREMENT OF SUPPLIES

In order to insure the careful allocation of scarce supplies and shipping tonnage, the over-all needs of liberated areas must be co-ordinated with all other needs, both military and civilian.

The Director General and his staff will make estimates of requirements in accordance with policies determined after consultation by the committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East. He will then present these over-all estimates to the intergovernmental agencies, the Combined Boards, which will make recommendations, in the light of all other needs, to the national allocating agencies represented on them as to the allocation of essential relief supplies. These requirements will be of two types: The over-all requirements of all the liberated areas as a group and the individual requirements of the governments of liberated areas which have requested the assistance of the U. N. R. R. A.

In many cases governments which do not require the financial assistance of the U. N. R. R. A. will themselves present their individual requirements or programs of intended purchases, to the agencies concerned. In any such case, the government concerned will advise the Director General of its program prior to its presentation to the Combined Boards or other interested agencies. Thus the Director General will have an opportunity to make recommendations or objections to the government and to the agencies concerned in order to insure a fair distribution of supplies to and among the various areas, in the interest of seeing to it that countries able to pay are treated on the same basis of need in the distribution of supplies as countries without adequate funds.

Countries able to do so will handle their own procurement; the U. N. R. R. A. will act in procurement only on behalf of those which are without the means to pay, or which request its assistance. In such cases, the Director General will act whenever possible through the established national agencies whose function it is to arrange for the procurement, handling, storage, and transport of supplies.

Considerable attention was given to the question of how the U. N. R. R. A. needs were to be handled by United States agencies. The committee has been assured that in obtaining supplies from the United States, the U. N. R. R. A. would deal directly with the Combined Boards and other supply authorities, assisted by the Foreign Economic Administration, which is expected to be charged with the job of bringing United States supplies to the water's edge for the U. N. R. R. A. The committee was also assured that workable and cooperative administrative arrangements are contemplated to handle our share in the relief program.

The Director General will also have information with respect to the existence of surpluses of supplies in the liberated areas which to the extent possible will be used to meet the relief and rehabilitation requirements of other areas.

## THE FINANCIAL PLAN

The Council adopted for the Administration a financial plan which includes recommendations to member governments with respect to their contributions. The basic recommendation is that each member government whose home territory has not been occupied by the enemy



should make a contribution for participation in the work of the U. N. R. R. A. approximately equal to 1 percent of the national income of the country for the year ended June 30, 1943, each country to make its own computation of national income. This contribution is proposed not as an annual contribution but as the contribution which it is presently estimated will be the amount needed.

The U. N. R. R. A. agreement provides that the amount and character of the contribution of each member government is to be determined by its own constitutional bodies. No member of the Council, in approving the financial plan, made any commitment with regard to the contribution of his government and the plan recognizes that there will be cases in which, by reason of special circumstances, a member government will not be able to make the recommended contribution. For example, those countries in which per capita income is especially low or which have little or no foreign exchange or gold and no substantial exportable surpluses of material, may find it impossible to contribute to the extent recommended. Such possibilities are inherent in a voluntary association with no power to enforce contributions.

The liberated countries will provide internally most of the supplies and services needed for their own relief and rehabilitation and also, when they are able, will pay for the imports they need. It is estimated that under this policy 90 percent of the relief will be furnished by the liberated countries themselves and 10 percent by U. N. R. R. A. contributions. In view of these facts, it was not recommended at the first session of the Council that such countries make the 1 percent contribution to the U. N. R. R. A. at this time. It was however recommended that when the financial situation of such countries became clearer, they should make an appropriate contribution to the resources of the U. N. R. R. A.

If each member government were to make the contribution recommended in the plan, it is estimated that the amount contributed would be in the neighborhood of 2 or perhaps 2.5 billion dollars. Of this amount, the contribution of the United States would be approximately \$1,350,000,000. In this connection, it should be noted that the national income of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1943, was substantially larger than the combined income for the same period of all other member governments that have been asked to contribute. It should also be noted that the amount of the contribution of the United States under this formula would be approximately equivalent to the amount currently being spent by the United States Government in 5 days for war purposes, and is less per capita than the amount contributed by our country for relief after the last war.

The formula recommended was the subject of much discussion at the meeting of the Council and various other formulae were advanced and discussed. It was pointed out that a formula based on 1 percent of income does not follow the desirable principle of progressive taxation. But no other formula seemed so practicable or so generally fair. The committee believes that this policy represents the best possible solution.

Certain observations on the limitations of national income statistics for this purpose should be emphasized. It is obvious, of course, that the national income formula is not an absolutely accurate guide. All

comparisons of national income in wartime are misleading in some degree because they have to be made in dollars or pounds or other monetary units; prices have gone up in different degrees in different countries, and the nominal rates of exchange in which we have to make these comparisons no longer necessarily reflect the levels of internal prices in the different countries. Generally speaking, however, real income in terms of physical production has increased in about the same proportions in the chief industrial countries, and they presently are devoting about the same fraction of their actual output to war purposes. Thus, they are in much the same position so far as increases in real national income are concerned, and their national income, therefore, provides a reasonably fair basis for measuring their relief contributions.

It should be pointed out that our expenditures for relief during and after the last war amounted to more than 4 percent of our national income for 1919. The problem of relief after this war will be far greater than the relief problems of 1919 and the years that followed, both in the number of persons and in the areas involved.

The recommendation of the financial plan is that each contributing country should make at least 10 percent of its contribution available in such form as can be expended in areas outside of the contributing country and that the balance should be in the form of a credit in local currency available for the purchase of supplies and services within its areas. It can be expected that every contributing country in a position to do so will make more than 10 percent of its contributions available in a form which can be spent outside its territories so as to reduce the drain on short supplies within the country.

The financial plan also provides that insofar as is consistent with efficient operation, contributions of all member governments shall be called upon at an approximately equal rate. The purpose of this provision is, of course, that no one country shall at any particular time be called upon to assume an undue burden of contributing to the work of the U. N. R. R. A.

Some of the occupied countries, relatively soon after their liberation, will probably be in a position to produce exportable surpluses, and such countries may make contributions for the assistance of other areas which remain in great need, although such countries are not included in the 1-percent formula. In addition, it may be anticipated that some nonmember governments and private organizations and individuals will contribute in money or supplies to further the work of the U. N. R. R. A.

The financial plan makes separate provision for contributions for administrative expenses. It requires the preparation by the Director General of an annual administrative budget to be submitted to the Council for approval. The amount of the approved administrative budget is allocated by the Council among all member governments. It should be noted that those countries which are not asked to make contributions for operating purposes—that is, the countries which have been occupied by the enemy, are nevertheless asked to make their proportionate contributions to administrative expenses. The Council approved an administrative budget for the calendar year 1944 and the remaining part of 1943 in the amount of 10 million dollars and made allocations thereof to the member governments in the proportion

shown in Resolution No. 38. The basis for the allocation was the 1940 income of member governments, the last year for which any figures are available for occupied countries. Under those allocations, more than 30 percent of the administrative expenses would be borne by countries whose home territories have been occupied by the enemy, since these countries were desirous of bearing their share of the administrative expenses even though they could not be expected to contribute to the operating funds. It is also provided in the financial plan that a member government may treat its share of administrative expenses as included in any general contribution which it makes for the work of U. N. R. R. A. Therefore the share of the United States for administrative expenses may be treated as being not in addition to, but included in, its general contribution. The financial plan contains a recommendation that contributions for administrative expenses be made at the earliest possible moment, since it is clear that without funds to meet administrative expenses, no start can be made in organizing the staff and facilities of the U. N. R. R. A.

#### USE OF THE U. N. R. R. A. FUNDS

It is the stated policy of the U. N. R. R. A. not to deplete its available resources for the relief and rehabilitation of any area whose government is in a position to pay with suitable means of foreign exchange. It is further declared to be its policy that no government needing relief should be required to assume the burden of an enduring foreign exchange debt for the purchase of supplies for relief and rehabilitation. To meet this problem, provision is made in the financial plan for a mechanism to determine whether a government is in a position to pay for services and supplies in gold or foreign exchange. This question is to be determined by the Director General, in consultation with the member government involved and with the advice of a committee or subcommittee of the Council. Naturally, this issue will be raised only upon the application of a country for assistance from the U. N. R. R. A.

The fact that the funds available to the U. N. R. R. A. will be used to pay for supplies and services which must be brought into certain of the liberated areas does not, however, mean that such supplies and services will be distributed free within such areas. In most cases, the population of the liberated areas will have the funds necessary to fill at least a part of their needs, but such funds may be in local currency having little or no foreign exchange value. In such cases, the U. N. R. R. A. will either sell its supplies and services to the government of the liberated area for local currency or will make arrangements for the proceeds of the sale of supplies to be made available for use by the U. N. R. R. A. within the particular area for such purposes as may be agreed upon with the government or authority in the area.

One of the policies adopted by the Council is that the U. N. R. R. A.'s resources shall be dispensed fairly on the basis of relative needs of the population and without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief. It will be the responsibility of those charged with the task of distribution to see that this principle is adhered to.

Arrangements will be made whenever practicable for full publicity concerning the activities of the U. N. R. R. A. and for the labeling of



the supplies that it furnishes so that their source will be made known to those receiving relief.

The Council has recommended to member governments that arrangements be made to exempt the U. N. R. R. A. imports and exports from taxation and the U. N. R. R. A. funds from unnecessary foreign exchange restrictions and other economic restrictions, so that it may have the greatest freedom to apply its full resources for the work of relief and rehabilitation. It is specifically provided that under no circumstances shall any distribution of gold and currency be made to any member or nonmember government except for the purchase of essential supplies or services.

An annual audit of all financial transactions is provided for and the Director General is required to submit to the Committee on Financial Control of the Council a quarterly report of operating and administrative expenses and receipts. Copies of these quarterly reports are to be furnished to each member government.

#### CONCLUSION

United States participation in the work of the U. N. R. R. A. is essential, if the United States is to carry out in the field of international action those responsibilities of world leadership which are imposed upon us by the deepest interests of the security and prosperity of the United States. The need for the U. N. R. R. A. is evident. The wake of human misery left by the German and Japanese war machines requires international action as a matter of necessity, as well as of humanity. The problems presented are international problems—the marshaling of available world supplies; the working out of agreements as to common standards for relief among the liberated areas; the establishing of reserves of supplies available for use in whatever areas may be liberated first; the prevention of competitive scrambling for limited relief and rehabilitation supplies in the world markets; and the provision for and control of the movement of displaced persons. International action is essential if the liberated peoples are to be put in position to help themselves. They must be given that additional strength which will enable them to go forward with us in the task of economic reconstruction and the building of a durable peace.

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## X











1080. A letter from the president, the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting a report of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. for the year 1943; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1081. A letter from the administrative assistant to the Secretary, Department of Commerce, transmitting the estimate of personnel requirements for the quarter ending March 31, 1944, under the ceiling unit "Working funds, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce," substituting the one transmitted with letter of December 30, 1943; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

1082. A letter from the Acting Archivist of the United States, transmitting report on records proposed for disposal by various Government agencies; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

1083. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, transmitting estimates of personnel requirements for the Navy Department, the United States Marine Corps, and the United States Coast Guard, for the quarter ending March 31, 1944; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

1084. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the fifth report of the Attorney General covering the period from September 14, 1943, through January 8, 1944; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1085. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to amend the act approved March 2, 1895, as amended; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. RANKIN: Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress. S. 1285. An act to amend the act of September 16, 1942, which provided a method of voting in time of war by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 993). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BLOOM: Committee on Foreign Affairs. House Joint Resolution 192. Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization; with amendments (Rept. No. 994). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. SABATH: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 398. Resolution providing for the consideration of S. 1543, to provide for mustering-out pay to members of the armed forces, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 995). Referred to the House Calendar.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. WORLEY:

H. R. 3982. A bill to provide a method of voting during the period of the war and 6 months thereafter by members of the armed forces absent from the place of their residence; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. GILLIE:

H. R. 3983. A bill to authorize a survey of the military route of Gen. Anthony Wayne during the Indian wars, with a view to constructing a national parkway to be known as the General Anthony Wayne Memorial

Parkway; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. KILDAY:

H. R. 3984. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes, approved June 3, 1916," as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PACE:

H. R. 3985. A bill to amend section 901 of the Second War Powers Act, 1942, approved March 27, 1942, to permit any letter mail containing registration certificates or ballots sent by any member of the military or naval forces to be transmitted by air mail, free of postage; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. SCANLON:

H. R. 3986. A bill to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. SHAFER:

H. R. 3987. A bill to provide that the proceeds from the sale of surplus war materials and real estate of the United States be used for the reduction of the public debt; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CURLEY:

H. R. 3988. A bill to establish, protect, and extend an American merchant navy; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HOFFMAN:

H. R. 3989. A bill to amend section 113 of chapter VI of title 29 of the United States Code (47 Stat. 70); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ENGEL of Michigan:

H. R. 3990. A bill to amend subsection (f), section 1, title I, Public Law No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, approved March 20, 1933, and paragraph 1, part VII, Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, to provide vocational rehabilitation under Public Law No. 16, Seventy-eighth Congress, approved March 24, 1943, for veterans entitled to disability benefits at wartime rates under the provisions of Public Law No. 359, Seventy-seventh Congress, approved December 19, 1941; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. HARLESS of Arizona:

H. R. 3991. A bill to protect investments made for wartime production of strategic and critical minerals, to prevent dumping after the war and a post-war market collapse, and to provide a stock pile of these minerals for future emergencies; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PRICE:

H. R. 3992. A bill to provide a method of voting for members of the armed forces of the United States; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. GILLIE:

H. J. Res. 222. Joint resolution to insure the complete fulfillment of commitments made to agricultural producers who have expanded production of nonbasic farm commodities; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. Res. 397. Resolution making S. 1285, a bill to facilitate voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces, members of the merchant marine, and others, absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes, a special order of business; to the Committee on Rules.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BURDICK:

H. R. 3993. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to reopen and readjudicate the eminent domain case of John W. Parish, trustee (John H. Bexten, substituted), against the United States, No. 34450; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 3994. A bill for the relief of Camp No. 1, Alaska Native Brotherhood, Sitka, Alaska; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HORAN:

H. R. 3995. A bill for the relief of Walter Lundmark; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MANSFIELD of Texas:

H. R. 3996. A bill for the relief of F. L. Gause, Rosalind Gause, and Helen Gause; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

4305. By Mr. ANDREWS: Petition containing approximately 1,600 names of residents of Niagara and Erie Counties, N. Y., opposing the Bryson bill or any such legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4306. Also, resolution adopted by the Evans Grange organization of Angola, N. Y., protesting against the continuation of farm subsidies; to the Committee and Banking and Currency.

4307. Also, resolution adopted by the Amalgamated Local No. 686 consisting of 5,000 members, and the Lockport Congress of Industrial Organizations council, consisting of 10,000 members, favoring the Green-Lucas soldiers' vote bill; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

4308. By Mr. ENGEL of Michigan: Petition of Mrs. Jessie M. Berry and 271 others, favoring House bill 2082, known as the Bryson bill; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4309. By Mr. FOGARTY: Petition of the Rhode Island General Assembly on the subject of a permanent United States veterans' hospital in the State of Rhode Island; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

4310. Also, memorial of the city council of the city of Providence, urging the establishment, in the State of Rhode Island, of a United States veterans' hospital; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

4311. Also, memorial of the Rhode Island General Assembly, protesting against the enactment of House bill 2082, or any legislation having as its purpose any prohibition of the manufacture or sale or the transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4312. Also, memorial of the City Council of the City of Providence, R. I., urging the defeat of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4313. By Mr. GILLETTE: Petition of the Koch's Brewing Co., South Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4314. Also, petition of T-A Waterville Hotel Corporation, Waterville, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4315. Also, petition of Ted's Restaurant, Montoursville, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4316. Also, petition of White Horse Inn, Montoursville, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4317. Also, petition of John Spath, of Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4318. Also, petition of Ann V. Kyler, of Lock Haven, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4319. Also, petition of Elks Club of Jersey Shore, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.



4320. Also, petition of the Old Corner Hotel, Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4321. Also, petition of John G. Rohrer, of Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4322. Also, petition of the Riverside Grill, South Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4323. Also, petition of the Keystone League, of Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4324. Also, petition of the Republican Club of Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4325. Also, petition of Mary M. Mosser, of Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4326. Also, petition of the Williamsport Wheel Club, Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4327. Also, petition of Edward Payne Porter, of Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4328. Also, petition of the Kelly Grill, Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4329. Also, petition of Carl A. Meyer, of Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4330. Also, petition of the Loyal Order of Moose, Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4331. Also, petition of the Valley Inn, DuBoistown, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4332. Also, petition of Forty and Eight Vulture No. 382, Williamsport, Pa., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4333. By Mr. HOEVEN: Petition of Mrs. C. A. Shulte, of Sac City, Iowa, and 73 other people of that community, urging enactment of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4334. Also, petition of Rev. L. A. Brunsting and other residents of Sioux County, Iowa, urging enactment of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4335. By Mr. HOPE: Petition of sundry citizens of Plains, Kans., urging the passage of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4336. Also, petition of 50 citizens of Hutchinson, Kans., urging passage of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4337. By Mr. HORAN: Petition of Mrs. R. L. Ringer and 14 other residents of Spokane, Wash., to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials

necessary for the winning of the war, by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war and until the termination of demobilization; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4338. Also, petition of Ella M. Terry and 17 other residents of Spokane, Wash., to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war, by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war and until the termination of demobilization; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4339. By Mr. KEARNEY: Petitions signed by 84 citizens of New York State, protesting against the enactment of any and all prohibition legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4340. Also, petitions containing the signatures of 2,465 citizens of the State of New York, protesting against the enactment of any and all prohibition legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4342. By Mr. MOTT: Seventeen petitions signed by Tom Holman, of Salem, Oreg., and 489 other citizens of the State of Oregon, protesting against enactment of House bill 2082 and Senate bill 860; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4343. By Mr. RAMEY: Petition of Rev. William Bain and 39 other residents of Toledo, Ohio, and a letter from Rev. Fay M. Bowman, of Toledo, Ohio, urging the passage of House bill 2082, to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war, sponsored by Hon. JOSEPH R. BRYSON; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4344. By Mr. ROWAN: Petition of the B. & M. Distributors of Chicago, Ill., against the enactment of House bill 2082, the Bryson bill; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4345. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of T. M. Tuerffs, commander, Fairmont Post, No. 17, the American Legion, Fairmont, W. Va., urging the passage of legislation that will provide mustering-out pay, clothing, and hospitalization facilities for discharged servicemen immediately upon their return to civilian life; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

4346. By Mrs. SMITH of Maine: Petition of the Desire Toulouse Market, Augusta, Maine, and citizens, protesting against consideration by Congress of the Bryson bill, H. R. 2082, which would impose complete prohibition for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4347. Also, petition of the Black and White Cafe, Augusta, Maine, and citizens, protesting against consideration by Congress of the Bryson bill, H. R. 2082, which would impose complete prohibition for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4348. Also, petition of Jack's Cafe, Augusta, Maine, and citizens, protesting against consideration by Congress of the Bryson bill, H. R. 2082, which would impose complete prohibition for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4349. Also, petition of Calix P. Blouin, of Augusta, Maine, and other citizens, protesting against consideration by Congress of the Bryson bill, H. R. 2082, which would impose complete prohibition for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4350. Also, petition of Michaud Bros., Augusta, Maine, and citizens, protesting against consideration by Congress of the Bryson bill, H. R. 2082, which would impose complete prohibition for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4351. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Morris H. Tynes, of Greensboro, N. C., petitioning consideration of resolution with reference to postponing of the 1944 Presidential campaign; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4352. Also, petition of Moms of America, Detroit 26, Mich., petitioning consideration of resolution with reference to soldiers voting; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

4353. Also, petition of the Colorado Producers and Distributors, Inc., Denver, Colo., petitioning consideration of resolution with reference to House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4354. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of Kent County, Mich., petitioning consideration of resolution with reference to House bill 3420; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4355. Also, petition of the American-Legion, East Grand Rapids Post, East Grand Rapids, Mich., petitioning consideration of resolution with reference to House bill 3420; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4356. Also, petition of the managing director, State of Connecticut Development Commission, Hartford, Conn., petitioning consideration of resolution with reference to House bill 3420; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4357. Also, petition of Elizabeth A. Blanchard, of Boston, Mass., petitioning consideration of resolution with reference to her petition for redress; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

## AUTHORIZING THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

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JANUARY 17, 1944.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the  
state of the Union and ordered to be printed

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Mr. BLOOM, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the  
following

### REPORT

[To accompany H. J. Res. 192]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with two amendments and as so amended recommend that the resolution do pass.

#### RELIEF OF HUMAN SUFFERING

This war is causing great suffering. America has always heeded the call of human suffering. America has a genius for organization. This genius, applied to this great human need has resulted in the community fund system throughout the United States. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is an international organization, developed on the principles of the American community fund system, to relieve human suffering caused by war. The characteristic elements are there; each member's contribution is voluntary, yet through organization the human needs are analyzed, the means to meet the needs are allocated and the value of each contribution is thus enhanced. The U. N. R. R. A. is the community fund of the United Nations.

#### PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT RESOLUTION

Section 1 of the joint resolution authorizes the appropriation to the President of such sums as the Congress may determine, and as amended by the committee provides that such sums are not to exceed in the aggregate \$1,350,000,000, so that the United States may make contributions in kind or in funds to the U. N. R. R. A. for use in its



operations, including its necessary administrative expenses. The amounts so appropriated can be used by the President not only for contributions in funds to the U. N. R. R. A. and for the purchase of supplies to be contributed in kind but also for procurement, handling, storage, transportation, and other services and expenses necessary to make supplies or services available for use by the U. N. R. R. A. in its relief and rehabilitation work. The agreement, which was signed on November 9, 1943, by the 44 United Nations and associated nations, is quoted in full in the joint resolution so that it may be before the Congress, for its information. The signatory nations are:

Commonwealth of Australia  
Belgium  
Bolivia  
United States of Brazil  
Canada  
Chile  
China  
Colombia  
Costa Rica  
Cuba  
Czechoslovakia  
Dominican Republic  
Ecuador  
Egypt  
El Salvador  
Ethiopia  
French Committee of National Liberation  
Greece  
Guatemala  
Haiti  
Honduras  
Iceland  
India  
Iran  
Iraq  
Liberia  
Luxembourg  
United Mexican States  
Netherlands  
New Zealand  
Nicaragua  
Norway  
Panama  
Paraguay  
Peru  
Philippine Commonwealth  
Poland  
Union of South Africa  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland  
United States of America  
Uruguay  
Venezuela  
Yugoslavia

It should be understood that amendments to the text of the agreement may be made only by appropriate action of the signatory governments in accordance with provisions of article VIII, which is found on page 13 of the joint resolution.

Section 2 provides that the amounts appropriated under the resolution shall be expended under the direction of the President through such departments and agencies of the Government as he may designate, thus making possible a desirable flexibility of administration. In this way, the actual administration of the amounts appropriated may be handled by the departments and agencies of the Government which are performing similar or related functions and have the necessary qualifications and experience, without overlapping and in ways which meet changing conditions.

Provision is also made in the joint resolution for quarterly reports to be submitted to the Congress by the President, showing the expenditures under any appropriations authorized by the joint resolution and reporting on operations under the agreement.

Section 3 proposed as a committee amendment, recites the policy to be followed by the U. N. R. R. A. with respect to relief as distinguished from reconstruction.

The U. N. R. R. A. is the first service agency of the United Nations and associated nations to be constituted. The signing of the United Nations relief agreement is a milestone in the development of the foreign policy of the United States, as well as that of other nations. The success of the Atlantic City conference greatly strengthened the already strong bonds between the signatory governments. While the war lasts, the success of the organization is a military necessity, for the work of the U. N. R. R. A. will minimize disease and unrest behind the fighting lines. In the crucial emergency period of readjustment after hostilities have ceased, the U. N. R. R. A. will likewise be a necessity. It will strive to restore the liberated peoples to the level at which they can help themselves.

#### HEARINGS

The joint resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives on November 15, 1943. At the extensive hearings held by the committee, comprehensive inquiry and study was made of the nature and scope of the U. N. R. R. A.'s proposed operations and the extent of the United States' participation in the financing and direction of its work. The hearings covered 8 days and the following witnesses were heard in support of the resolution: Assistant Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson, Chief of the United States delegation and chairman of the first session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council; the Honorable Leo T. Crowley, Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration; Francis B. Sayre, special assistant to the Secretary of State; and Oscar S. Cox, general counsel of the Foreign Economic Administration. The Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, was invited to appear before the committee and discussed the purposes and policies of the international service organization which he now directs. Representative Smith, of Ohio, appeared in opposition to the resolution and Representative Dewey, of Illinois, appeared and proposed H. J. Res.

207 as an amendment to H. J. Res. 192. He withdrew this suggestion, however, on receiving definite assurance from the Chairman that hearings would be held on H. J. Res. 207 after action was concluded on H. J. Res. 192.

A letter recommending passage of the resolution was received by the committee from Secretary of State Cordell Hull and there is set forth below a portion of his letter:

The broad plans growing out of the Moscow Conference, which Congress has so warmly endorsed, will need the work of this great organization to insure, in the words of the four-nation declaration, "a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace" so that we may proceed to our announced purpose of "maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments."

It is as essential to be prepared for the emergency which will follow the end of war as it is to be prepared for the great operations which will bring the victorious peace. This organization must begin its work close upon the heels of the armies of the United Nations, not only to assure that the liberated peoples will live and be strengthened for the tasks of peace, but to assure that the end of the fighting brings peace and not disorganization and further conflict. An instrument of great promise has been forged for this purpose by all the United and Associated Nations. That instrument is ready; the task is imminent. I earnestly recommend that the Congress authorize the funds for full and effective participation by this country.

The record of the committee hearings includes not only the testimony of the witnesses but various documents and charts submitted in response to requests of the committee. The committee also had before it the resolutions agreed upon at the first session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council, which was held at Atlantic City between November 10 and December 1, 1943, and which are included in the appendix to the hearings on the joint resolution; and State Department Document Publication No. 2040, Conference Series 53, which contains the basic documents relating to the first session of the Council.

It should be emphasized at this point that a study of the international agreement and the proceedings of the Council at Atlantic City makes it clear that each member government retains for itself the right to govern its participation in the undertaking in accordance with its usual constitutional procedures. Obviously this means that, in the case of the United States, its appropriations and contributions must be authorized by the Congress and approved by the President.

#### THE BACKGROUND OF THE AGREEMENT AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 192

The concept of joint action by the United Nations to deal with problems of relief and rehabilitation in liberated areas dates back to September 1941, when a meeting of European governments was called in London by the British Government. There was then formed the Inter-Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements on which most of our European allies were represented. After the United States entered the war it was also represented on the committee. The task of the Inter-Allied Committee was solely that of determining the post-war requirements of the Allied countries in Europe; it had neither operating powers nor an executive.

The work of this committee was a promising beginning, but the need for a far more comprehensive approach was soon realized. Both the United States and the Soviet Governments suggested a more broadly international organization which could both plan and arrange for the



execution of equitable relief and rehabilitation programs. Such an organization might deal with the relief problems of the Far East, as well as those of Europe. Accordingly, in 1942 our Government began discussions with representatives of the British, Chinese, and Soviet Governments, which finally produced, with their informal approval as the basis for further discussions, a draft document proposing an international agency to perform these tasks.

This draft then became the subject of discussion with the other United Nations and associated governments. Representatives of the State Department also discussed the draft with the leaders of both Houses of Congress.

In July 1943, discussions were held with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and a subcommittee was appointed, consisting of Senator Connally, Senator Green, Senator Thomas of Utah, Senator Vandenberg, and Senator La Follette, to study the text of the draft agreement and to make recommendations thereon. Thereafter conversations were carried on during the succeeding weeks between Assistant Secretary Acheson, Mr. Francis B. Sayre, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, and the members of the subcommittee.

Also during July 1943, Assistant Secretary Acheson met with the House Foreign Affairs Committee, laid before them the text of the proposed draft agreement, and entered into a detailed explanation and discussion with the Committee with regard to the draft agreement and the plans for forming U. N. R. R. A. As a result of these various meetings, modifications in the text of the draft agreement were suggested by Members of Congress, and it was agreed that the joint resolution now under consideration would include the U. N. R. R. A. agreement in full and would be introduced immediately after the signing of the agreement, so as to give the fullest opportunity to Congress to consider the extent of United States participation in the U. N. R. R. A.

Following these meetings, State Department representatives continued in constant touch with members of both the Senate and House committees and with other congressional leaders. Further meetings in executive session to discuss the United Nations relief program were held with the full Senate Foreign Relations Committee on September 22, 1943, and on November 5, 1943, and with the House Foreign Affairs Committee on September 23 and November 8.

The textual modifications suggested by Members of the Congress and by representatives of other governments were fully considered in the preparation of the final text of the agreement. When all the governments concerned had reached full accord, the agreement was signed at the White House on November 9, 1943, by representatives of the 44 United Nations and associated governments. The President transmitted a message to the Congress on the subject on November 10, 1943.

The committee believes that the U. N. R. R. A. is sound and practicable. Several members of this committee attended the first session of the U. N. R. R. A. Council to obtain first-hand information of its proceedings. Members of the committee who attended this conference found the meetings of the Council and of the committee and subcommittees through which it worked were an example of what can be achieved by cooperative international action when men of good will resolve to reconcile their differences in a larger cause.

Delegates came to the Atlantic City meeting with different points of view. They discussed them fully, and sought through the democratic process of debate and open discussion to find wise solutions, compatible with their separate national interests. That common ground was found shows that in this area, as in others, national interests are completely consistent with an effective program of international action. That all the policy recommendations of the Council were unanimous, despite the intrinsic difficulty of some of the problems confronted, is a tribute to the members and to the spirit in which they approached their task.

The U. N. R. R. A. is the first civilian operating agency of the United Nations. Its organization is simple and workable. It should provide an adequate administrative basis for the execution of the international job which must be done. The U. N. R. R. A. is a forward step, carrying toward the peace the teamwork we have achieved in war. We can make progress toward cooperation only by cooperating.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE U. N. R. R. A.

Under the agreement of November 9, the U. N. R. R. A. is organized democratically, along lines which assure the fullest appropriate representation to all member governments. The term "member government" is used in the agreement to identify the signatories of the agreement, whether recognized governments or authorities of different status, such as the French Committee of National Liberation. Each member government has one representative on the Council of the U. N. R. R. A., which acts as the central policy-making body of the organization, and meets at least twice a year. At the same time, the executive authority of the agency, vested in the Director General, is wisely given ample scope for action, within the limits of the policies established by the Council. In closest association with the Council and its committees, the Director General will take the initiative in making plans and arrangements for relief work within the liberated areas. He is directed to act in full cooperation with the military authorities of the United Nations, and with the agencies which control the flow of supplies. He will work also with representatives of the member nations which are to be liberated, in the preparation of estimates of need and programs of supply. He will work with the supply authorities of member nations to arrange programs of relief export.

Between sessions of the Council, its Central Committee acts for the organization, making policy decisions of an emergency nature when necessary. That Committee consists of representatives of the United Kingdom, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States, with the Director General presiding without vote. Its decisions are open to reconsideration at sessions of the Council.

The Council of the U. N. R. R. A. has other important committees, some specifically provided for in the agreement, others established at the Atlantic City meeting. The chief among them are:

(a) The Committee on Supplies, the general function of which is to advise the Council, the Central Committee and the Director General on general policies regarding the provision, financing and transport of supplies. The membership of the Committee on Supplies, which under the agreement is to represent those mem-

ber governments likely to be principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation was fixed as the members of the Council or their alternates representing Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, the French Committee of National Liberation, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

(b) The Committee on Financial Control, the general function of which is to advise the Council on all financial matters of the Administration except those within the competence of the Committee on Supplies. The membership of the Committee on Financial Control was fixed as the members of the Council or their alternates representing the United States, China, Greece, Mexico, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United Kingdom.

(c) The Committee of the Council for Europe, the general function of which is to recommend policies to be adopted by the Council and to advise the Director General with respect to relief and rehabilitation operations in the European area. The membership of the Committee of the Council for Europe consists of the members of the Council or their alternates representing member governments included within the European area and the members of the Council or their alternates representing the United States, Brazil, and Canada.

(d) The Committee of the Council for the Far East, the general function of which is identical with respect to the Far Eastern area as that of the Committee of the Council for Europe. The membership of the Committee of the Council for the Far East consists of the members of the Council or their alternates representing the United States, Australia, China, the French Committee of National Liberation, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippine Commonwealth, and the United Kingdom.

(e) The standing technical committees of the Council on: (i) Agriculture, (ii) Displaced persons, (iii) Health, (iv) Industrial Rehabilitation, and (v) Welfare, the general functions of which are to advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General as to technical policies and programs within their respective fields. The membership of each of these standing technical committees is to consist of such members of the Council as indicate to the Director General their intention to participate in the work of a committee or committees or of alternates nominated by such members because they possess special competence in the problems of the committee to which they are nominated.

Apart from establishing the Council and its committees, and the Director General and his staff, the agreement lays down certain broad lines of policy. It clearly establishes in article VII and article IV the subordinate relationship of the organization to the military authorities in liberated areas. It provides that the Director General shall coordinate and control the work of foreign voluntary or charitable relief agencies operating within a liberated area. This provision does not mean that Red Cross and other experienced relief agencies are not to be called upon to participate in relief administration. On the contrary, it is intended that they be used wherever appropriate. But it does require the coordination of all field work in the light of general relief policies agreed upon by the governments concerned;



The agreement also requires full periodic reports from the Director General to the Council, both as to the use of funds and as to his other activities. And it sets up suitable machinery for amendment and procedure.

#### THE SCOPE OF U. N. R. R. A. OPERATIONS

The task of the U. N. R. R. A. is international in scope, directly involving and affecting many countries. It cannot be solved except through cooperative international action.

The agreement itself defines the job in these terms: That the signatory nations are determined—

that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing, and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.

The U. N. R. R. A. is therefore directed in Article I of the agreement—

to plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

After the cessation of hostilities in a liberated area, the U. N. R. R. A. will thus be concerned with the emergency task of providing relief to the victims of war in that area. But the U. N. R. R. A. is not to be responsible for the whole of the vast job of relief and rehabilitation. It will not be concerned with reconstruction, such as plans for rebuilding bombed cities, or reestablishing the economic life of devastated areas. The agreement does not authorize or contemplate any project involving the control of educational policies in liberated territories. The program of the U. N. R. R. A. is a relief program, designed to provide relief supplies, and such emergency industrial or agricultural supplies as are needed to facilitate at the earliest possible moment the flow of locally produced relief supplies.

There are four general categories of supplies and services which the U. N. R. R. A. will assist in furnishing to liberated areas: (1) Essential consumer goods, such as medical supplies, food, fuel, temporary shelter, and clothing; (2) health and welfare services, including the care and repatriation of displaced persons; (3) materials necessary to the resumption of the production of relief supplies within liberated areas, such as seed, fertilizer, fishing equipment, essential machinery and spare parts; and (4) materials and technical help to repair, so far as they can be repaired or restored to meet immediate needs, essential utilities and public services.

Thus, the scope of the term "rehabilitation" in the plans of the U. N. R. R. A. is limited generally to work which will enable a recipient country to produce or transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas and to the repair or restoration of public utilities to the extent necessary to meet immediate needs. In the field of agriculture it is limited to short-run agricultural rehabilitation and food-produc-

tion efforts. Rehabilitation is stated in a resolution of the Council to be coterminous with relief, rather than the beginning of reconstruction, and is not to comprehend any general rebuilding program. Rehabilitation is strictly limited in the resolutions of the Council. The language of paragraph 11 of resolution No. 12 is incorporated in the joint resolution as an amendment, as follows:

SEC. 3. In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the first session of the Council, summarized in paragraph 11 of Resolution Numbered 12, and reading as follows:

"11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the Agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world."

The victims of war must be fed as soon as possible. Chaos and anarchy caused by human suffering would endanger us all. The permanent reconstruction of devastated areas and the reestablishment of currencies are different types of problems. These are long-term problems which should be considered separately from emergency relief; they have been left to agencies and arrangements other than the U. N. R. R. A.

It has been reliably estimated that more than 90 percent of the needs of liberated areas will be either locally produced or provided through imports for which these countries will pay. It should be clearly understood that the U. N. R. R. A. does not propose to finance all such imports as may be necessary for relief within the liberated areas. Many of the countries now occupied by the enemy have funds in gold or foreign exchange with which they will pay for their imported relief supplies. The U. N. R. R. A.'s job with respect to supplies for such countries is to make representations to insure that there will be an equitable division of goods in short supply to and among the liberated areas, and to see to it that the necessary imports are available for those liberated areas the governments of which are too poor to buy such supplies themselves. That task must be accepted as a common responsibility of all nations fortunate enough not to have suffered the horror of invasion, and interested in restoring a world of trade and peace.

Apart from questions of supply, U. N. R. R. A. will assist in caring for displaced persons and in coordinating and controlling their movements, in the interest of the health and economic life of all nations. It does not encompass the political questions presented to the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, established by the Evian Conference, nor does it deal with the vital and tragic problems considered at the recent Bermuda Conference on the fate of refugees in Europe.

The U. N. R. R. A. will necessarily take an active part in the problem of public health. It will provide for the organization of adequate measures to protect the public health of the countries which are now occupied by the enemy. Particularly in connection with the treatment of displaced persons, and with the quick restoration of adequate public-health services, an international problem of great magnitude will be presented in all liberated areas.

## U. N. R. R. A.'S FIELD OPERATIONS

U. N. R. R. A.'s activities will be confined to countries which have been liberated from enemy occupation. However, operations in the enemy or ex-enemy territories may also have to be carried on. Disease and epidemics know no boundaries, and their outbreak in any area may endanger all adjacent areas, as well as the health of our occupying troops. The policy resolutions adopted by the Council specifically provide that the Council must approve the scale and nature of such operations and that all expenses of operations in an enemy or ex-enemy country should be borne by that country.

In all cases the U. N. R. R. A. can operate in an area only with the consent of the government or authority (military or civilian) exercising administrative authority in the area. Since the occupied areas will be freed by military action, all activities in an area during the initial period of military necessity must be carried on by the military forces. U. N. R. R. A. will, however, stand ready to act during the military period to the extent that it is requested to do so.

The U. N. R. R. A. must necessarily depend upon the support and assistance of the various governments or authorities if it is to operate. It will operate as a service agency and it is expected that the primary responsibility for the distribution of relief supplies and for rehabilitation work will be borne by the government or recognized national authority which exercises administrative control in the area. Although it must closely supervise the distribution of its supplies, it will have no facilities for large-scale distribution through its own agencies, no powers to control distribution through rationing or otherwise. It is not intended to be a governmental body with powers of local administration which only a government can perform.

U. N. R. R. A. is an agency limited to the job of relief. It cannot recognize or refuse to recognize governments nor engage in political activities or decisions. Effort has been made in many of the Council's resolutions to insure its firm policy that relief supplies shall not be used as a political weapon by any faction or group.

The U. N. R. R. A. agreement in no way limits the freedom of this Government to act on such questions; U. N. R. R. A. will deal with the governments or authorities recognized by the United Nations as competent to speak for their areas. It will deal with authorities actually exercising administrative authority in liberated territories, as it must do if its job is to be done efficiently. We are satisfied that everything is being done that can be done to make the distribution of relief as fair and nonpolitical as circumstances will permit. The need for relief is the only criterion which has been accepted to guide relief distribution, and extensive steps have been taken to see that this standard is fulfilled.

## ALLOCATION AND PROCUREMENT OF SUPPLIES

In order to insure the careful allocation of scarce supplies and shipping tonnage, the over-all needs of liberated areas must be coordinated with all other needs, both military and civilian.

The Director General and his staff will make estimates of requirements in accordance with policies determined after consultation by the committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East. He



will then present these over-all estimates to the intergovernmental agencies, the Combined Boards, which will make recommendations, in the light of all other needs, to the national allocating agencies represented on them as to the allocation of essential relief supplies. These requirements will be of two types: The over-all requirements of all the liberated areas as a group and the individual requirements of the governments of liberated areas which have requested the assistance of the U. N. R. R. A.

In many cases governments which do not require the financial assistance of the U. N. R. R. A. will themselves present their individual requirements or programs of intended purchases, to the agencies concerned. In any such case, the government concerned will advise the Director General of its program prior to its presentation to the Combined Boards or other interested agencies. Thus the Director General will have an opportunity to make recommendations or objections to the government and to the agencies concerned in order to insure a fair distribution of supplies to and among the various areas, in the interest of seeing to it that countries able to pay are treated on the same basis of need in the distribution of supplies as countries without adequate funds.

Countries able to do so will handle their own procurement; the U. N. R. R. A. will act in procurement only on behalf of those which are without the means to pay, or which request its assistance. In such cases, the Director General will act whenever possible through the established national agencies whose function it is to arrange for the procurement, handling, storage, and transport of supplies.

Considerable attention was given to the question of how the U. N. R. R. A. needs were to be handled by United States agencies. The committee has been assured that in obtaining supplies from the United States, the U. N. R. R. A. would deal directly with the Combined Boards and other supply authorities, assisted by the Foreign Economic Administration, which is expected to be charged with the job of bringing United States supplies to the water's edge for the U. N. R. R. A. The committee was also assured that workable and cooperative administrative arrangements are contemplated to handle our share in the relief program.

The Director General will also have information with respect to the existence of surpluses of supplies in the liberated areas which to the extent possible will be used to meet the relief and rehabilitation requirements of other areas.

#### THE FINANCIAL PLAN

The Council adopted for the Administration a financial plan which includes recommendations to member governments with respect to their contributions. The basic recommendation is that each member government whose home territory has not been occupied by the enemy should make a contribution for participation in the work of the U. N. R. R. A. approximately equal to 1 percent of the national income of the country for the year ended June 30, 1943, each country to make its own computation of national income. This contribution is proposed not as an annual contribution but as the contribution which it is presently estimated will be the amount needed.

The U. N. R. R. A. agreement provides that the amount and character of the contribution of each member government is to be deter-

mined by its own constitutional bodies. No member of the Council, in approving the financial plan, made any commitment with regard to the contribution of his government and the plan recognizes that there will be cases in which, by reason of special circumstances, a member government will not be able to make the recommended contribution. For example, those countries in which per capita income is especially low or which have little or no foreign exchange or gold and no substantial exportable surpluses of material, may find it impossible to contribute to the extent recommended. Such possibilities are inherent in a voluntary association with no power to enforce contributions.

The liberated countries will provide internally most of the supplies and services needed for their own relief and rehabilitation and also, when they are able, will pay for the imports they need. It is estimated that under this policy 90 percent of the relief will be furnished by the liberated countries themselves and 10 percent by U. N. R. R. A. contributions. In view of these facts, it was not recommended at the first session of the Council that such countries make the 1 percent contribution to the U. N. R. R. A. at this time. It was however recommended that when the financial situation of such countries became clearer, they should make an appropriate contribution to the resources of the U. N. R. R. A.

If each member government were to make the contribution recommended in the plan, it is estimated that the amount contributed would be in the neighborhood of 2 or perhaps 2.5 billion dollars. Of this amount, the contribution of the United States would be approximately \$1,350,000,000. In this connection, it should be noted that the national income of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1943, was substantially larger than the combined income for the same period of all other member governments that have been asked to contribute. It should also be noted that the amount of the contribution of the United States under this formula would be approximately equivalent to the amount currently being spent by the United States Government in 5 days for war purposes, and is less per capita than the amount contributed by our country for relief after the last war.

The formula recommended was the subject of much discussion at the meeting of the Council and various other formulae were advanced and discussed. It was pointed out that a formula based on 1 percent of income does not follow the desirable principle of progressive taxation. But no other formula seemed so practicable or so generally fair. The committee believes that this policy represents the best possible solution.

Certain observations on the limitations of national income statistics for this purpose should be emphasized. It is obvious, of course, that the national income formula is not an absolutely accurate guide. All comparisons of national income in wartime are misleading in some degree because they have to be made in dollars or pounds or other monetary units; prices have gone up in different degrees in different countries, and the nominal rates of exchange in which we have to make these comparisons no longer necessarily reflect the levels of internal prices in the different countries. Generally speaking, however, real income in terms of physical production has increased in about the same proportions in the chief industrial countries, and they pres-

ently are devoting about the same fraction of their actual output to war purposes. Thus, they are in much the same position so far as increases in real national income are concerned, and their national income, therefore, provides a reasonably fair basis for measuring their relief contributions.

It should be pointed out that our expenditures for relief during and after the last war amounted to more than 4 percent of our national income for 1919. The problem of relief after this war will be far greater than the relief problems of 1919 and the years that followed, both in the number of persons and in the areas involved.

The recommendation of the financial plan is that each contributing country should make at least 10 percent of its contribution available in such form as can be expended in areas outside of the contributing country and that the balance should be in the form of a credit in local currency available for the purchase of supplies and services within its areas. It can be expected that every contributing country in a position to do so will make more than 10 percent of its contributions available in a form which can be spent outside its territories so as to reduce the drain on short supplies within the country.

The financial plan also provides that insofar as is consistent with efficient operation, contributions of all member governments shall be called upon at an approximately equal rate. The purpose of this provision is, of course, that no one country shall at any particular time be called upon to assume an undue burden of contributing to the work of the U. N. R. R. A.

Some of the occupied countries, relatively soon after their liberation, will probably be in a position to produce exportable surpluses, and such countries may make contributions for the assistance of other areas which remain in great need, although such countries are not included in the 1-percent formula. In addition, it may be anticipated that some nonmember governments and private organizations and individuals will contribute in money or supplies to further the work of the U. N. R. R. A.

The financial plan makes separate provision for contributions for administrative expenses. It requires the preparation by the Director General of an annual administrative budget to be submitted to the Council for approval. The amount of the approved administrative budget is allocated by the Council among all member governments. It should be noted that those countries which are not asked to make contributions for operating purposes—that is, the countries which have been occupied by the enemy, are nevertheless asked to make their proportionate contributions to administrative expenses. The Council approved an administrative budget for the calendar year 1944 and the remaining part of 1943 in the amount of 10 million dollars and made allocations thereof to the member governments in the proportion shown in Resolution No. 38. The basis for the allocation was the 1940 income of member governments, the last year for which any figures are available for occupied countries. Under those allocations, more than 30 percent of the administrative expenses would be borne by countries whose home territories have been occupied by the enemy, since these countries were desirous of bearing their share of the administrative expenses even though they could not be expected to contribute to the operating funds. It is also provided in the financial plan that a member government may treat its share of administrative expenses



as included in any general contribution which it makes for the work of U. N. R. R. A. Therefore the share of the United States for administrative expenses may be treated as being not in addition to, but included in, its general contribution. The financial plan contains a recommendation that contributions for administrative expenses be made at the earliest possible moment, since it is clear that without funds to meet administrative expenses, no start can be made in organizing the staff and facilities of the U. N. R. R. A.

#### USE OF THE U. N. R. R. A. FUNDS

It is the stated policy of the U. N. R. R. A. not to deplete its available resources for the relief and rehabilitation of any area whose government is in a position to pay with suitable means of foreign exchange. It is further declared to be its policy that no government needing relief should be required to assume the burden of an enduring foreign exchange debt for the purchase of supplies for relief and rehabilitation. To meet this problem, provision is made in the financial plan for a mechanism to determine whether a government is in a position to pay for services and supplies in gold or foreign exchange. This question is to be determined by the Director General, in consultation with the member government involved and with the advice of a committee or subcommittee of the Council. Naturally, this issue will be raised only upon the application of a country for assistance from the U. N. R. R. A.

The fact that the funds available to the U. N. R. R. A. will be used to pay for supplies and services which must be brought into certain of the liberated areas does not, however, mean that such supplies and services will be distributed free within such areas. In most cases, the population of the liberated areas will have the funds necessary to fill at least a part of their needs, but such funds may be in local currency having little or no foreign exchange value. In such cases, the U. N. R. R. A. will either sell its supplies and services to the government of the liberated area for local currency or will make arrangements for the proceeds of the sale of supplies to be made available for use by the U. N. R. R. A. within the particular area for such purposes as may be agreed upon with the government or authority in the area.

One of the policies adopted by the Council is that the U. N. R. R. A.'s resources shall be dispensed fairly on the basis of relative needs of the population and without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief. It will be the responsibility of those charged with the task of distribution to see that this principle is adhered to.

Arrangements will be made whenever practicable for full publicity concerning the activities of the U. N. R. R. A. and for the labeling of the supplies that it furnishes so that their source will be made known to those receiving relief.

The Council has recommended to member governments that arrangements be made to exempt the U. N. R. R. A. imports and exports from taxation and the U. N. R. R. A. funds from unnecessary foreign exchange restrictions and other economic restrictions, so that it may have the greatest freedom to apply its full resources for the work of relief and rehabilitation. It is specifically provided that under no circumstances shall any distribution of gold and currency be made to any member or nonmember government except for the purchase of essential supplies or services.

An annual audit of all financial transactions is provided for and the Director General is required to submit to the Committee on Financial Control of the Council a quarterly report of operating and administrative expenses and receipts. Copies of these quarterly reports are to be furnished to each member government.

#### CONCLUSION

United States participation in the work of the U. N. R. R. A. is essential, if the United States is to carry out in the field of international action those responsibilities of world leadership which are imposed upon us by the deepest interests of the security and prosperity of the United States. The need for the U. N. R. R. A. is evident. The wake of human misery left by the German and Japanese war machines requires international action as a matter of necessity, as well as of humanity. The problems presented are international problems—the marshaling of available world supplies; the working out of agreements as to common standards for relief among the liberated areas; the establishing of reserves of supplies available for use in whatever areas may be liberated first; the prevention of competitive scrambling for limited relief and rehabilitation supplies in the world markets; and the provision for and control of the movement of displaced persons. International action is essential if the liberated peoples are to be put in position to help themselves. They must be given that additional strength which will enable them to go forward with us in the task of economic reconstruction and the building of a durable peace.







78TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. J. RES. 192

[Report No. 994]

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NOVEMBER 15, 1943

Mr. BLOOM introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

JANUARY 17, 1944

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

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## JOINT RESOLUTION

To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

1       *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*  
2   *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3   That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated ~~from~~  
4   ~~time to time~~ to the President such sums, *not to exceed*  
5   *\$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate,* as the Congress may de-  
6   termine *from time to time* to be appropriate for participation  
7   by the United States (including contributions in funds or  
8   otherwise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the  
9   work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Admin-  
10   istration, established by an agreement concluded by the

1 United Nations and Associated Governments on November  
2 9, 1943, reading as follows:

3 "AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF  
4 AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

5 "The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized  
6 representatives have subscribed hereto,

7 "Being United Nations or being associated with the  
8 United Nations in this war,

9 "Being determined that immediately upon the liberation  
10 of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as  
11 a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof  
12 shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, cloth-  
13 ing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in  
14 the recovery of the health of the people, and that prepara-  
15 tion and arrangements shall be made for the return of  
16 prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the  
17 resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial  
18 production and the restoration of essential services,

19 "Have agreed as follows:

20 "ARTICLE I

21 "There is hereby established the United Nations Relief  
22 and Rehabilitation Administration.

23 "1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold  
24 and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake  
25 obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review

1 the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings  
2 and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its  
3 objects and purposes.

4 “2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the pur-  
5 poses and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

6 “(a) To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the  
7 administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in  
8 any area under the control of any of the United Nations  
9 through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and  
10 other basic necessities, medical and other essential services;  
11 and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the  
12 adequate provision of relief, the production and transporta-  
13 tion of these articles and the furnishing of these services. The  
14 form of activities of the Administration within the territory of  
15 a member government wherein that government exercises  
16 administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed  
17 by the member government for carrying out measures planned  
18 by the Administration therein shall be determined after  
19 consultation with and with the consent of the member  
20 government.

21 “(b) To formulate and recommend measures for indi-  
22 vidual or joint action by any or all of the member govern-  
23 ments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships and  
24 other procurement activities in the period following the cessa-  
25 tion of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and



1 activities of the Administration with the total movement of  
2 supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distri-  
3 bution of available supplies. The Administration may ad-  
4 minister such coordination measures as may be authorized by  
5 the member governments concerned.

6 “(c) To study, formulate and recommend for individual  
7 or joint action by any or all of the member governments  
8 measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of  
9 its experience in planning and performing the work of relief  
10 and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member  
11 governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recom-  
12 mendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a  
13 vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be re-  
14 ferred to any or all of the member governments for indi-  
15 vidual or joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the  
16 Central Committee and by vote of the Council.

17 “ARTICLE II

18 “MEMBERSHIP

19 “The members of the United Nations Relief and Re-  
20 habilitation Administration shall be the governments or  
21 authorities signatory hereto and such other governments or  
22 authorities as may upon application for membership be  
23 admitted thereto by action of the Council. The Council may,  
24 if it desires, authorize the Central Committee to accept new  
25 members between sessions of the Council.

1 “Wherever the term ‘member government’ is used in this  
2 Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the  
3 Administration whether a government or an authority.

4 “ARTICLE III

5 “THE COUNCIL

6 “1. Each member government shall name one representa-  
7 tive, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Coun-  
8 cil of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Adminis-  
9 tration which shall be the policy-making body of the Adminis-  
10 tration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select  
11 one of its members to preside at the session. The Council  
12 shall determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise  
13 provided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the  
14 Council shall vote by simple majority.

15 “2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not  
16 less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may  
17 be convened in special session whenever the Central Com-  
18 mittee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within  
19 thirty days after request therefor by one-third of the mem-  
20 bers of the Council.

21 “3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist  
22 of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist  
23 Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of  
24 America, with the Director General presiding, without vote.  
25 Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make

1 policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions  
2 shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee  
3 which shall be communicated promptly to each member gov-  
4 ernment. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by  
5 the Council at any regular session or at any special session  
6 called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The  
7 Central Committee shall invite the participation of the repre-  
8 sentative of any member government at those of its meetings  
9 at which action of special interest to such government is  
10 discussed. It shall invite the participation of the represent-  
11 ative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of  
12 the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affect-  
13 ing the provision of supplies are discussed.

14 “4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall  
15 consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
16 representing those member governments likely to be prin-  
17 cipal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The  
18 members shall be appointed by the Council, and the  
19 Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emer-  
20 gency appointments between sessions of the Council, such  
21 appointments to continue until the next session of the Coun-  
22 cil. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate and  
23 recommend to the Council and the Central Committee poli-  
24 cies designed to assure the provision of required supplies.  
25 The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with



1 the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting  
2 supplies.

3       “5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall con-  
4 sist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
5 representing member governments of territories within the  
6 European area and such other members of the Council rep-  
7 resenting other governments directly concerned with the  
8 problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area  
9 as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may au-  
10 thorize the Central Committee to make these appointments  
11 in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such  
12 appointments to continue until the next session of the Coun-  
13 cil. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall  
14 consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
15 representing member governments of territories within the  
16 Far Eastern area and such other members of the Council  
17 representing other governments directly concerned with the  
18 problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area  
19 as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may au-  
20 thorize the Central Committee to make these appointments  
21 in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such  
22 appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.  
23 The regional committees shall normally meet within their  
24 respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to  
25 the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect

1 to relief and rehabilitation within their respective areas.  
2 The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the  
3 Inter-Allied Committee on European Post-war Relief estab-  
4 lished in London on September 24, 1941, and the records  
5 of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for  
6 Europe.

7       “6. The Council shall establish such other standing re-  
8 gional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions  
9 of such committees and the method of appointing their mem-  
10 bers being identical to that provided in Article III, para-  
11 graph 5, with respect to the Committees of the Council for  
12 Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also estab-  
13 lish such other standing committees as it considers desirable  
14 to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council,  
15 to advise the Central Committee. For such standing techni-  
16 cal committees as may be established, in respect of particular  
17 problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, re-  
18 patriation, and finance, the members may be members of the  
19 Council or alternates nominated by them because of special  
20 competence in their respective fields of work. The members  
21 shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may au-  
22 thorize the Central Committee to make emergency appoint-  
23 ments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to  
24 continue until the next session of the Council. Should a re-  
25 gional committee so desire, subcommittees of the standing

1 technical committees shall be established by the technical  
2 committees in consultation with the regional committees,  
3 to advise the regional committees.

4 “7. The travel and other expenses of members of the  
5 Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by  
6 the governments which they represent.

7 “8. All reports and recommendations of committees of  
8 the Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for  
9 distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the  
10 secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of  
11 Article IV, paragraph 4.

#### 12 “ARTICLE IV

##### 13 “THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

14 “1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief  
15 and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director  
16 General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nom-  
17 ination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The  
18 Director General may be removed by the Council on recom-  
19 mendation by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

20 “2. The Director General shall have full power and au-  
21 thority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by  
22 Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available  
23 resources and the broad policies determined by the Council  
24 or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office  
25 he shall in conjunction with the military and other appro-



1 priate authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for  
2 the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area  
3 occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations,  
4 arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary  
5 supplies and create or select the emergency organization  
6 required for this purpose. In arranging for the procure-  
7 ment, transportation, and distribution of supplies and serv-  
8 ices, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate  
9 with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and  
10 shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available  
11 by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may  
12 not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the  
13 Administration without the consent and unless subject to the  
14 regulation of the Director General. The powers and duties  
15 of the Director General are subject to the limitations of  
16 Article VII.

17       “3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the  
18 organization and direction of the functions contemplated by  
19 Article I, paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c).

20       “4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy  
21 Directors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his  
22 headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he  
23 shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his  
24 powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General,

1 or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General,  
2 shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities  
3 as shall be required by the Council and its committees, in-  
4 cluding the regional committees and subcommittees. Such  
5 Deputy Directors General as shall be assigned special func-  
6 tions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional  
7 standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it ad-  
8 vised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation program  
9 within the region.

10 "5. The Director General shall make periodic reports  
11 to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the  
12 progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall  
13 be made public except for such portions as the Central Com-  
14 mittee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United  
15 Nations, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests  
16 of a member government in such a way as to render it ques-  
17 tionable whether it should be published, such government  
18 shall have an opportunity of expressing its views on the  
19 question of publication. The Director General shall also  
20 arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activ-  
21 ities of the Administration within each region and he shall  
22 transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the  
23 Council, the Central Committee and the respective regional  
24 committees.

## 1 "ARTICLE V

## 2 "SUPPLIES AND RESOURCES

3 "1. In so far as its appropriate constitutional bodies  
4 shall authorize, each member government will contribute to  
5 the support of the Administration in order to accomplish  
6 the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). The amount and  
7 character of the contributions of each member government  
8 under this provision will be determined from time to time  
9 by its appropriate constitutional bodies. All such contribu-  
10 tions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

11 "2. The supplies and resources made available by the  
12 member governments shall be kept in review in relation to  
13 prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall  
14 initiate action with the member governments with a view to  
15 assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be  
16 required.

17 "3. All purchases by any of the member governments,  
18 to be made outside their own territories during the war for  
19 relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after  
20 consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as  
21 practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United  
22 Nations agency.

## 23 "ARTICLE VI

## 24 "ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

25 "The Director General shall submit to the Council an



1 annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary  
 2 budgets as may be required, covering the necessary adminis-  
 3 trative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of  
 4 a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be  
 5 allocated to the member governments in proportions to be  
 6 determined by the Council. Each member government  
 7 undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional  
 8 procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its  
 9 share of the administrative expenses so determined.

#### 10 "ARTICLE VII

11 "Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained,  
 12 while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area,  
 13 the Administration and its Director General shall not under-  
 14 take activities therein without the consent of the military com-  
 15 mand of that area, and unless subject to such control as the  
 16 command may find necessary. The determination that such  
 17 hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be  
 18 made by its military commander.

#### 19 "ARTICLE VIII

#### 20 "AMENDMENT

21 "The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as  
 22 follows:

23 "a. Amendments involving new obligations for member  
 24 governments shall require the approval of the Council by a

1 two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member govern-  
2 ment on acceptance by it;

3 "b. Amendments involving modification of Article III  
4 or Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by  
5 a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of  
6 the Central Committee;

7 "c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by  
8 the Council by a two-thirds vote.

9 "ARTICLE IX

10 "ENTRY INTO FORCE

11 "This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to  
12 each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by  
13 that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

14 "ARTICLE X

15 "WITHDRAWAL

16 "Any member government may give notice of with-  
17 drawal from the Administration at any time after the expira-  
18 tion of six months from the entry into force of the Agreement  
19 for that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve  
20 months after the date of its communication to the Director  
21 General subject to the member government having met by  
22 that time all financial, supply or other material obligations  
23 accepted or undertaken by it."

24 SEC. 2. Amounts appropriated under this resolution  
25 shall be expended under the direction of the President pur-

1 suant to section 1 hereof. The\*President shall submit to the  
2 Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any  
3 such appropriations and of operations under the Agreement.

4 *SEC. 3. In the adoption of this joint resolution the*  
5 *Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the*  
6 *policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilita-*  
7 *tion Administration at the first session of the Council, sum-*  
8 *marized in paragraph 11 of Resolution Numbered 12, and*  
9 *reading as follows:*

10 *“11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as*  
11 *the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief.*  
12 *No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated,*  
13 *but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the Agree-*  
14 *ment. Problems, such as unemployment, are important, but*  
15 *not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the*  
16 *same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be*  
17 *called upon to help restore continuous employment in the*  
18 *world.”*



78TH CONGRESS  
1ST Session

# H. J. RES. 192

[Report No. 994]

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## JOINT RESOLUTION

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To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

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By Mr. Broom

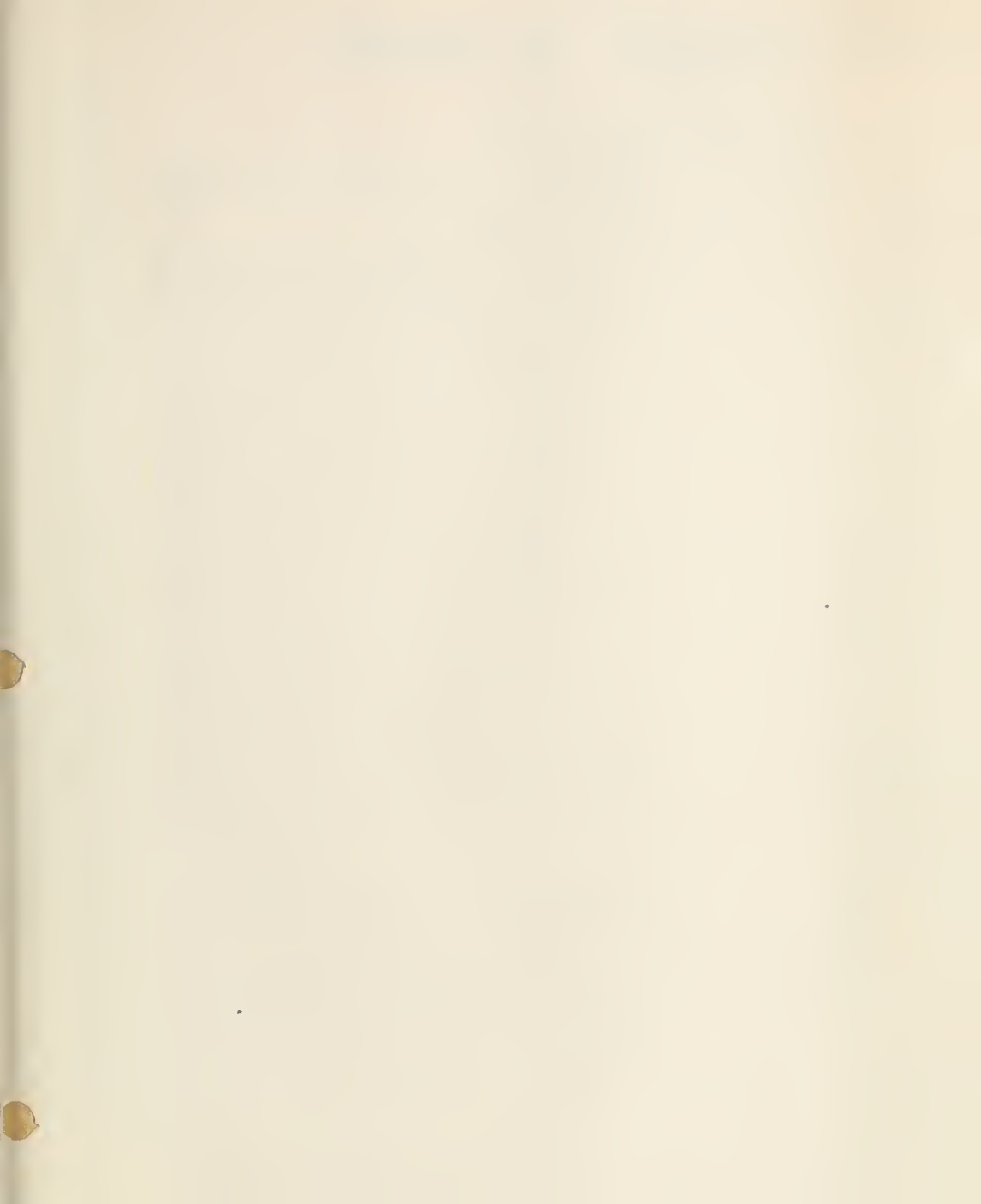
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NOVEMBER 15, 1943

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

JANUARY 17, 1944

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed







# House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19, 1944

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Father of all mercies, who dwellest in the hearts of them who love Thee, we wait in this solemn stillness; Thou dost speak not in noisy haste nor in the whirlwind of excitement, but to him who waits in calmness with unfettered thoughts. O Holy Spirit, sweep through us, leaving rich deposits of faith and trust and visions that are deeper and clearer than our aspirations. Let our manhood be self-contained and deliberate, then we shall be able to live and serve worthily.

In the quietude of these moments, may we feel the sacredness of our obligations. Embody in our daily lives the influence and the example that our Lord brought to the children of men. As there are changes in the world of men, O give to us Thy changeless hand; lift up our souls and let the tendrils of trustfulness bind our hearts to Thee, believing that character, not power, nor wealth, nor position is of living and of supreme worth. Help us to know the humble way of sacrifice, whose spirit is the royal way of our Saviour. We pray that we may be too strong to be unjust, too noble to be vain, and too generous to be small. Eye hath not seen, neither hath it entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him. In our Redeemer's name. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a joint resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. J. Res. 108. Joint resolution making an appropriation for contingent expenses of the Senate.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include an editorial from this morning's Washington Post.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include a newspaper article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

## COOPERATIVE LEAGUE, INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE RECONSTRUCTION

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House to the fact that today and tomorrow at the Washington Hotel in this city there is being held a conference of very great significance, sponsored by the Cooperative League of the United States, International Cooperative Reconstruction. There are there in attendance representatives of the cooperatives of many of the nations of the world, as well as our American cooperative leaders. The purpose of the conference is to discuss and bring to public attention the vital and all-important contribution that those cooperatives can make to a rehabilitation of the nations after this war. The answer of the cooperative movement to the problems that face mankind is the most constructive single answer that I know of. Cooperation is the middle way whereby the people can solve many of their problems by their own efforts and by application of the principle of human brotherhood. Congress would find it most worth while to attend the sessions of this conference.

## CONSTRUCTION OF CERTAIN PUBLIC WORKS

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report upon the bill (H. R. 3741) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement be read in lieu of the report.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see House proceedings of January 18, 1944.)

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, when this public-works bill passed the House it provided for an authorization of \$235,000,000. When it went through the Senate it provided for \$271,000,000, an increase of some \$46,000,000. The first amendment of an increase of \$23,000,000 is for aviation facilities. The Navy Department found that it is absolutely essential to make certain changes in the aviation program which involves an expenditure of this kind. I would like, Mr. Speaker, to be permitted to insert in the Record a full and complete explanation in regard to each one of these amendments. The conference report has been unanimously agreed to by

the House conferees. The main increase is in dollars and cents.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, is there no other change in the legislation?

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. There is no other change except permitting the Navy Department to enter into contracts relating to this before the money becomes available.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record an explanation in regard to each one of these amendments.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Amendment No. 1:

(a) To make general increases in personnel facilities at various stations to permit a greater degree of mobility of fleet units. Experience has shown that capacities somewhat in excess of minimum theoretical requirements are necessary to provide for sudden changes of station by fleet units in accordance with tactical requirements.

(b) To make general increases in basic facilities required as a result of increased plane complements and sizes, training devices, etc.

(c) To improve runways and taxiways to accommodate the later types of heavy planes.

(d) To provide facilities for training of personnel and the maintenance and repair of equipment, in connection with new developments in naval aviation.

It is expected that \$27,000,000 of the funds authorized will be expended as follows:

Expansion of naval air stations and facilities to support fleet and sea frontier forces:	
North Atlantic area.....	\$940,000
Middle Atlantic area.....	3,050,000
South Atlantic area.....	290,000
West coast area.....	10,984,000
Total.....	15,264,000

## Amendment No. 2:

### STORAGE FACILITIES

At the present time there are in the Navy Department projects amounting to \$23,000,000 for the development of additional storage facilities to meet the increased requirements for storage space for general stores in all categories. The Navy Department estimates that during the remainder of this fiscal year additional authorization is required for this \$23,000,000 in public-works construction to meet present anticipated demands. The work involves expansion in 16 localities and consists of additional storehouses and miscellaneous improvements and extensions.

The Senate committee authorized an expenditure of \$3,000,000 for additional storage facilities at six different locations in the United States. These funds will be expended for the construction of storehouses, transit sheds, roads, railroad trackage, and other services of this nature.

## Amendment No. 3:

### ORDNANCE FACILITIES

In recommending \$92,000,000 for ordnance storage facilities, the Navy Department has



been guided by the necessity for economy in its considerations of additional public-works construction but is nevertheless cognizant of the fact that additional ordnance-testing facilities, storage facilities, and reserve facilities are essential to keep pace with the development of new weapons. The principal items included in the Navy Department's request are three shipping depots on the west coast to relieve the shortage in this type of facilities, additional ordnance testing and reserve facilities at seven locations, expansion of ammunition storage facilities at five locations, additional housing facilities for ordnance battalions at various locations, and additional ammunition loading facilities at existing depots. The amount requested by the Navy Department for the above facilities is \$72,000,000.

The additional \$12,000,000 authorized by the House is required for the establishment of shipping facilities in the Puget Sound area to relieve the extremely hazardous condition now existing in the heart of the city of Seattle where high explosives to a large degree are being handled through the congested water front of the city of Seattle. The funds will be employed in the construction of an extension of the railroad from Shelton, Wash., to the vicinity of the Bremerton Navy Yard, a distance of approximately 32 miles, and the development of shipping facilities in the near vicinity to relieve the hazardous condition now existing.

#### Amendment No. 4:

These funds are requested by the Navy Department to provide for deficiencies in power supply and distribution, water supply and distribution, sewage and sanitary facilities, shore communication facilities, and miscellaneous structures at various naval activities. The funds requested by the Navy Department for this category of projects are \$4,000,000. Included in the miscellaneous facilities and structures stated above, the Navy Department is requesting funds in the amount of \$100,000 to comply with the requirements of H. R. 2886 providing for the removal of oysters from York River and replacing same in unpolluted waters in the vicinity.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

Mr. SABATH, by direction of the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged report, House Resolution 401, for printing in the RECORD:

*Resolved*, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization. That after debate, which shall be confined to the resolution and shall continue not to exceed 2 days, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the same to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

#### RECESS OF THE HOUSE ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1944, TO RECEIVE THE PRESIDENT OF VENEZUELA

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order tomorrow for the Speaker to declare a recess of the House for the purpose of receiving a distinguished visitor to the United States, the President of our neighboring Government of Venezuela.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

#### CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the table Senate Joint Resolution No. 108, making an appropriation for the contingent expenses of the Senate and ask that the same be considered.

The Clerk read the joint resolution.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, has the gentleman taken this up with the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER]?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I have, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] concurs in the action which I have proposed, and submitted to the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

*Resolved, etc.*, That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$200,000 for contingent expenses of the Senate, expenses of inquiries and investigations ordered by the Senate, including compensation to stenographers of committees, at such rate as may be fixed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, but not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, fiscal year 1944: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for per diem and subsistence expenses except in accordance with the provisions of the Subsistence Expense Act of 1926, approved June 3, 1926, as amended.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the Senate joint resolution. The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include therein a recent editorial from the Norwich Sun.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### SPECIAL ELECTIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday two special elections were held in Pennsylvania, one in the congressional district adjoining mine on the north—formerly represented by Representative Ditter; the other—formerly represented by Representative McGranery—almost abutting it on the south.

In both districts Republicans were elected to Congress by overwhelming majorities. It appears that in Montgomery County the majority will show a greater Republican victory than in 1942 and in Philadelphia a district which went Democratic by 50.50 percent in 1942 went Republican yesterday by 54.05 percent on the basis of unofficial but complete returns.

Two days before the election the New Deal's news organ in Philadelphia quoted the Democratic candidate as declaring that the issue was support of President Roosevelt and of his administration. Throughout the campaign the New Deal candidate stressed the national character of the contest and asked for a vote of confidence in the Roosevelt administration. The result speaks for itself.

Now that it has become evident that democracy means bounty no longer but sacrifice—giving by the citizen rather than taking—the Santa Claus type of Democrat seems to have been conspicuous by his absence yesterday.

This poses a problem for New Dealers: "What kind of a new hand-out can we dream up which will be big enough to buy some more gratitude by November?"

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein a letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. HENDRICKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a letter from one of my constituents and also to extend my remarks concerning a bill that I have introduced.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my re-

## CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 192

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JANUARY 19, 1944.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

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Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following

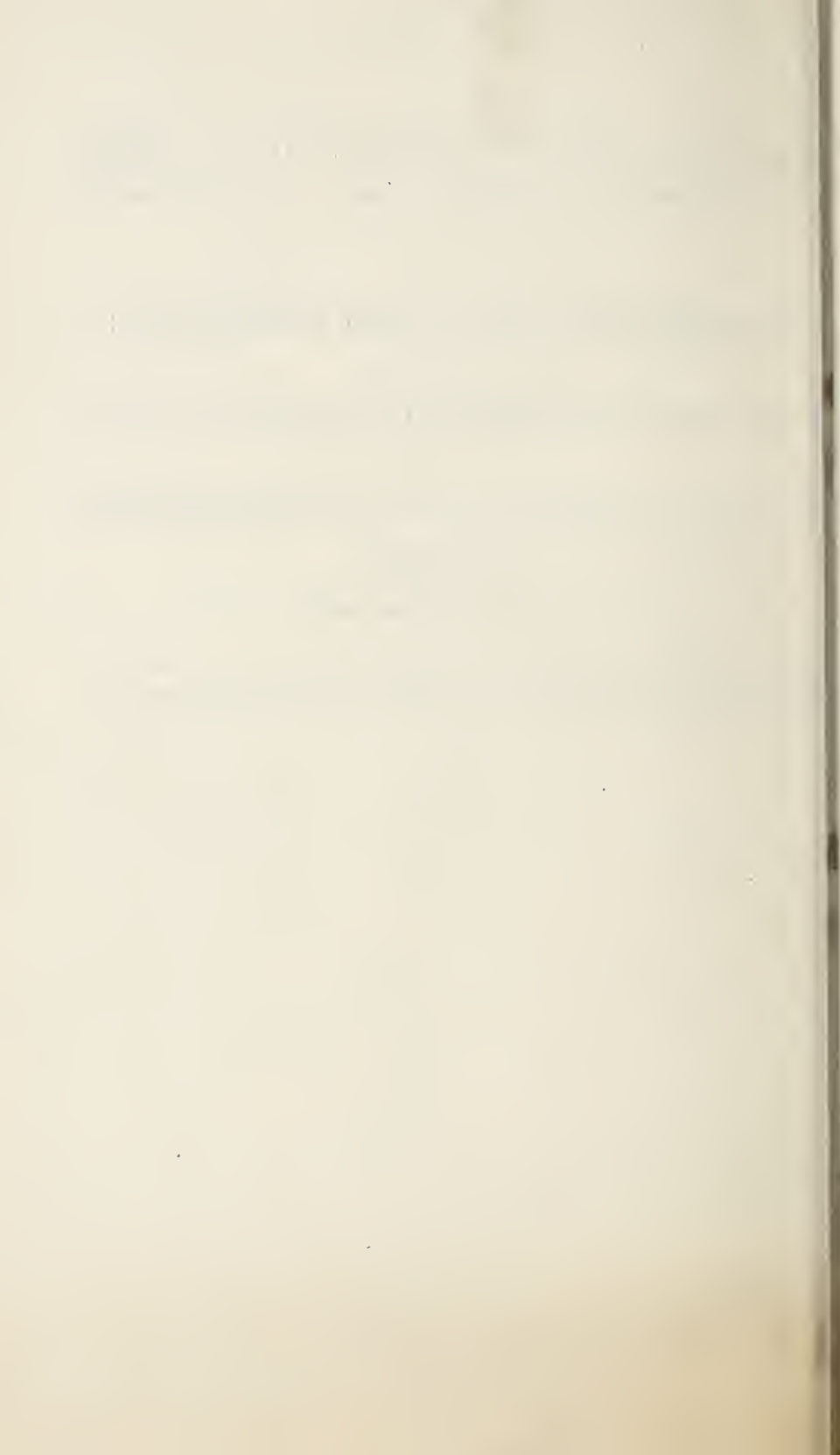
### REPORT

[To accompany H. Res. 401]

The Committee on Rules, having had under consideration House Resolution 401, report the same to the House with the recommendation that the resolution do pass.







# House Calendar No. 161

78<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> SESSION

## H. RES. 401

[Report No. 999]

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### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 19, 1944

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following resolution;  
which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

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## RESOLUTION

1       *Resolved*, That immediately upon the adoption of this  
2 resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve  
3 itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of  
4 the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J.  
5 Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the  
6 work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organi-  
7 zation. That after debate, which shall be confined to the  
8 joint resolution and shall continue not to exceed two days,  
9 to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and  
10 ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign  
11 Affairs, the joint resolution shall be read for amendment  
12 under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the reading

1 of the joint resolution for amendment, the Committee shall  
 2 rise and report the same to the House with such amendments  
 3 as may have been adopted and the previous question shall  
 4 be considered as ordered on the joint resolution and amend-  
 5 ments thereto to final passage without intervening motion  
 6 except one motion to recommit.

House Calendar No. 161

78TH CONGRESS  
2d Session

**H. RES. 401**

[Report No. 999]

## RESOLUTION

Providing for the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

By Mr. SABATH

JANUARY 19, 1944

Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed







DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
(Issued January 21, 1944, for actions of Thursday, January 20, 1944)

(For staff of the Department only)

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SENATE

1. LATIN AMERICA; LEND-LEASE. Sen. Butler, Nebr., discussed and inserted an "item-by-item list of our expenditures, commitments, and extensions of credit relating to Latin America" (including figures relating to this Department) and his Reader's Digest article on this subject (pp. 451-65).
2. FOOD ADMINISTRATION; FOREIGN POLICY; WAR PROGRAM. Sen. Barkley, Ky., commended the President's administration policies, stating that they have benefited and protected farmers and others, national credit, and national prestige and inserted a "brief summary of some of the outstanding legislation enacted by Congress and the Roosevelt administration" (pp. 466-68).
3. TRANSPORTATION. Sen. George, Ga., inserted a War Shipping Administration letter stating that "we did not ask for the amendment," referring to the amendment (agreed to Jan. 14) "exempting from the tax imposed on the transportation of property of...amounts paid to or by the War Shipping Administration for the transportation of property by water from one point in the United States to another, except between points on the Great Lakes" (pp. 447-8).
4. TAXATION. Continued debate on H.R. 3687, the tax bill. Sen. George, Ga., inserted the Finance Committee amendments relating to contract renegotiation. (pp. 465-66.)  
Sen. McCarran, Nev., submitted an amendment which he intends to propose to this bill to permit carriers to make deductions for accrued maintenance and repair costs (pp. 448-49).
5. COMMODITY CREDIT; SUBSIDIES. Sen. Maloney, Conn., submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to H.R. 3477, the CCC bill (p. 448).



6. BANKING AND CURRENCY. Sen. Maybank, S.C., inserted a S.C. Board of Bank Control resolution opposing the Federal Reserve System's interpretation of the regulation relating to exchange and collection costs between banks (p. 448).
7. MAMPOWER MOBILIZATION. Sen. Reynolds, N.C., inserted an AFL letter opposing the national-service bill (p. 473).

#### HOUSE

8. LIVESTOCK PRICES. Rep. Andersen, Minn., criticized the handling of the livestock production program, stating, "If our Government will not fulfill its announced or implied promises to producers to maintain a cost-of-production floor under hogs...it were far better if W.F.A. keeps it mouth shut and makes no such promises at all" (p. 478).
9. TAXATION. Rep. Fisher, Tex., commended the Ways and Means Committee's present study of methods of simplifying income-tax forms (p. 478).
10. FOREIGN RELIEF. Began general debate on H.J.Res. 192, to enable the U.S. to participate in the work of UNRRA (pp. 479-97).  
During the debate on this resolution Rep. Sabath, Ill., stated that we should provide food, clothing, medical care, and shelter for half-starving Europeans as "it will serve to...bring about their rehabilitation...in the shortest possible time" (p. 480). Rep. Sumner, Ill., stated, "Because this U.N.R.R.A. measure will...help Stalin become dictator of Europe and alienate European allies...it will, if passed, be another victory for the Axis" (pp. 482). Rep. Wadsworth, N.Y., explained that requests for supplies recommended by UNRRA affecting U.S. resources would be put before a joint board of American officials "including, for example, the War Food Administration, The War Production Board, and they will make a survey of the resources of this country. If they make up their minds that the request for purchase in the United States will exhaust or unduly strain our resources," the request will be turned down (p. 486).
11. MUSTERING-OUT PAY. Both Houses appointed conferees on S. 1543, to provide mustering-out pay to members of the armed forces (pp. 468, 484).

#### BILL INTRODUCED

12. TAXATION; SELECTIVE SERVICE. By Rep. Sauthoff, Wis., H.R. 4025, relating to the tax liability of members of the armed forces for taxable years beginning prior to their entering such forces. To Ways and Means Committee. (p. 501.)

#### ITEMS IN APPENDIX

13. WAR PRODUCTION. Sen. Truman, Mo., inserted Donald Nelson's address before the Combined Production and Resources Board discussing the work of WPB in the war effort (pp. A295-7).
14. POST-WAR PLANNING; SUEPLUS PROPERTY. Sen. Lucas, Ill., inserted his National Food and Vegetable Growers' Association address in which he urged careful consideration of post-war effects on small business of the disposition of surplus Federal property (pp. A297-9).
15. RATIONING. Extension of remarks of Rep. Keefe, Wis., including Chester Bowles' letter to the American Transit Association, discussing the proposed ration tokens (pp. A302-3).



## INCOME TAXES ON MARSHALL FIELD'S INHERITANCE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my own remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I concur with the gentleman from California [Mr. OUTLAND] in the statement that no one should escape the payment of his income taxes now; and for that reason I am going to demand that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue institute proceedings at once to collect the income or inheritance taxes on the \$70,000,000 that Marshall Field came into possession of in September 1943 and on which he is escaping taxes entirely.

I am going to demand that the Attorney General of the United States bring suit for the collection of these taxes and prosecute those proceedings through the Supreme Court of the United States, if necessary.

I know there was an attempt to sidestep the Government and to cheat the United States out of these taxes through a shrewd scheme of some lawyers who prepared the will under which he received this money.

But every dollar of it is subject to the income or inheritance tax now. Instead of using this money to finance that Communist publication known as PM, let him turn it into the Federal Treasury to help finance the winning of this war.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, January 21, after the disposition of the business of the day and other special orders I may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that upon the conclusion of the business of the House today and other special orders I may have 10 minutes in which to explain to these gentlemen why I do not trust the New Deal and why I do trust in the Lord.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes today after the other special orders. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

## PARTICIPATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 401 to make in order consideration of House Joint Resolution 192 to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization and ask for its immediate consideration.

## CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently no quorum is present.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

## [Roll No. 5]

Baldwin, Md.	Hall,	Morrison, La.
Barry	Leonard W.	Morrison, N. C.
Beall	Halleck	Mott
Bell	Hare	Myers
Bender	Harness, Ind.	Newsome
Bradley, Pa.	Hébert	Norton
Burchill, N. Y.	Heffernan	O'Leary
Burdick	Hobbs	O'Toole
Byrne	Hoch	Pace
Carlson, Kans.	Holifield	Ploeser
Celler	Howell	Plumley
Chipherfield	Jackson	Reece, Tenn.
Coffee	Johnson, Ward	Rivers
Curley	Jones	Robertson
Dickstein	Kearney	Rogers, Calif.
Dirksen	Kennedy	Satterfield
Disney	King	Schuetz
Domengaoux	Kleberg	Sheridan
Elmer	Klein	Simpson, Ill.
Fay	LaFollette	Smith, W. Va.
Fellows	Larcade	Somers, N. Y.
Fitzpatrick	LeCompte	Stewart
Ford	Luce	Taylor
Fuller	Lynch	Treadway
Furlong	McCowen	Vinson, Ga.
Gamble	McKenzie	Wene
Gifford	Magnuson	West
Granger	Maloney	Winter
Grant, Ind.	Marcantonio	Woodrum, Va.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. RAMSPECK). On this roll call 341 Members have answered to their names, a quorum. Without objection, further proceedings under the call will be dispensed with.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I shall later on yield the usual 30 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH].

Mr. FISH. The gentleman would not be willing to yield the full hour to me, would he?

Mr. SABATH. If I thought the gentleman would use it for the best interest of the Nation, I would, but of course I cannot assume that.

Mr. Speaker, this rule makes in order Join Resolution 192, known as the U. N. R. R. A., the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The resolution was reported unanimously by the Foreign Affairs Committee after 8 days of careful consideration by the committee, and a request has been made of the Rules Committee for the rule, and that committee, by nearly a unanimous vote, reported out the rule. It is an open rule, and it provides for 2 days of general debate, after which the resolution will be taken up under the 5-minute rule.

Mr. SHAFER. That is too much time.

Mr. SABATH. I agree with the gentleman that there is too much time granted, but that was the request, and notwithstanding what is said here and there by some gentlemen, the Rules Committee always tries to comply with the request of the members of com-

mittees who appear before our committee to have a rule granted.

The resolution provides for a contribution of \$1,350,000,000 and no more by the United States. There is the restriction, that it shall not exceed that amount. That amount was arrived at after various conferences on the part of 43 representatives of various nations, of which the United States was the forty-fourth. I shall take it for granted that everybody is in favor of the rule and for the resolution, and so it is not necessary for me to detain the House at length. The resolution aims to provide for millions of unfortunates, men, women, and children, who have been driven from their homes and deprived of all their possessions and are now roaming the countries of Europe from one end to the other. As I say, the amount provided for is restricted, and is based on this, that each of the 44 nations will contribute 1 percent of its national income. As has been stated the amount that will be required, it is estimated, will be between two billion and a half and three billion dollars, which will be provided by the 44 signatories to the agreement. This however will be only 5 percent of the actual cost, it being estimated that the appropriations required later on for proper and complete relief will approximate \$20,000,000,000. I do not have the exact figures but they will be given to you by the very able gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM], chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and implemented more thoroughly and specifically explained by the gentleman from New Jersey, Dr. EATON, who appeared before our committee and made a forceful presentation of the need for this legislation.

Only 1 percent is to be taken from each and every nation of its national income, but notwithstanding that fact, we will contribute more than 50 percent of the original amount because our income is greater than that of all of the other 43 nations, including Great Britain and every one of the member nations that signed this agreement.

Mr. MASON. Will the gentleman yield for a correction?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. MASON. According to the report it is 1 percent of the income of those nations who are in this agreement who have not had their homelands overrun. That brings us down to only about half a dozen nations, because most of them have been overrun and occupied by the enemy.

Mr. SABATH. Those small nations, of course, will bring it to more than six nations, because the sovereign republics have not been overrun and many others have not been overrun. But naturally those that have been overrun have no income and they cannot guarantee or assure a contribution to this great humanitarian relief. The point I want to make is this. Though the amount is great, still it shows how prosperous, how rich our Nation is, when our income is greater than the income of all the 43 nations that have subscribed to this agreement.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.



Mr. CUNNINGHAM. If a nation has been bombed and its cities heavily bombed, but no soldiers have invaded it, has that nation been overrun by the enemy?

Mr. SABATH. No.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Does this bill define that so we will understand that?

Mr. SABATH. I will say this, I do not desire to deprive the chairman and members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs that diligently and painstakingly devoted so much time and gave the matter such thorough consideration the opportunity to explain the bill more effectively and intelligently, because they have considered it for many months, not only during the time that the bill was being considered in the Committee on Foreign Affairs but long before. Conferences have been held by the Senate committee and by the House committee in conjunction with the State Department and other departments, and finally agreement entered into originally, I think, in the White House, and later on concurred in, and the agreement finally drafted and agreed to by the 44 signatory nations in Atlantic City several months ago. The agreement in its entirety is embodied in the resolution now before us and speaks for itself.

So I am giving you the rough outline of what this bill aims to do. I know that there are some gentlemen who feel that the cost to the Government will be great. But let me say that it will not be a great cost to the Government in the long run. Our Nation will be the beneficiary, because all these nations and these peoples that we are going to aid and assist will recognize and appreciate our effort and our aid to them. At this time I am reminded of a \$20,000,000 contribution that we made, I think it was in 1920 or 1921, upon the request of former President Hoover, then in charge of American relief, who urged help for the Russian people in certain sections that had suffered severely from drought. At that time many people thought it was unwise and that we should not appropriate that sum of money, but later on, after we had acted and passed the resolution authorizing the amount and started to purchase wheat and corn and other articles, within no time at all the price of those farm products and everything else had gone up so that the country really had been benefited to a greater degree than the amount we provided for. I am satisfied that in this case again the United States will be benefited notwithstanding we are going to advance this amount of money for this needed humanitarian purpose.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I should like to ask the gentleman whether the agreement which appears in this resolution in quotes does or does not become a part of this resolution in the sense that it is Federal legislation?

Mr. SABATH. I think it does. But it also provides, that is, the very agreement you call attention to, that any country has a right at any time, that is, not "at any time," but after due notice, to withdraw. Furthermore, the agree-

ment cannot be changed or altered if there is any objection upon the part of any one nation that might be dissatisfied with any provisions that might apply to it, or any acts of the committee that will have charge of the distribution of this relief. I hope I have answered your question. I will say this to you. The gentleman sitting right next to you, the ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Dr. EATON, is so well posted and informed in the matter that I know if he will take the floor he can, as I have stated before, more thoroughly and intelligently explain the various provisions of this important bill than I possibly can, as my time has been limited in the study of its provisions.

And that applies to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] and to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS], Republican members of the committee, and naturally as well as to the chairman of the committee [Mr. BLOOM], and Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON, of Texas, all of whom appeared before the Committee on Rules and impressed the committee with the splendid work on their part and the careful consideration they had given to this important matter before they finally came to the conclusion to report the bill to the House and to ask for the rule. I shall conclude, but before I do so, I feel that it is my duty to express my appreciation to the splendid Committee on Foreign Affairs for its wonderful work, and the time and devotion they have given to this legislation which I know is of such great importance to millions of unfortunate men, women, and children, many of whom have been deprived of everything they ever possessed and who are roving the countries of Europe half starved, without food or shelter.

I feel it is not necessary for me to call attention to the plight of millions of Poles, Yugoslavs, French, Belgians, Greeks, Hollanders, and the peoples of the smaller countries, saying nothing of the outrageous atrocities practiced on them and, especially, on the Jewish people, believing that is generally known and recognized by all of us. Never in the history of the world has the need for relief been so great as in this instance. Therefore, I feel that we should provide those who have escaped the murderous hands of the Nazi and who are half-starving and suffering tortures beyond description, should have sufficient food, clothing, medical care, and, yes, shelter. Any help that will alleviate their suffering will be repaid tenfold. It will serve to prevent future hardships and will bring about their rehabilitation in all of the over-ridden countries and make them self-sustaining in the shortest possible time and will, most definitely bring order out of chaos. This legislation aims to bring relief to them and I, therefore, feel that the rule should be adopted by unanimous vote and I hope that the bill also will receive the unanimous vote of the House.

Now, Mr. Speaker, reserving the balance of my time, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH].

Mr. FISH. I yield 10 minutes to the very distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON].

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I am somewhat depressed by the fact that this legislation is presented to this body at a time when there seems to be widespread misunderstanding, suspicion, and anxiety as to its provisions, as to its origin, and as to its purpose. I may say that in 20 years I have never seen a bill come from our committee, on which I am proud to serve, that has received such continuous and careful consideration as this bill.

We have written a report which is both exhaustive and exhausting, setting forth the background of our efforts to produce legislation which, I am sure, will eventually meet the moral sanction and intellectual approval of the rank and file of this House on both sides.

Mr. Speaker, first of all, in a sentence or two I want to give the reason for this legislation. You must know that when final victory comes to our armies there will be great sections of Europe and the Orient that will be completely devastated and destroyed. We will have, and we have now, in Europe 20,000,000 people who are scattered away from their homes. Eight million of them have been taken into Germany, many of them for slave labor. Many of those people are homeless women and children who for long years have had no proper nourishment, no proper shelter, no proper clothing, and who are in an emaciated condition that augurs ill for their future and the future of their descendants.

So that as we view the picture in Europe, and in China, and in other occupied territories, we discover a tremendous appeal to the humanity and to the self-preservation and intelligence of every free nation in the world, including our own. For, Mr. Speaker, we might as well face the fact, that after this war is over we shall be faced with problems of reconstruction, problems of assistance, problems of developing our own resources, and our own safety that will tax our legislative power, our statesmanship, and manhood to the last degree. It will not be a question of Democrats or Republicans. Certainly it will not be a question, I hope, of the New Deal. It will be a question of the American people and the other free peoples who will seek to save themselves by helping to save the rest of the world, which will be in instant and complete contact with them.

Mr. Speaker, it is impossible for this Nation to continue in an orderly way in a disorderly and chaotic world. It is impossible for us to continue to be an island of prosperity in an ocean of adversity. It is impossible for us to continue in peace and security, surrounded by a world in economic and social chaos. It is impossible for us to retain or sustain our national life separate and distinct from the rest of the world. We cannot be a healthy Nation surrounded by a sick world. In self-defense apart from all other considerations our first duty is to help the sick and needy in war-stricken countries to rehabilitate themselves.

The object of this legislation expressed in one sentence—and do not forget it—



is to help those people to help themselves. At this point I shall refer to the money part of the problem.

It has been continuously stated that we are going to pay 50 percent of all the expense. The fact is, which I will demonstrate in a minute, that we will pay about 5 or 6 percent, because the complete contribution that will be made through U. N. R. R. A. will be something over \$2,000,000,000, including our large share, which will be 50 percent of that; but the nations that we will help to help themselves will, out of their own resources that have not been destroyed by the enemy, put up 90 percent of the total cost, making the expenditure finally amount to about \$20,000,000,000, 10 percent of which will come out of the 44 nations, including ourselves.

Those are the facts of the situation.

Secondly, what does this bill provide? I ask my colleagues to turn to page 2 of the bill. The first paragraph provides:

Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings—food, clothing, and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence—

If you have a million people over there who are ill and underfed and they start a trek back home carrying typhus or smallpox, you have to prevent that plague from spreading over the Continent in order to protect ourselves from the infection—

and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.

Now, I want to give you the history of this legislation.

In 1941, before Pearl Harbor, before we were in the war, the Allied countries met in London and faced this very problem. They appointed a commission or a committee to study it. That committee had no organization, no money, no executive; but it gave study to the facts. After we were in the war awhile it dawned upon us, as it already had upon Great Britain and Russia, that this was inadequate to meet the situation, and at the suggestion of Russia and the United States, a further study was undertaken on behalf of all the Allied and associated nations, 44 of us. That study continued from sometime in 1942 until this final legislation came from our committee. That study was carried on in complete accord and understanding with the representative committees of both branches of this Congress. Our Committee on Foreign Affairs had the executive representatives before us continuously, bringing the various drafts of the organization to us for our consideration. Over in the other body the Foreign Relations Committee appointed a subcommittee, representing all conditions of opinion—Senator VANDENBERG, Senator GREEN, Senator LA FOLLETTE, and two or three others. They cooperated with the executive authorities of the State Department and with foreign representatives in drafting this legislation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON] has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 10 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. EATON. I am deeply grateful to the gentleman from Illinois for giving me this reprieve.

We had this continuous consultation, representing our House, representing the Senate, representing the State Department, and representing our allies—Russia, Great Britain, and China. At last this plan of organization of 44 nations was evolved. Then the question was: How much shall each contribute? After complete study at Atlantic City it was decided that the least objectionable, although it is fraught with many objections, the least objectionable solution of the problem was to make it 1 percent of the national income for that particular year 1943.

This bill does not provide for reconstruction; it is not a world W. P. A.; it has nothing to do with the announced objectives of the New Deal, very many of which would make everybody rich by making everybody poor. It has only one program, and that is to relieve the danger to the liberties and prosperity of the United States and the other free peoples resulting from the distress, failure, and ruin in these occupied countries due to the war. This legislation represents a study as fair and complete and courageous as that given to any legislation I can recall in 20 years. It is not a fly-by-night proposition. We had before our committee the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DEWEY]. In my judgment, he is one of the best equipped and ablest men on economic questions in this country. He had a bill which I consider of the utmost importance to deal with the problem of reconstruction. He, like the rest of us, was entirely in favor of relief of the distress, hunger, disease of our fellow mortals in these stricken countries, but he did not want, and we do not want, and I do not want, and you do not want, the United States to go in haphazard and scatter its money to the four winds to rebuild the physical institutions of these shattered countries.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DEWEY] proposes in a bill which he is now rewriting, a system or method by which the United States can on a business basis associate itself with enterprises that look to the reconstruction of the shattered utilities and other services of the Old World and the Orient. Mr. Speaker, before we are through we are going to be doing business in every part of the world and our chief problem will be to keep what belongs to us and to assist in making the world prosperous in order that the flood of prosperity may come back upon us.

I want to say just one more word. I pray that we can approach the consideration of this bill calmly; denude our minds of suspicions and fears which are perfectly justified under many conditions that exist in this country.

We must not forget, Mr. Speaker, that this House passed the Fulbright resolution which enabled this part of the Congress to go on record in favor of our

cooperating as a Nation in the rehabilitation of the world, and for the securing of safety in the generations to come by means of an established peace. We do not forget that the Senate passed a similar resolution broad in its scope; and you Republicans do not forget that up at Mackinac Island you produced what we called the Mackinac charter. This resolution is as absolutely in accord with the principles of those three resolutions as any instrument can be from any point of view; so I hope this debate will throw light and not heat on the question and that all of us may find a rational basis upon which to vote favorably upon its final consideration.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. With pleasure.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Does the gentleman feel that it was necessary to include the agreement signed by the 44 nations as a part of the resolution?

Mr. EATON. I regret to say that I was not the author of that suggestion. That suggestion was made by a distinguished Republican Senator, named VANDENBERG, from Michigan, Mr. HOFFMAN's State; and in accord with his views and the views of his colleagues we thought it was good to put that in simply for information and not for legislation.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. But after all it is much more than information; it is legislating the agreement.

Mr. EATON. I am not under any bonds to accept the gentlewoman's interpretation.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. By including the agreement and nothing else we show just exactly what Congress approves and what they do not approve. In this way we are not taking a pig in a poke or describing something that is not before the body; is not that true?

Mr. EATON. Answering the gentlewoman from Massachusetts, the gentleman from Ohio, and the gentleman from Minnesota, let me say that I did not make the suggestion to the committee. Had I been consulted by those of the upper levels in legislation I would have thought it an excellent idea to print in this legislation exactly the thing we were implementing in meeting the needs of the world.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. Yes; I yield to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. BLOOM. Is it not a fact that the agreement was read to the entire Foreign Affairs Committee last summer long before it was ever presented to any other nation or any other person? It was presented to the Foreign Relations Committee; it was presented to the Foreign Affairs Committee by a representative of the State Department, and at that time it was considered that we should place the agreement in the resolution as suggested by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.



Mr. EATON. Yes; that is right.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. In answer to the suggestion made concerning the inquiry as to whether or not by incorporating the terms of the agreement in the bill such act constitutes ratification of the agreement, I do not agree that it does. I think this bill does one thing and one thing only. On the first page of the bill and on the last page are the only legislative portions. The bill merely authorizes our Government to participate in this organization by expenditure of money; and then in order that we may know what the organization is we say that the agreement constituting that organization is as follows, thus setting it out so the Congress may know what the purpose of the organization is.

As far as ratification is concerned, the adoption of this resolution will not ratify the agreement, will not change it if we may want to change it but merely states that this is the agreement. The only thing the resolution authorizes is the making of appropriations hereafter for support of that organization.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. GEARHART. Conceding the nobility of purpose of the proponents of this legislation, does the gentleman think just because the purposes are noble that we have any right to circumvent the Constitution, to bypass the Constitution and by legislation avoid the provisions of the Constitution which so plainly provide that the President shall have power—and this is the only place where power is conferred upon the President in matters of this sort—that the President shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties providing two-thirds of the Senate concur. The point I have in mind is: Why has this agreement not been submitted to the Senate?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has again expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. EATON. My answer to that is that the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate examined this with great care and decided that it was an Executive agreement and not a treaty, and therefore would not necessarily come before the Senate for ratification, for consent and approval.

Mr. GEARHART. Before this New Deal administration came in there was a very, very narrow view placed upon the right of the President to negotiate Executive agreements. Since this administration has been in power it has been increasingly widening the field, until now it is contended by New Deal internationalists that you can do anything by Executive agreement which in the old days everyone thought had to be done by treaty. Are we accepting and ratifying this new view being set forth, this so-called Executive agreement which is nothing but a treaty? It does not

make any difference what you call it. All agreements or conventions or covenants or treaties or Executive agreements are all the same thing. Are we, by putting that in this bill, giving encouragement to this administration to go on and on and on, until finally they get sufficient courage to negotiate a peace treaty under the guise and in the form of an Executive agreement? We have taken a constitutional oath to defend the Constitution of the United States. When are we going to begin to do that?

Mr. EATON. The gentleman has made a very pertinent and eloquent defense of the Constitution and the right and duty of the Senate to consent and approve of a treaty, and I hope that when he gets in the Senate his voice will be heard as distinctly and as authoritatively as it is here. But that is not in our bailiwick here.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. My understanding is that the Senate wishes to have this agreement in the bill in order to give it legislative sanction.

Mr. EATON. That was not my understanding.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. That was the general understanding—that we would give it legislative sanction by a majority vote.

Mr. EATON. Is the logic of the lady's position, then, that we ought to reject this bill and let the Senate wrestle with it?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I think we can accept the appropriation part and leave out some of the rest of it, or amend it.

Mr. EATON. That is what we are doing.

Mr. CURTIS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. On page 10 I find the following provision:

Foreign voluntary relief agencies may not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the Administration without the consent and unless subject to the regulation of the Director General.

Would the words "foreign voluntary relief agencies" include the Red Cross, the various missionary boards of our churches of all denominations, or what does the gentleman mean by that provision?

Mr. EATON. It means exactly what it says, that U. N. R. R. A. has one definite objective, namely, to feed, clothe, medicate, and, where necessary, to put temporary shelter over the stricken peoples of Europe until they can get started to produce for themselves.

Mr. CURTIS. One further question to clarify that. In other words, if U. N. R. R. A. found that a certain country shall not receive relief or shall receive very little, they can prevent the American Red Cross or any other agency from dis-

tributing medicine, food, or other charitable items there?

Mr. EATON. Not under this legislation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Miss SUMNER].

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I think you have been looking at the world through rose-colored glasses.

Millions of Europeans, not only in Poland but all over Europe, will fight to the death rather than be ruled by either Stalin or Hitler. Because they believe Hitler is already doomed to defeat, because they believe Stalin will be the next dictator of Europe, they are beginning to fight Stalin. Thus the Moscow Agreement, because it will help Stalin become dictator of Europe and encourage freedom-loving Europeans to try to prevent it, was a victory for the Axis. Because this U. N. R. R. A. measure will also help Stalin become dictator of Europe and alienate European allies it will, if passed, be another victory for the Axis.

America's contribution—nobody pretends this will be the last contribution—will be \$1,350,000,000—more than a tenth of what Americans usually pay in Federal taxes. At least 60 percent of the money is to be paid for by America—private contributions by Americans will not even be counted in as part of America's 60 percent. The rest of the contributions, if and when made, will be paid mostly by nations to which America has already donated more money than these nations will contribute. Article V of the measure seems to preserve America's constitutional rights. But section VIII gives U. N. R. R. A. the right to amend that article and take away American constitutional rights without American consent—since only a two-thirds vote of the associated nations is required to do so.

U. N. R. R. A. is to have a monopoly on all the food supplies of the world. U. N. R. R. A. can give supplies where needed or refuse them—even though the nation wanting them has and offers the money with which to pay for the supplies. U. N. R. R. A. has the right to levy on American supplies and cause American citizens more shortages and more rationing. America has no veto power to prevent it. Mr. Crowley admitted on cross-examination by the gentleman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] that America has no veto power to prevent it.

The recognized government of each nation is to be given the right to distribute supplies allotted by U. N. R. R. A. to that nation. The government so enriched will be permitted to sell instead of giving away supplies to its people and pocket the money in a revolving fund. If it chooses to use that revolving fund for purposes other than relief purposes U. N. R. R. A. has no power to prevent it—except the right to refuse further supplies.

And who do you think will control the recognized governments of Europe which will control the distribution of supplies in each European country? Stalin.

The Moscow Agreement, you remember, provided that the first Ally to reach



a liberated country has the right to occupy that country and hold an election to determine who shall control the government. Stalin will be the first Ally to reach most every country. Stalin with his army will hold the elections. Stalin will use his army to win the elections the way Hitler did it in Austria and Stalin himself did it in east Poland. Stalin has political machines already set up to win the elections in most every European country. Thus Stalin can use U. N. R. R. A. money to make himself dictator of Europe and keep himself dictator of Europe. The fact that millions of Europeans know it and will fight to prevent it makes this measure another victory for the Axis. It is not kind to the people of Russia to help their ambitious leader Stalin acquire so much power that people who should be fighting with us want to help Hitler in order to prevent Stalin having as much power over Europe as Hitler had.

This money will not be paid for by you or your generation. It will be paid by veterans and the children of veterans, many of whom have already made the supreme sacrifice for the civilians of Europe.

The safe, sane, constitutional, and Christian way to relieve the victims of Nazi barbarism is to organize a tremendous drive for voluntary contributions to be paid for by Americans of our generation, many of whom have war-swollen fortunes. Let it be distributed by the Red Cross, the Quakers, and other practical, nonpolitical organizations.

There is no law to prevent you or any other American citizen giving everything you possess to this cause. But you in Congress have not this constitutional authority. Federal contributions to foreign countries have been made in the past, but the sums were so small we winked at the practice. Congress has no constitutional authority to force Americans of this or any other generation to give money to people outside of America.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentlewoman from Illinois, who expressed to the House in such eloquent terms her strong feelings about this bill from a strictly American point of view. Thank God, there are those in this legislature that still use that one yardstick, what is best for America, and know nothing else different.

I admire Winston Churchill, I admire even Joe Stalin, the leader of communism, for one thing. First, I admire Winston Churchill, I may say, because he always puts the interest of the British Empire first, and Joe Stalin always puts the interest of the Communists first. The gentlewoman expressed her views.

Mr. EATON. I refuse to be accused of being disloyal here. I am as good an American as is the gentleman or any of his breed. I want him to understand that.

Mr. FISH. I will reach the gentleman in due time.

I repeat my statement that the gentlewoman from Illinois, using that one yardstick, what is best for America, gave

her views. She is entitled to her views and the gentleman is entitled to his.

Mr. EATON. She is; and so am I.

Mr. FISH. I do not believe that in this vital issue there should be either partisanship or rancor, but if we cannot say that a Member of this House is entitled to express her views the same as other people have in other nations, using that one yardstick, what is best for America, then there is something wrong about free speech in America. That is all she did. I am not criticizing anybody opposed to this bill because I may vote for this bill myself. If it is amended, I may vote for this bill myself. I voted it out of the Committee on Rules because I believed it should be considered in the House and substantially amended.

I do not agree with the gentlewoman who spoke to this extent. I think the time of the Congress has come—and I agree there is involved a debatable constitutional question, but I am ready to vote to feed these millions, to clothe them, to give them medical supplies and fuel, but I am not ready to vote for this bill, which includes rehabilitation, the building of factories, and public utilities. Why should we spend \$1 of American money to build any factory in Europe, to be owned by whom?

When the gentleman from the Committee on Foreign Affairs appeared before the Committee on Rules, I asked him, "What does this rehabilitation mean?" He said, "It means that we can build factories in these foreign nations." I said, "What kind of factories?" He said, "Textile factories." Imagine using American money to build textile factories in Europe.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. No; I have only 12 minutes and I must continue, because I have a good deal to say.

Mr. SABATH. I would appreciate it if the gentleman would state the name.

Mr. FISH. I do not want to name any names here. It was a distinguished gentleman of the committee, who specifically said textile factories, that you can build textile factories, you can build steel mills, you can build glass factories, or any other kind of factories.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I will not yield, I am sorry to say.

Mr. BLOOM. I just want to get it right, that is all. The gentleman is making a misstatement.

Mr. FISH. If the gentleman says I am making a misstatement, I will name the man, and he is in this room. If the gentleman, who is in this room, will permit me to do so, I will name him. It is in the record. He said it permitted them to build textile factories, not just plain factories, but textile factories.

Mr. BLOOM. Did he say it permitted them to repair them?

Mr. FISH. No, to build, repair, and everything else.

Mr. BLOOM. No.

Mr. FISH. How can you repair them when they do not exist?

All right, rehabilitate them. Rehabilitate the textile mills. I will not quibble about the words. That is what I am opposed to in this bill. I realize the constitutional issue is a grave and a serious one, but I am not opposed to relieving the suffering of the starving people of Europe and of the liberated countries with the necessities of life, but not one bit beyond that. I am not willing to spend a single penny of American money for glorified W. P. A.'s, and certainly it becomes a world-wide, glorified W. P. A., despite the denial made here by the gentleman from New Jersey. The minute you go into rehabilitation it can be nothing else. When we had our W. P. A. here in America we did not go out and build or rehabilitate factories. It was a question of unemployment. They even take that up in this bill.

Let me read to you the parts to which we are opposed. I am not speaking here as an individual on this matter. I know three members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs who will offer vital amendments to this bill. I know of other amendments that will be offered. Let us consider some of those amendments.

The gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS], one of the senior members of the committee, will offer an amendment to prohibit any of this money being used for educational purposes. Certainly that prohibition ought to be in this bill.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield for a very brief question.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Of course, it would not be even our ideology that would be taught, it would not be our education taught to the people of these countries, but the beliefs of others.

Mr. FISH. It would be dictatorial and possibly communistic.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. We are fighting, I think, so that people may have their own form of education and their own form of religion.

Mr. FISH. The gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] will offer an amendment to include starving and disease-stricken India.

If any nation ought to be included, where hundreds of thousands have starved to death within the last few months, certainly India ought to be included, and India contributes, or may contribute; and when we come to that matter of contribution, let us get the facts correct. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON] kept talking about 50 percent of our contribution. Our contribution is 60 percent, and we are called upon right here to authorize the entire total of \$1,350,000,000, or 60 percent of two and a half billion dollars, the total sum required. We have no guarantee that these other nations will pay, but we are called upon in this bill to authorize the appropriation of the entire lump sum, whereas we have no guarantee that many and many of these nations, will pay, and many will not pay. I shall not go into that now, but that is a matter of record.



A member of the committee, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. SCHIFFLER], will offer that amendment to reduce the amount to \$675,000,000, or one-half the sum carried in this bill. I would prefer to have it reduced to \$500,000,000; but he is a member of the committee and will offer that amendment. I shall offer an amendment myself requiring that 90 percent of all of the moneys that we appropriate be expended for supplies in this country; that 90 percent be spent here. I wish I could agree with my distinguished friend the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON] when he talks about this great ocean of prosperity. Can he guarantee that there will be oceans of prosperity in this Nation after the war, when 10,000,000 soldiers will come back home looking for jobs? There will be millions. I do not know a single industry in America that will not cut down almost one-half of what are employed today. Unquestionably, there will be 20,000,000 unemployed, and there will be no ocean of prosperity. Yet, we are called upon here to authorize \$1,350,000,000, part of which is to go to rehabilitation in foreign lands, the building of public utilities and factories and other buildings.

Gentlemen, that is the issue before you, not so much a matter of relief. I know that some of you will not oppose matters of relief. We all remember when Mr. Hoover spent \$100,000,000 for the relief of 10,000,000 Belgian people. That contribution came from private funds, and that was successful. Twenty years ago I got through a bill in this House for \$10,000,000 to feed the starving people in central Europe. I introduced 2 years ago and again last May a bill to feed them now, and I believe in it with all my heart. I believe in feeding the starving children of France and Belgium and Norway and all of the other occupied countries.

I do believe we owe a moral duty to supply funds, but also we owe a moral duty to serve notice on the British Empire to let food ships go through the blockade into France and Belgium and Norway and Holland. And so I am willing now to afford relief. What I want is to see this bill amended by the Congress in the regular way and after full and due consideration. There will be, and I am glad to say that I am a party to providing for it, 2 days of general debate on this bill. It is one of the most important policy bills that has come before the Congress, one of the most important peace bills. It should be considered on a nonpartisan basis, on an American basis, from the point of view of what is best for America. That is the only yardstick that should be considered here when we vote on each and every separate amendment.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Back in 1933, when we had been here but a few days, there was brought into the House an economy measure, and at that time we had a national debt of less than \$25,000,000,000. That measure applied to disabled veterans, and at that particular

time it was advocated by Members who now, with a debt of \$200,000,000,000, would grant the sum of \$1,350,000,000. At that time they wanted to reduce the veterans' income, with a debt of \$20,000,000,000 and claimed that if we did not that insolvency threatened the country and that the credit of the country would be reduced to a chaotic condition. Yet these gentlemen now seem to be the most willing to vote to spend this money, when we have a debt of \$200,000,000,000. Yet, as I say in 1933 they were the most anxious to cut down the veterans' income, with a national debt of \$20,000,000,000 and take it away from the soldiers.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman will have to ask that question of those who voted against the disabled soldiers at that time. Of course, the question of taxes is a vital one, and we are now approaching a debt of \$200,000,000,000.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield those 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON].

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, it would be impossible for anyone within 2 minutes to answer the misstatements and misconceptions of what this resolution is, as stated by those who have spoken in opposition to it. This is a war measure. It is just as important for the winning of this war as the appropriations that we have made to the War and Navy Departments. It is a war measure because it does what we had to do at the close of the last war in affording relief, immediately after hostilities ceased. When an occupied country is liberated there will immediately arise the question with reference to relief of people in those countries, where the food has been stolen, where people have been taken away by the Axis Powers. Disease will follow, and this appropriation, when it is made, will help not only those people of the liberated countries, but it will help our soldiers over there, who would be subject to diseases that may be prevalent. I hope that we are learning some of the lessons from the last war. At the end of the last war we had to do the work being done now, but instead of having an agreement in advance, we made no preparation for it, and we had to do it after the war was over. As a result, it cost the United States over \$3,000,000,000. This time we are planning to cooperate with the other countries of Europe, whereby they will contribute to the funds, and whereby the funds will be wisely administered to reach the most effective means of doing what this legislation is designed to do. I submit that when this House understands all the facts back of this resolution no one, who is not prejudiced, will vote against the resolution, because it is for the welfare of the United States of America, and it is necessary for help in winning this war immediately after hostilities cease. Without it, there will be chaos.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

#### FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1543) entitled "An act to provide for mustering-out payments to members of the armed forces, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. REYNOLDS, Mr. THOMAS of Utah, Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado, Mr. AUSTIN, and Mr. BRIDGES to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

#### MUSTERING-OUT PAY

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (S. 1543) an act to provide for mustering-out payments to members of the armed forces and for other purposes, with a House amendment, insist on the amendment of the House, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to know from the gentleman from Kentucky if the ranking Republican member has been advised of the fact that the bill was going to be referred to the conferees.

Mr. MAY. It is the invariable rule of the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House to leave it to the ranking Republican member to name the conferees in all matters.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I did not mean that.

Mr. MAY. In this case he did name them a while ago and I wrote them down as he requested.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I did not mean that, but he knew this was going to be referred to the conferees?

Mr. MAY. Yes; I talked to him just a moment ago.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Chair appoints the following conferees: Mr. MAY, Mr. THOMASON, Mr. MERRITT, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. SHORT, Mr. ARENDS, and Mr. ELSTON of Ohio.

There was no objection.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ORGANIZATION

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of a House joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Na-



tions Relief and Rehabilitation organization.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192), with Mr. O'NEAL in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the joint resolution was dispensed with.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I regret exceedingly that these questions have come up in the consideration of this joint resolution.

The State Department has worked in close cooperation with the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House and the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, conferences relating to U. N. R. R. A. having begun last July 1943 between these two committees and representatives of the State Department.

During July 1943 Assistant Secretary of State Acheson and Mr. Francis B. Sayre, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee and laid before us the text of the proposed draft agreement, and entered into a detailed explanation and discussion of the plans for forming U. N. R. R. A.

As the result of these meetings, which continued until the introduction of House Joint Resolution 192 on November 15, 1943, modifications in the text of the draft agreement were suggested by Members of the Congress and were adopted, and it was agreed that the joint resolution, when introduced, would include the agreement in full, so as to give the Congress the fullest opportunity to consider the extent of United States participation in U. N. R. R. A.

The U. N. R. R. A. agreement was signed at the White House on November 9, 1943. The President transmitted a message to the Congress on the subject on November 10, and on the same day the first session began, in Atlantic City, of the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. The session extended through December 1, 1943. The House of Representatives authorized travel expenses for members of the Foreign Affairs Committee to attend meetings of the council at Atlantic City, and various members of the committee attended some of the sessions and also the final plenary meeting on December 1.

In addition to the many informal executive conferences and meetings on the subject, the Foreign Affairs Committee held eight open hearings on House Joint Resolution 192, ending January 11, 1944.

It was suggested by members of the Senate subcommittee last summer that the text of the agreement should be placed in the resolution. This matter was also brought before our committee and at no time—and I feel that I am stating all of the facts—at no time has there ever been a motion made by any member of the committee that the agreement should be eliminated from the resolution. In fact, it would not have made any difference at all whether the agreement was eliminated or not. It

was included in the joint resolution solely for the information of the Congress.

Now, there was no concealment of any information. I want to say this, that whenever any name was submitted to me as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to be called before the committee as a witness at its hearings, I tried to get such persons and invited them to come before the committee. We went over this thoroughly. Indeed, I am surprised there should be so much talk here in this Chamber about this resolution such as we have had here, because at no time in all those months of consideration has there been as much dissension as there has been on the floor here today.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I shall be delighted to yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. There is one thing that is troubling me which I wish the gentleman would clear up. These 44 nations got together in the United States at the invitation of the President and of the State Department and joined in this agreement and signed it. Does the gentleman feel that the signing of the agreement at the invitation of our country has committed the United States to a policy which Congress must go along with and approve?

Mr. BLOOM. I will say this to the gentlemen, that this agreement does not commit the Congress to anything at all. If you do not appropriate or authorize this appropriation, why, of course, there is nothing to be done. Now, please remember this, that under the agreement the question of contributions to U. N. R. R. A. is solely within the discretion of the appropriate constitutional bodies of the member governments. Of course, in the case of the United States, this means the Congress. The agreement itself says that.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes; I yield. May I say this: Please ask all the questions that you would like to ask and let us try to answer them in such a way that we will all understand what we are trying to do here. I think after you find out that you will be just about in the same position and of the same mind as the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I am asking these questions to get information.

Mr. BLOOM. That is right, and I would like to give it to you.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Because I am not a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. BLOOM. That is right.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. The gentleman says that all of these other countries will have to ratify this agreement, and I assume that is correct.

Mr. BLOOM. That is, the appropriate constitutional bodies would have to determine the extent of their participation.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Now, will the agreement become operative be-

fore all the other countries have ratified it?

Mr. BLOOM. I do not know whether you can say that the agreement would become operative. It is already in effect. There are 44 signatories of which 14 nations signed with reservations. I have a list here and I would like to read them to you. It might be of interest. These are the countries that have already contributed money:

Egypt.....	\$20,650
Philippines.....	5,000
Yugoslavia.....	5,000
Luxemburg.....	5,000
United Kingdom.....	100,000
Poland.....	50,000
Canada.....	50,000
Iceland.....	55,000
New Zealand.....	30,000
Belgium.....	100,000
Guatemala.....	5,000
French.....	50,000
Ethiopia.....	5,000
Norway.....	30,000
China.....	250,000

These are principally for administration expenses. All member countries are to contribute to administrative expenses. There are a few things in here that you have to understand; all countries contribute to administration expenses. No country can receive any financial benefits from U. N. R. R. A. if they have exchange credit with which to pay for their supplies. It does not make any difference who they are. The idea is this, they will get the benefit of technical assistance if they desire it, but no financial benefits in the way of supplies. That is one of the essentials of U. N. R. R. A.

Now, those countries that have dollar exchange or currency in this country do not receive any financial benefit. They have to pay cash for their relief.

The question was asked before and I should like to get that clear because it is a very important point. A country that is not occupied by the enemy does not receive any benefit under U. N. R. R. A. For instance, England does not receive any benefits under U. N. R. R. A. U. N. R. R. A. does not begin to operate until after the country has been liberated and after a government which is recognized by the United Nations is exercising authority. Then U. N. R. R. A. comes in upon the request of the military authorities.

Now it is calculated that only 10 percent of the relief required for the liberated areas will be provided by U. N. R. R. A. and 90 percent of the total cost will be provided by the governments themselves. Even the poorer countries, for instance, will provide 90 percent of their own relief.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Coming back to the first premise, that is, ratification by other countries, will the Congress of the United States be required to appropriate the money authorized in this resolution before the other countries ratify the agreement?

Mr. BLOOM. The answer is "No." The answer is "No."



Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. So all those other countries must first ratify the agreement?

Mr. BLOOM. Oh, no.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Perhaps in further elucidation of the subject, the agreement is now in operation. Some countries have already contributed or started their contribution. We have not as yet contributed. We do not have to contribute unless the Congress appropriates the money. There is no commitment forced upon any of the 44 governments.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. WADSWORTH. If this resolution should fail and the Congress refuse to authorize any appropriation for our participation, U. N. R. R. A. goes ahead without us.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I do not want to be misunderstood. I am asking these questions not in opposition to the resolution, but I am asking for information. I would like to ask the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bloom] this question: The gentleman states that certain countries, because they have dollar exchange in the United States, which are now occupied by the Nazis, will not get any benefits as long as they have dollar exchange in this country.

Mr. BLOOM. They will have to pay for it. If they get any relief they will have to pay for it out of what foreign exchange they may have, as long as they have the money. They get the relief benefits and everything else, but they have to pay for it. I should have said that they get no financial benefits out of it.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Can any of those countries which have dollar exchange buy anything here in the United States, or in any other country, with that exchange that might be delivered to them outside of U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. WADSWORTH. One of the purposes of this agreement is to prevent the countries that have money competing against each other in the world markets for supplies, and thus the country with the most money would get the most supplies and result in starving out a country with less money. Under this agreement all procurement of supplies must be with the approval of the joint organization which is charged with the duty of seeing to it that the available supplies are honestly and equally distributed, even though in many cases the country to be benefited will pay for it herself.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. In a case like Denmark or Norway, they might want to buy 50,000 milk cows here. Will they be permitted to do that outside of U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. They might not get the cows then?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The resources of this country must be taken into consideration. If that request is recommended by U. N. R. R. A. it goes before a joint

board of American officials including, for example, the War Food Administration, the War Production Board, and they will make a survey of the resources of this country. If they make up their minds that the request for purchase in the United States will exhaust or unduly strain our resources, the answer will be "No."

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Then U. N. R. R. A. will control all exports to those countries of essential and other commodities?

Mr. WADSWORTH. When the supplies are finally procured, wherever they are procured, anywhere in the world, their distribution will be seen to by the central organization charged with the duty of seeing that it is done fairly, and stop competition between nations.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BLOOM. I shall be glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DONDERO. Is this intended as permanent legislation?

Mr. BLOOM. Oh, no; no.

Mr. DONDERO. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Wadsworth] has raised an interesting question by stating that if we do not approve this resolution, U. N. R. R. A. goes on without us. Does that mean that U. N. R. R. A. goes on without our contribution of 60 percent of the fund that is intended to be set up?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes; it does.

Mr. DONDERO. What authority will this country then have in this particular type of international agency, if we do not make any contribution to it or accept it?

Mr. WADSWORTH. None. To all intents and purposes we are out of it.

Mr. GEARHART. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I anticipate a constitutional question.

Mr. GEARHART. I have one.

Mr. BLOOM. Very well, I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GEARHART. I would like to know just wherein a treaty, a copy of which appears in this joint resolution, but which so many Members like to call an executive agreement, differs from that type of international agreement which, under the Constitution of the United States, must be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent.

Mr. BLOOM. I would say, as the gentleman certainly knows, that the difference between an agreement and a treaty is your opinion against mine, and my opinion against yours.

Mr. GEARHART. Oh, no.

Mr. BLOOM. I will say to the gentleman that the idea of embodying this agreement in the joint resolution originated in the Senate, which is the treaty-ratifying body. The ratifying body of treaties says that this is an executive agreement. The committee has already passed upon that, I believe. That is why it is here. I disagree with the gentleman with reference to the ratification of treaties, because that history is a long drawn-out history. My opinion is that this is 100 percent an agreement and not a treaty.

Mr. GEARHART. Now let us follow this a little further. The gentleman has said there is a difference between a treaty and an executive agreement, so-called.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. GEARHART. Is not every international arrangement, whether you call it a treaty, a covenant, a convention or an executive agreement, just an agreement between nations?

Mr. BLOOM. You see when you come to an agreement between 44 different countries that are trying to do something, it depends upon so many different things that it does come more nearly to an agreement than to a treaty.

Mr. GEARHART. Now, what is the difference? That is what I am asking you. What is the distinction between an executive agreement which does not have to be ratified by the Senate, and a treaty which must be ratified and submitted to the Senate, under the Constitution of the United States? This body would like to know what is in the gentleman's mind. What is the distinction insofar as the gentleman is concerned?

Mr. BLOOM. No; what I would like to know is what is in the mind of the gentleman from California?

Mr. GEARHART. I should like to reach an understanding, too. I should like to tell the gentleman, if he does not know already, that there is not any distinction between an Executive agreement and a treaty, because they are all international covenants; they are all international conventions; they are all international this or that, whatever you want to call them; they are all just agreements.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me? I should like to answer the question.

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I think the chairman was very correct when he wanted to know what there was in the gentleman's mind. If the gentleman says there is no difference between an agreement and a treaty, why all this hullabaloo?

Mr. GEARHART. That is just the point. Now, just answer that.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Let me call the gentleman's attention to this fact, that the State of Texas was admitted into the Union not by a treaty but by a joint resolution of Congress. Does the gentleman think it is a bad policy for the House of Representatives to legislate and to function with reference to these agreements? Or does the gentleman think that this House is unable to pass intelligently upon those matters, that all the wisdom is in the Senate of the United States? If he does not, what is he talking about?

Mr. GEARHART. I will tell the gentleman what I am talking about, and the gentleman seems to agree there is no difference.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I did not say that; I said the gentleman said so.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman from California said so; the gentleman from Texas did not.



Mr. GEARHART. All right; if there is no difference then they are all treaties, and that is exactly what I contend is true: Every international agreement is a treaty.

Mr. BLOOM. According to the gentleman's own words, if there is no difference—the gentleman says they are all treaties—I say if there is no difference they are all agreements.

Mr. GEARHART. That is the point. If there is no agreement then all such matters should be submitted to the Senate under the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. BLOOM. Let me say a word here, because I have the floor; but I will be liberal in yielding.

Mr. GEARHART. Just a minute; I should like to finish my statement. The gentleman should not cut me off.

Mr. BLOOM. I think I have been very liberal with the gentleman. The gentleman says there is no difference between an agreement and a treaty. Why not then call them all treaties?

Mr. GEARHART. That is right; call them all treaties and be honest.

Mr. BLOOM. Will the gentleman yield to me for a minute?

Mr. GEARHART. Yes.

Mr. BLOOM. If that be the case, the gentleman on his own statement says they are all treaties—

Mr. GEARHART. That is right.

Mr. BLOOM. Then does not the gentleman feel I have the right to say under his own contention that they are all agreements?

Mr. GEARHART. Yes.

Mr. BLOOM. Then they are all agreements; we agree.

Mr. GEARHART. Yes, that is exactly the point.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I cannot yield further.

Mr. GEARHART. The gentleman from New York opened this thing up. He should not say for one minute that he wants to close the debate because the gentleman himself admitted the very point I wanted him to admit, that a treaty and an agreement, a covenant, and a convention, whatever you want to call an international arrangement, are all treaties.

Mr. BLOOM. I did not admit that; oh, I did not admit that.

Mr. GEARHART. Now, wait a minute.

Mr. BLOOM. I do not want the gentleman to say I admitted something I did not.

Mr. GEARHART. Let me finish my statement; I have not said that. What have we been asking each other?

Mr. BLOOM. That is what I should like to know.

Mr. GEARHART. All right; now, let us get this settled right now. I am leading up the point that any of them are treaties, any of them are agreements, any of them are covenants, any of them are conventions; and we use all those names.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I do not feel I can yield further. I have used a good deal of time here and as yet no one on the other side has spoken. I

think I have been very fair with the gentleman.

Mr. GEARHART. No, I do not think the gentleman has. The gentleman has interrupted me in the middle of every statement I have attempted to finish.

Mr. BLOOM. Because the gentleman will not let me answer him.

Mr. GEARHART. I ask to be allowed to make my statement.

Mr. BLOOM. Proceed.

Mr. GEARHART. Will the gentleman listen to me and allow me to complete my statement? I will be through in a minute.

Mr. BLOOM. Proceed.

Mr. GEARHART. When I say they are all treaties or they are all agreements I do not contend all of them have to be submitted to the Senate for ratification. There are three distinct classes of agreements: Those which are made by the President without the necessity of referring them to the Senate when he is carrying into execution a definite constitutional obligation imposed upon him by the Constitution of the United States; then there is a second kind of executive agreement that does not have to be submitted to the Senate, agreements which are entered into pursuant to a preceding congressional mandate; and a third kind is the kind of international agreement which we call a treaty which must be submitted to the Senate for ratification, and that is one which does not involve the first two considerations I have been pointing out.

This is a subterfuge. This bill is an attempt to bypass the Constitution. This is an attempt to nullify the Constitution by bringing international agreements into the classification of the first two I mentioned, one or the other.

That is all I wanted to say.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield until I get through making this statement; then I shall be pleased to yield.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has given his views with reference to the constitutionality of this legislation. There is no such thing as the constitutionality of anything.

Mr. MICHENER. What did the gentleman say?

Mr. BLOOM. The Supreme Court states that it does not rule on the constitutionality of any act. That is the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. It rules on the validity of an act. I am not a lawyer but I think I have studied the Constitution. Any time anyone wants to have 10 rounds on that with me some other place I would be very glad to take him on. But the Supreme Court states that it rules on the validity of an act. It never says the "constitutionality" or the "unconstitutionality" of an act.

We have been debating House Joint Resolution 192. This subject matter was brought to us by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This reference had the approval of some of the best minds. If there had been any doubt as to the interpretation of the Constitution with

reference to treaties and the ratification of treaties, certainly the Senate Foreign Relations Committee would not have submitted this to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. That is the source from which we got this matter; it was brought to us from the Senate. If the Senate says it is an agreement and it comes to us as an agreement I think we have the right to accept it as an agreement.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. To a member of the committee just for a question, yes; but I should like to go on.

Mr. MUNDT. I want the gentleman to yield for a statement.

Mr. BLOOM. For a statement, no. I will yield to the gentleman for a brief question.

Mr. MUNDT. But there is something I think I can clarify and certainly I believe the gentleman wants these points clarified as they come up and as we go along.

Mr. BLOOM. How much time does the gentleman want?

Mr. MUNDT. I wish to make just a very brief statement.

Mr. BLOOM. Very well; I yield to the gentleman briefly.

Mr. MUNDT. Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that I believe the gentleman from California [Mr. GEARHART] has a valid position in being disturbed in his thinking as to whether or not this is a treaty or an Executive agreement. I believe, however, the chairman of the committee is correct in his statement that this is not the tribunal in which we can determine and settle the question of whether this is a treaty or an executive agreement. The tribunal which must in the final analysis determine that aspect of it is the United States Senate.

If the Senate chooses, even though unfortunately and unwisely in our opinion, to vacate its traditional jurisdiction over this bill from the standpoint of whether it is a treaty or an Executive agreement it is not within the power of the House to insist that the Senate measure up to what we might consider to be its proper prerogatives. If the Senate or its Foreign Relations Committee chooses, even though we consider such a choice regrettable, to consider compacts such as this with foreign countries as Executive agreements rather than treaties, this body and this House cannot, I am sure, do anything to compel the Senate to decide differently.

There were times in the history of this Republic when the great Senate of the United States was very jealous of its treaty-ratifying power, and when Senators, individually and collectively, insisted on the power of that body to participate in the drawing and ratifying of agreements with other countries by the special majority vote provided in the Constitution of the United States. Such may or may not be the case today, but it seems apparent that it is for the Senate to decide whether it is to vacate this authority and waive this right or whether it has satisfied itself that agreements of



this type do not come under the classification of treaties.

Our job in the House is limited as I see it to the functions which definitely repose in the House of Representatives, and that is in the matter of making appropriations for the implementing of such foreign agreements as we approve of whether they be treaties or Executive agreements.

When I discuss this in my time tomorrow, I hope to point out reasons why it is therefore doubly important that we scan this legislation from the standpoint of an appropriation and our direct relationship to it. As to whether it is a treaty or executive agreement, I believe the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs is correct in saying that is something which must be determined by the membership of the Senate, and though we might like to have them consider it a certain way, if they refuse to do so or vacate their rights, there is nothing we can do about it.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. The distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs has stated that this is not permanent legislation; it is only temporary.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes; that is right.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. What is there in the bill itself that defines it that way?

Mr. BLOOM. After 6 months' notice our Government can withdraw.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I have not seen that in the bill.

Mr. BLOOM. Well, it is there.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I understand it is in an agreement, but is it in the bill itself?

Mr. BLOOM. It is in the agreement. It is not in the bill.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. The agreement is in the bill and this limitation is in the agreement?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. What makes this legislation temporary is the limitation upon the amount. When the amount of the authorization is used up, that is the end of the act. Unfortunately there is a probability that we may at some time use the full limitation on the amount.

Mr. BLOOM. There is a 6 months' provision. In the agreement there is the provision that we can withdraw after 6 months. On page 14, line 16, it is stated:

Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of 6 months from the entry into force of the agreement for that government.

Mr. DEWEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DEWEY. I want to refer to the joint resolution, No. 192, article III, which reads as follows:

Each member government shall name one representative and such alternates as may be necessary upon the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which shall the policy-making body of the Administration.

Later I hope to have the time to speak in regard to the rehabilitation features of House Joint Resolution 192. I have in my mind the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Journal, first session, Resolution 12 of that session having to do with matters of rehabilitation. Paragraph 11 reads:

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief.

I would like to clarify that one word "coterminous," because the argument that I may have the privilege of presenting to this body will revolve about the matter and subject of rehabilitation. I have looked it up in the dictionary here in the House the word "coterminous." There is a word "coterminous" and a reference to "conterminous." The definition of "coterminous" is as follows:

Conterminous; specifically, biology, of groups of organisms, coextensive.

Now, then, I looked up the word "conterminous" and the definition is as follows:

Having a common boundary. Having the same bounds or limit; coextensive in space, time, or range; having the same ending.

The synonyms are, "adjacent, near, close, neighboring, bordering, immediate, touching, contiguous."

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have the gentleman ask his question.

Mr. DEWEY. I am getting to it. This is not a frivolous matter because I asked the same question directly in a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee when it was said that rehabilitation was coterminous with relief, and I understood it was stated that it stopped at the same time as did relief, but the word itself has nothing to do with arrested motion. It delimits something, and it might mean that rehabilitation and relief may be of the same size. I would like to make a record now of my understanding in the committee that it means what I said.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman is worried about the word "rehabilitation." The thought just occurs to me that the Veterans' Administration from the beginning has used the word "rehabilitation" to describe temporary benefits extended to veterans.

Mr. DEWEY. I am talking about "coterminous" and "conterminous."

Mr. BLOOM. I know what the gentleman is talking about, but I am trying to get the gentleman to understand what I am talking about.

You can talk about rehabilitation and define it in so many different ways that you might scare someone. I may say to the gentleman that this legislation in no way goes into the thought of reconstruction. The provision on page 3 involves food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services. In the matter of rehabilitation, or anything that comes within

that scope, the work of U. N. R. R. A. is strictly limited to facilitation of the relief work. But this does not in any way go into the term "reconstruction."

Mr. DEWEY. Mr. Chairman, I have asked a question and I would like to have it answered because I hope to have some time of my own.

Mr. BLOOM. To answer the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DEWEY] if the gentleman is looking for an answer with reference to "reconstruction" and "rehabilitation" or the dividing line between the two, why, of course, I have not the time to answer it because the gentleman has looked up the dictionary.

Mr. DEWEY. Will the gentleman permit me to interrupt? I am not seeking in any way to cause a delay of the discussion, but this does use one word which I understood meant "stop," that rehabilitation would stop with relief, and the word "coterminous" is used. Now, "coterminous" does not mean "stop." If it is the gentleman's opinion that cotermination means stop, I am satisfied and I shall stop.

Mr. RICHARDS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RICHARDS. May I say it is my understanding that everybody on the committee interpreted the word just as the gentleman did in its application to this bill.

Mr. DEWEY. Despite the application and general usage, as shown by the dictionary?

Mr. RICHARDS. That is correct; yes. Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I will yield just for a question to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts, then I decline to yield further. I must get through.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I think that this is important.

Mr. BLOOM. Otherwise I would not have yielded to the gentlewoman. I know it is important.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. It is important because the administration today in connection with the reconstruction or change-over of buildings is using the word "rehabilitation" for building.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Nebraska?

Mr. BLOOM. All right; I will yield.

Mr. MASON. The rest of us can do that, too.

Mr. BLOOM. All right, I will yield to the gentleman, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Nebraska withdraw his point of order?

Mr. CURTIS. I withdraw the point of order, Mr. Chairman.

I should like to ask the chairman of the committee a question. Is it not true that the central committee of the U. N. R. R. A. is made up of four mem-



bers, China, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States, and by a majority vote they can prevent the financial reports of U. N. R. R. A. from being published?

Mr. BLOOM. The last part of it, no; but the first part of it, yes. It is in the agreement.

Mr. CURTIS. Then will the gentleman explain to me lines 12 to 15 on page 11, where it is stated:

The reports shall be made public except for such portions as the central committee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Nations, to keep confidential.

Mr. BLOOM. I will try to answer that in as brief a time as I can. Under the agreement the central committee is made up, as the gentleman has said, of four nations—China, Soviet Russia, the United States, and Great Britain. The council is made up of 44 nations. As to the report that the gentleman speaks of, I am going to answer his question, but I am first going to give him a picture. There are four countries there. There are England, the United States, China, and Russia. If those four countries get up a report, I think the Congress will be satisfied with it. I would like also to refer the gentleman to the provisions contained in the first few lines on page 15 of the joint resolution.

Mr. CURTIS. But three of them can keep the report away from the nation that furnishes 60 percent of the money; is not that true?

Mr. BLOOM. I do not know.

Mr. CURTIS. I did not ask. Would they do it? I asked, Could they do it?

Mr. BLOOM. No.

Mr. CURTIS. They could not do it.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MASON. I have a question that I really want to get answered, and it is very plain.

Mr. BLOOM. I shall be delighted to try to answer it.

Mr. MASON. The text of the U. N. R. R. A. agreement, as printed in the bill, regardless of whether it is a treaty or an agreement, if this resolution is passed by the Congress and adopted, then becomes a substantive part of the law, and whether it is a treaty or an agreement it is then approved by the Congress. Is not that right?

Mr. BLOOM. That is right.

Mr. Chairman, the preamble, as we shall call it, of the report written by the committee, tells the story, and it reads as follows:

This war is causing great suffering. America has always heeded the call of human suffering. America has a genius for organization. This genius, applied to this great human need, has resulted in the community fund system throughout the United States. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is an international organization, developed on the principles of the American community fund system, to relieve human suffering caused by war. The characteristic elements are there; each member's contribution is voluntary, yet through organization the human needs are analyzed, the means to meet the needs are allocated, and the value of each contribu-

tion is thus enhanced. The U. N. R. R. A. is the community fund of the United Nations.

I would also like to call attention to the conclusion in the report, which reads as follows:

United States participation in the work of the U. N. R. R. A. is essential, if the United States is to carry out in the field of international action those responsibilities of world leadership which are imposed upon us by the deepest interests of the security and prosperity of the United States. The need for the U. N. R. R. A. is evident. The wake of human misery left by the German and Japanese war machines requires international action as a matter of necessity, as well as of humanity. The problems presented are international problems—the marshaling of available world supplies; the working out of agreements as to common standards for relief among the liberated areas; the establishing of reserves of supplies available for use in whatever areas may be liberated first; the prevention of competitive scrambling for limited relief and rehabilitation supplies in the world markets; and the provision for and control of the movement of displaced persons. International action is essential if the liberated peoples are to be put in position to help themselves. They must be given that additional strength which will enable them to go forward with us in the task of economic reconstruction and the building of a durable peace.

I also specifically call attention to the fact that the Committee on Foreign Affairs put a limit of \$1,350,000,000 on the authorization, and then wrote a new section that was not in the joint resolution at the time, section 3. Section 3 gives the full understanding of the Committee on Foreign Affairs as to what this resolution calls for in the way of rehabilitation.

Therefore, I call the attention of the committee to the fact that the Committee on Foreign Affairs has taken every precautionary measure to safeguard the money whose appropriation will be authorized by this legislation, and to see that it is properly expended.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, America, is always ready to help in the relief of human suffering, and Congress has repeatedly appropriated money, taxpayers' money, if you please, for the relief of human suffering in other countries all over the world, in great disasters and after wars. There is no question but that the American people are going to do their share in taking care of the helpless, guiltless women and children, the victims of war, who are starving and naked and sick and homeless. The question is how to do it.

There are three ways we might go at it. One way would be to go it alone, until our generosity ran out. We might help much in meeting the real problem, but we would get credit for what we did. That was the old-fashioned Lady Bountiful method, a method which the Pharisees of the Bible adopted in giving alms, but it has somewhat gone out of style.

The second way would be to get up a world superstate and have that world superstate pass a law to assess every nation for relief. Perhaps Mr. WALLACE and some others in this town and over

the world may want that plan, but that is not my idea.

The third way would be the American community-fund idea, where there are voluntary contributions, but a suggested quota for each member is made by the organization. You analyze the needs, set up an "asking budget," and then allocate the means to meet the needs so as to go as far as possible. It is as American as pumpkin pie, and it is the basis of U. N. R. R. A.

I intend to speak something about the organization and financial plan here, but I want to do one thing first. I want to beg of you all to read this bill that contains the full agreement, and to read the resolutions on policy adopted at Atlantic City by the Council of U. N. R. R. A., appendix 1, pages 295 to 328 of the hearings before you.

You cannot understand about U. N. R. R. A. without the labor of reading what it is about. Carlyle in Sartor Resartus had a character, a professor, Teufelsdröckh, who was a professor of things in general, and we have a few of those in the Congress here, who know everything about everything, but I think most of you will not be able to understand this great, elaborate, detail mechanism by merely closing your eyes and taking a deep breath. You have got to study, and you may make a grave mistake if you vote on this without knowing what it is and what it is not.

First, as to the organization, there are 44 nations, grouped like this: There is the Big Four and 19 American republics, and then 9 European refugee governments and 6 governments that are a part of the British Empire, and then there are 6 consisting of Ethiopia and Liberia in Africa, Iceland, the Philippines, Iraq, and Iran. That is the way the thing is set up. Complaint was made, I understand, at Atlantic City, that with 20 American republics usually voting together, and with Liberia and the Philippines following along with the United States, and with the United States having the Director, that our country had control of U. N. R. R. A. I confess that while that complaint may or may not be justified, I do not feel terribly ashamed that my country is the dominant, if not the dominating, member of U. N. R. R. A.

The agreement, section III, provides for the Central Committee, the Big Four, and they take charge between the council meetings. Section IV provides for the executive, the Director General, who is nominated by the unanimous action of the Big Four. Section VIII provides for amendment and provides that there cannot be any change in articles III and IV without the unanimous consent of the Big Four. Section VIII further provides that no new obligations can be voted on any country without that country's consent.

In view of these provisions those people who say and who fear that this agreement in this bill takes away the power of the United States to govern itself, are seeing spooks in the dark, and I respectfully submit are talking through their hats.

We have had much discussion of executive agreements and treaties. I



might mention that this Government's Chief Executive has made about 1,000 executive agreements in our history, most of them before the New Deal was ever heard of. I think the New Deal has used executive agreements, without congressional authority before or after, in a reckless manner, but in this instance this executive agreement has been passed on by a number of constitutional lawyers in both the House and Senate, and is here for authorization from Congress, so that it may be provided with the wherewithal, the money, to go forward. Therefore, any further debate about its nature is futile. Congress can authorize executive agreements. It has in the past a long series of them, for instance, in our international postal laws, and trademark laws, and boundary-dispute agreements, and many others. It seems to me that this device of having the Executive enter into agreements, which are clearly within his province, as this one is, to carry on an executive function, and then submit the thing in toto to the Congress for the authorization of the money for activities under it—that that mechanism eliminates any constitutional questions either in the strict sense, or in the spirit of the Constitution, which depends upon collaboration and teamwork between the Executive and the Congress.

Now, on the financial plane, as has been said today, but not mentioned earlier in the newspapers, the world-wide relief problem of taking care of the war-stricken areas is, as far as anybody can now estimate, about a \$20,000,000,000 problem, not a \$2,000,000,000 problem. The United States is called upon to contribute not 60 to 65 percent of \$20,000,000,000, but 6 percent of this total. Payment for most of the supplies and materials is going to come from the countries where the people needing relief live. It is the basis of U. N. R. R. A. that we are going to help people help themselves, and the mechanism of allocation of supplies and securing materials is designed for that purpose.

We come now to the 1-percent proposition. Why was the national income chosen as the yardstick? They tried out a lot of others—exports, the number of people, the size of territory—but none of them was nearly as satisfactory and as fair a measurement of the ability of a country to "kick in" as its national income. Why was 1943 chosen? Because when you are choosing ability to pay, you better pick the time when you are going to make the payment, or near that time. That yardstick, no matter whether our income has advanced more than other countries or not, is fair so long as you take the same proportion of each country's national income, because the same percentage of each man's income, or each country's income, fairly approximates ability to pay.

Each country gets to measure its own national income. Remember, this is all voluntary. I have been inquiring into that, to find out whether the standards over the world are about the same as ours. I find that ours is conservative, and that the other countries follow about the same standard. Also I find that

certain countries are making ready to put in more than perhaps our figures might show for them. You wonder why? Well, there is going to be some sort of reconstruction mechanism developed and if any country cuts down its participation in U. N. R. R. A. in order to save money, it will then be faced by that small amount as being its proper proportion, when a bank, which will be a profitable institution to enter, is being created. So, we therefore have conflicting interests in each country which make them fairly anxious to do their part. But people say, Why is it that of those countries contributing—there cannot possibly be, under the rules, more than 30, and there may not be that many—why is it that of the unoccupied countries of the world, we contribute 60 to 65 percent of the total? And I certainly asked that question the first time I heard of it, because it came as a shock to me and a surprise, as it must to you, to realize that we are so overwhelmingly the richest country on earth.

When you have a community fund and go according to ability, then the richest giver makes the biggest contribution.

Now, there are many limitations upon U. N. R. R. A. Some of them are in these resolutions on policy which I beg of you to read. U. N. R. R. A. is not to be political and it is not to be for reconstruction, and I think we have gone over "coterminous" sufficiently to have you realize that we have incorporated in this law the language limiting this to relief as far as you can limit it to relief. If you are going to stick just to food, clothes, and shelter, what are you going to do about situations like this? Is it not cheaper to send seeds over there to have the people put in a crop for the next year than to feed them all this year and next year? Suppose it is cheaper to send some cloth over there and have them sew it up in a patched-up textile mill than to have the clothing made in our mills and shipped in our vessels? In those countries where they are going to have to have coal to keep from freezing, and I understand relief coal may amount to as much as 11,000,000 tons in these areas, it might be cheaper if we could find some means of rehabilitating some of their mines and patching them up so the people over there could dig their own coal. Is that not a better proposition than for us to load coal from the United States in American ships and take it over there? That is why you have to have something more here than merely provision for relief. It is limited as much as human language can limit it. They divide rehabilitation from construction or reconstruction. They say they are not trying to solve the world unemployment problem. If they stick to their language in performance they have made fair limitations.

I think there are two more limitations on the activity of U. N. R. R. A. It will not go into any area until the military say to come in. The disposition of the military will be to continue complete charge of an area until order and civilian economy is restored enough that they dare get out, rather than let U. N. R. R. A. in only partially. They will not take

over until the military is through. Then if a reconstruction mechanism for borrowing money on safe terms for safe and sane reconstruction projects is erected, as I feel sure it must be, and our committee is shortly going into Mr. Dewey's proposal, there will be countries that rather than patch up a coal mine or patch up a factory or patch up a sewer system, will want to reconstruct it and will want to borrow money and go ahead with the long-term projects. Instead of turning to U. N. R. R. A. for limited repairs as required by the rules of U. N. R. R. A., and by the limitations which we ourselves here reinforced by section 3, they will go through the reconstruction mechanism and borrow money. It may be, and I hope and pray, as I know you do, that the field which U. N. R. R. A. will be forced to meet will be more limited than we think.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. EATON. I yield 5 additional minutes to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Of course, only God Almighty knows how long this planet is going to need war relief. You cannot budget human suffering. You can budget what you are going to do about it.

But I want to emphasize that this \$1,350,000,000 is not an appropriation; it is not an obligation; it is a limitation. It is inconceivable that anything like that amount will be appropriated the first time. The rules of U. N. R. R. A. call for approximately proportionate calls on all contributing members, and when a call comes on us the Appropriations Committee will go to work and will examine it, and then we, the Congress, will see whether we will contribute. Congress will act. When they say, "We will need some more money," we will say, "What have you been doing?" We will look that over, and if Congress approves, we will say, "Well, we will contribute again." But Congress itself, if it passes this act, cannot contribute over the 1 percent till another authorization bill goes through.

Now, as to the personnel, I feel that former President Hoover should have been made head of the U. N. R. R. A. However, I am forced to confess that although starting out with a prejudice against Governor Lehman, after I heard him talk and I talked to him myself, and when I read his words which you have before you, I was convinced of his high purpose and of his determination to hold this thing to a practical basis and to carry out this motto of his not to put these people on a W. P. A., but to "help them to help themselves." I think Assistant Secretary Acheson, our member of the council, efficient, intelligent, tactful, hard-working, with a broad grasp of this problem, has done a good job and will do a good job.

I have criticisms of U. N. R. R. A., not in the international field, but in the domestic handling. I do not want to see this handled as a blank-check appropriation to the President. I want to see it go to the State Department or the Treasury Department or some old-line statutory department, instead of the F. E. A., a 4-month-old war baby born of an Executive order, which I want to see liq-



uidated, rather than perpetuated, when the war is over.

But while I may criticize, while this is not perfect, while changes may be needed, while it may even fail, it is our responsibility to give it a chance. For 5 years I have been arguing for more cooperation between the Executive and Congress. And now we have got it. Some of those who, with me, complained that the Executive was ignoring Congress, now that this thing is presented to us and Congress was being consulted, are now complaining that the Executive is trying to put us on the spot. Well, brethren, you are on the spot with U. N. R. R. A. This, the first formal working post-war organization for a specific purpose with limited powers, by its very terms is dependent upon your action to succeed and to go forward. It is unthinkable to me that you are going to refuse, by your vote, to give this American-type project a chance to try to help the war-stricken people of the world.

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I yield.

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. I would like to ask regarding the determination of 1943 as the base year, was the year 1943 adopted as the base year for an indefinite period of time ahead or was it to be changed always to the nearest year?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. This is the only suggestion for any contribution to U. N. R. R. A. forever so far as U. N. R. R. A. has ever asked for any, and so far as our laws provide. There are those who think U. N. R. R. A. will not get by with this money and will have to come back. I think if they do it wisely they may get through on this. But there is not any repetition of annual contributions. This is supposed to be once and for all.

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Was there any effort to arrive at any other year than 1943 on any other basis?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I understand that they argued over a dozen or a score of different formulas, different years, and so forth, and came to the conclusion finally that national income was a fair figure and the national income of the year in which you started to pay was fair.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. EATON. I yield 3 additional minutes to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. MASON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I yield.

Mr. MASON. I want to ask the gentleman the same question as I asked the chairman of the committee. The fact that the text, you might say, of U. N. R. R. A. is incorporated in this bill, whether it is an agreement or whether it is a treaty makes no difference, if this resolution is passed, then does that mean that that text is adopted as a part of the substantive law of this land?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. In my opinion, it is not. It is no more a part of the substantive law than if the Lord's Prayer, or some other document, were quoted in a statute. It appears in the text, it is

there, but it is not a part of the substantive law. I am of the opinion it cannot even be amended on this floor, because we cannot amend documents that, in fact, exist some place else and where what is before us only purports to be a copy.

Mr. MASON. Then you say it is just included for our information and enlightenment?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Yes.

Mr. HANCOCK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I yield.

Mr. HANCOCK. We have some great humanitarian institutions in this country, such as the American Red Cross, China Relief, Greek Relief, which extend relief to distressed peoples of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Will their activities abroad be brought to an end if this resolution is passed?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. No; they will cooperate with U. N. R. R. A. Practically all of the important ones were represented at Atlantic City by observers and were members of the American delegation. I know, for instance, that the American Red Cross support this. I went to them months ago and said, "Why do you not take on this job? I will help get a bill through to do it." They said, "Frankly, this is too big a job for us. The way to do is to have this type of organization and we will work with and through and under them."

Mr. HANCOCK. And U. N. R. R. A. has the approval and the support of such organizations?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Yes; they were present at the council meeting.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I would like to ask the gentleman with reference to the words on page 7, "Member government," to what and to whom does that refer, as respects the United States?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. There is a definition of "Member government" earlier in the resolution, on page 5, at the top of the page, but that refers to the United States, and to the President signing as the Chief Executive signs for us. However, as has been said repeatedly, nothing happens as far as our money is concerned, until the appropriations are authorized. We have assurance that nothing has happened so far; no American supplies have been allocated. I may disagree with my distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH]. U. N. R. R. A. may be technically in existence now, but I feel that if the United States does not contribute and go forward, the whole thing will fail. The fate of this whole relief project rests in our hands.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys] has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dewey].

Mr. DEWEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say in advance that I am in full sympathy with the purposes of U. N. R. R. A. I have seen after the last war, the difficulties that have existed in the devastated countries of Europe, over which the battles have been fought, and the terrible condition of the people and the terri-

ble problems that faced them. I feel that we can give of our wealth. Even if we have to tighten our belts, we can give of our surplus to help these war-devastated people in food, medicine, and clothing. In fact, to a certain extent, start them toward self-support by an opportunity to obtain their own livelihoods.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEWEY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HINSHAW. I think it should be stated at this point that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dewey] was financial adviser to Poland following the last war, and had much to do with the reconstruction of that great country.

Mr. DEWEY. I thank my colleague from California.

I studied this resolution with great seriousness when it first came to my attention, as well as the agreements that were being entered into in Atlantic City. I am perfectly free to confess that I was troubled by one item that has been discussed here on the floor by some of the Members. That is the matter of rehabilitation contained in the title "United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration." I have questioned some of the officers of the executive department to ascertain from them what was meant by "rehabilitation," and just how far rehabilitation might be carried. I was assured by them that rehabilitation, as they conceived it, meant only doing that which was necessary to make relief effective.

I agree that those things will have to be done, but pressure to do more will be asked of us after the war in those countries of the Old World. We also may suspect that international politics may play a part, and as we are only one member of the four members of the Central Council, pressure may be placed upon us to go further, and to make commitments further than we here in the United States had originally contemplated. Hence, I have given particular attention to the rehabilitation work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

I appeared, thanks to the courtesy of the chairman, before the Foreign Affairs Committee. Later I would like to query him on a point then agreed to. I appeared before the Committee on Foreign Affairs with House Joint Resolution 207, of which I am the author. That resolution took up the matter of rehabilitation in collaboration with U. N. R. R. A. and carried it forward from the point where relief would stop.

Earlier in the session I laid particular stress on the word "coterminous," because I wanted to have it in the record that "coterminous" meant "stop." It is stated in section 12 of the first session of the U. N. R. R. A. council proceedings that rehabilitation would be coterminous with relief. But we are going to have many cases where it cannot possibly stop with relief. As an example we have the matter of displaced people. First, they will be fed where they are found, but later they will have to be brought back to their native lands. But when they are



brought back there it will be a matter of feeding them again if we do not give them some housing and some means of livelihood.

Now, that is probably where rehabilitation would start under the provisions of House Joint Resolution 207.

As I have said, I appeared before the Committee on Foreign Affairs with the intention of offering House Joint Resolution 207 as an amendment to House Joint Resolution 192, which is now under consideration. I was asked by members of the administration, particularly Mr. Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, not to press it as an amendment for fear it might cause delay in the passage of House Joint Resolution 192; might cause the bringing in of discussions and other considerations. So I agreed I would not press for an amendment at this time, provided that immediate hearings would be held on House Joint Resolution 207, when House Joint Resolution 192 had been disposed of.

Now I want to ask the chairman this question: I shall stand by my word and not offer House Joint Resolution 207 as an amendment, but I understand, Mr. Chairman, that you will have hearings on it as soon as this bill is disposed of, and I would like to suggest within 2 weeks. I yield to the gentleman from New York for an answer to my question.

Mr. BLOOM. I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that page 3, the last line of the report, reads as follows:

Representative DEWEY, of Illinois, appeared and proposed House Joint Resolution 207 as an amendment to House Joint Resolution 192. He withdrew his suggestion however on receiving definite assurance from the chairman that hearings would be held on House Joint Resolution 207 after action was completed on House Joint Resolution 192.

Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from Illinois can tell me when we shall be able to get through, get House Joint Resolution 192 out of the way, I will be able to tell him when we will proceed on his resolution.

Mr. DEWEY. I want more assurance than that because "after" is a long while. I am ready and would like to appear within 3 weeks from today.

Mr. BLOOM. Oh, no. I think I have been very fair right from the start. I believe the gentleman from Illinois will admit that. I am ready to go on the moment we get U. N. R. R. A. out of the way so there will not be any conflict, for our time will be taken up between now and then; we might be in conference for a long time mornings. I can assure the gentleman that the committee intends to take it up immediately after U. N. R. R. A. is out of the way.

Mr. DEWEY. "Out of the way." By that does the gentleman mean after the other body has acted on it? Does he mean after the Committee on Appropriations has acted? That might be 3 or 4 months.

Mr. BLOOM. "Out of the way," so far as action by the House and Senate are concerned and it is on its way to the President. The question of appropriation is another thing.

Mr. DEWEY. Why could we not have earlier hearings on House Joint Resolution 207? I am standing by my word.

Mr. BLOOM. So am I.

Mr. DEWEY. I have only one chance of offering it as an amendment to this bill, and that will be tomorrow, or Monday, or whenever the bill is read for amendment. I want a little more definite commitment as to the time I will be before the gentlemen's committee. The Senate might consider the matter for many days.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEWEY. I yield.

Mr. JARMAN. If the gentleman wants more assurance than he has been given, why not let him offer it as an amendment?

Mr. DEWEY. Would the gentleman like to have me offer it as an amendment?

Mr. JARMAN. If the gentleman is not satisfied with the chairman's statement.

Mr. DEWEY. If the gentleman wishes me to offer it as an amendment, I will take him up. I have given my word. And I tell the gentleman that if I offer it as an amendment, I will have plenty of backing for it.

Mr. JARMAN. The chairman of the committee has given his word.

Mr. BLOOM. I have given my word; I have even put it in the report.

Mr. DEWEY. I want to deal with this just as I want to deal with "coterminous," I want to delimit "afterwards."

Mr. BLOOM. I put "co-terminus" in this. Co-terminus, concurrent—I will do anything the gentleman wants, but if there is any Member of either branch of this Congress who can say definitely when legislation will pass or will not pass it is a wonder. I say that as soon as the Senate concludes its consideration of this bill and it is on its way to the President, immediately after that I will send the gentleman a special invitation to appear, I will come and get him myself and bring him over there and we will have a nice meeting on his resolution. I cannot do any more than that. To say a specific date I cannot.

Mr. DEWEY. I will take the gentleman's commitment, and if I may proceed now—

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman may proceed; he started this; I did not.

Mr. DEWEY. Yes; but I always like to sign, seal, and deliver matters that pertain to legislation and when I am handling other people's money.

House Joint Resolution 207 sets up a well understood, American way of doing business, and that is by joint account. It is an old custom here in this country of ours.

When people wish to enter into an engagement to do something beyond their personal means they get around them some friends, discuss the subject, and then once having complete knowledge of it one takes one share, we will say one-half interest, another takes a quarter of an interest, and the third takes the last quarter. They all enter on the same basis. The matter is perfectly un-

derstood. On the other hand, I have had some experience and I fear the complications of these large organizations, world-wide in scope.

We know today that the first two provisions of the Atlantic Charter, having to do with territories, have been breached. We know that the "four freedoms" better have a fifth one added—freedom from suspicion. When we are dealing with other nations I think it is a good thing for us to have a body or group that will meet the representatives of those countries on an equal basis, take up each project as it may be presented, and discuss it, and if advisable, go along with them. I give you as an example, let us say, our good friend Greece. It may be the first country that will be evacuated of the Axis troops. Then they will want to have rehabilitation probably going much further than could be done by U. N. R. R. A. What would happen? Probably the Greek authorities would outline a plan. They might then call in the authorities from Russia, from England, probably the Turks would like to take part, the French, and ourselves. The Greek program would be considered as an individual project and be accepted or rejected on its merits.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 additional minutes to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DEWEY. I have provided in House Joint Resolution 207 for an administrative body and a fund, a revolving fund, to be used for rehabilitation purposes. The money for the revolving fund will be appropriated from the stabilization fund now under the jurisdiction of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury. It will cost the American people nothing for the simple reason that the stabilization fund was developed by increasing the value of gold from \$20 an ounce to \$35. Supervising that fund as a board of directors will be two members appointed from the State Department, the Treasury Department, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal Reserve Board, two Senators, and two Congressmen. A chairman of that board of directors will be appointed by the President, who will be empowered to meet the representatives of foreign countries on these matters of rehabilitation. If this kind of organization is carried out it will serve as a "stopgap" between the period when relief stops and more permanent reconstruction comes in. It will do away with the dangers that are foreseen by some of the speakers here of setting up knitting mills, complete railroad systems, public utility systems out of U. N. R. R. A. funds wherein we would lose control and where we, as one of the members of a council of four, would have only one vote. The U. N. R. R. A. administration could stick to the provisions of U. N. R. R. A., which is only to do rehabilitation as far as is necessary to carry out relief and turn over to the central reconstruction fund provided in House Joint Resolution 207 those



matters of greater rehabilitation and do them in the American way on joint account with other nations well disposed on an equal basis, and all to have an opportunity to study each subject as it may arise.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEWEY. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. As I understand the gentleman's position he is not opposed to the present bill, but the plan provided for under his bill would begin when this plan ends; in other words it supplements the work of U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. DEWEY. It does not begin when this plan ends but it supplements this plan during its life.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. And it is a different field of work.

Mr. DEWEY. It is a broader field of rehabilitation based on carefully worked out programs.

Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEWEY. I am glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire. Following the point just brought out by the gentleman from Texas, the gentleman from Illinois has referred repeatedly to the possibility that the American members of U. N. R. R. A. might be overriden and that rehabilitation might go beyond anything he has been assured is the intention.

Mr. DEWEY. That is the fear.

Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire. It is to be remembered all the time that this is an authorization bill, not an appropriation bill, that the Congress keeps control over the funds, it would have reports, and if at any time it is felt by the Congress that they were going beyond the powers laid down by this law, it is always possible to check the appropriations.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. DEWEY. I may say in answer to the gentleman from New Hampshire that there is always the danger of commitments. There are always dangers in operating great undertakings such as this with 44 other nations that one might build the front steps of an edifice, then come back to the Congress and say, "We made the commitment to build the edifice itself." This would take care of all such matters.

Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire. Of course, there is danger in walking down Pennsylvania Avenue.

Mr. DEWEY. Yes; but the dangers of foreign commitments are well known in our experiences in foreign matters after the last war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN].

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, throughout the history of this country it has been but natural, because of the benevolent, charitable, humanitarian

and Christian disposition of our people, to gladly answer calls for relief by suffering people. It commenced as far as my memory goes back, in the little town where I was reared, when a widow and her children were suffering, someone who was dependent on a salary had become injured or a transient came in and was without means of support, one or more public spirited citizens went about among the people and took up a collection for the relief of that specific sufferer. Later that attitude on the part of the people in my little town and your little town resulted in the Community Chest idea, whereby, instead of indulging in collections for every specific need, we contribute annually to an organization which has personnel experienced in distributing these funds. When the need arises the funds are available.

America has not confined its contributions for relief to its own towns. Back in the last World War we remember the relief in Belgium, in the 1940 unpleasantness we contributed generously toward Finnish relief, and in recent years toward the alleviation of the suffering of Greeks, Chinese, and other suffering humanity. In the meantime, those excellent organizations, the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, and so forth, have been with us. During the last war, as has been indicated, America contributed approximately \$2,600,000,000 for relief, which, incidentally, was approximately 4 percent of its national income at that time as contrasted with the 1 percent of our present national income which is requested and proposed in the pending resolution.

If the need back yonder, in my and your little town, for that widow and her children was great, if the need of Belgium in the other war was great, and the need in Finland in 1940 and in Greece and China and the other countries now is great, I say to you that I fear very much those needs will all but fade into insignificance when compared with the necessities which will exist, which do exist now, as a matter of fact, in the liberated countries, and which will exist in many others after this war is over.

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to my friend the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. Does the gentleman recognize that the administration of foreign relief after the last war was very efficiently performed under the direction of Herbert Hoover?

Mr. JARMAN. That is quite correct.

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. By a very simple method?

Mr. JARMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. Does the gentleman know of any reason why the same simple method could not be employed now in the administration of relief throughout the world?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. May I suggest that we spent for relief at the end of the last war over \$3,000,000,000? The hope is that by organizing in ad-

vance for this situation that is coming up and getting the other countries to contribute we might thereby lessen the amount of our contribution and at the same time have the other countries go along with us. That is the reason we are acting before the war ends rather than wait until it ends, as we did before.

Mr. JARMAN. That is one reason. There are others, some of which have been stated.

The situation which will confront us after this war is not the little problem that existed in my town of Livingston, Ala., consisting of a thousand people back yonder, with a widow and several children, it is not a problem that Alabama or Ohio or America or Finland or Greece could very well care for alone, because there is not only the financial phase of it, there are various other grave problems with which we will be confronted. It is an international problem, that is a United Nations problem, not only from a financial standpoint, but also for other reasons. Relief supplies are going to be scarce. It must be internationally or United Nations supervised, as has been said, to prevent the country which has a large foreign exchange in gold from gobbling up all of the supplies. There must be an evenness of relief in the different countries as far as is possible. There is the care for and transportation of the displaced persons, who are now roaming all over Europe, more or less, back to their countries.

Those are several reasons why it is a different situation and must be handled differently, in addition to the one the distinguished gentleman from Texas mentioned.

What is the alternative? Two or three. We do not have to pass this legislation, of course. Our failure to do so will not prevent the other countries from proceeding as best they can. Naturally, being the richest and the largest Nation in the world, we are contributing more than any other country, and it would not succeed as well without us. There is another alternative. It is for the whole world to just forget it, let it go, and not attempt to indulge in any relief of these suffering people.

Where does that lead? It leads to chaos and anarchy in a large part of the world, which would endanger us all; in fact, it would endanger the very civilization we know. I believe, and I think most of us of the Committee on Foreign Affairs believe, that it behooves us not only to participate in this humanitarian and necessary endeavor but even more to take the lead in it.

The concept of concerted action back yonder in 1941 has been explained. I want to emphasize, however, a phase of the background which has also been referred to. After the United States and Russia entered the conflict, they joined this group which originally discussed the matter in London in 1941. Both of them suggested that it should be broadened to take in other Allied countries. The first discussions were commenced between representatives of China, Russia, the United Kingdom, and America and were soon extended to include other United Nations. A tentative agreement



was prepared, with which all the United Nations were circularized.

At the same time, as you have been told, all of the facts, the tentative agreement, the need as far as it could be foreseen, and all of the circumstances were explained in detail to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the other body and to our Committee on Foreign Affairs. Suggestions were invited from the members of these committees and from the proposed member nations. Many suggestions were offered, both by the nations and by the members of our committees. The great majority of these suggestions were incorporated into a new tentative agreement, with which these 44 nations were again circularized, and which was immediately brought to these two committees of the Congress for our information and suggestions. This second tentative agreement resulted in unanimous acceptance by the 44 nations, and there naturally followed the conference at the White House on November 9, 1943, when it was signed, and the meeting of the Council in Atlantic City the following day.

At that meeting the first United Nations service agency, in fact, the first international service agency with which I am familiar, was commenced, and there began the first effort to ascertain whether the United Nations, which have cooperated so magnificently and successfully in war, can cooperate in peace.

Most of us, I think, have long since become convinced, as illustrated by the passage of the Fulbright and Connally resolutions, that the day of sticking our heads in the sand like an ostrich and hoping and believing that the rest of the world will pass us by unmolested, undisturbed, and unnoticed, has gone forever. The world cannot stand the shock of another such war as this every 25 years, and no individual country can prevent it. It can be prevented only by international, or at least United Nations, cooperation. If we cannot cooperate in this first step, if America will not participate in this first elementary step, a step comparable to taking care of the widow and her children down in my and your little town, I say there is little hope that we may look forward to cooperation in bigger things, the things that really will count in the future of the world and the salvation of the American way of life and the civilization we know.

It has been mentioned that the one, whole, and only purpose of U. N. R. R. A. is to help the liberated peoples—and do not forget the word "liberated"—to help themselves.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. GEARHART. We have already liberated the Algerians, the Tripolitans, the Sicilians, and the people of southern Italy, and we are feeding them now. We are preventing them from starving. If we can do that now, why do we need this legislation?

Mr. JARMAN. Because they have been paying for it so far, and their funds are not going to last.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. It is with pleasure that I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I say that the French have paid back to us all the cost of the food and clothing which through lend-lease we delivered in Algeria.

Mr. GEARHART. Is it going to be subject to condemnation that they pay us back? Let us get something back once in a while.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am praising them for it.

Mr. GEARHART. Let us go on on that basis.

Mr. JARMAN. We are happy to have it paid back, I may say to my able colleague. We are merely answering the gentleman's question.

It should be understood, as has already been said, that U. N. R. R. A. is by no means undertaking the whole job of relief. It is estimated that 90 percent of the relief supplies will either be produced locally or purchased by this international exchange and gold in the possession of occupied countries, to which reference has been made. The Council suggested to members of the unoccupied countries that they contribute 1 percent of their latest known national income—that for the year ending June 30, 1943. This does not apply to the countries just mentioned, by my colleague from California, which have been occupied. Our part of that expense, sad and terrible to say, amounts to the expense of only 5 days of this war. We would much prefer that it be different, but it is costing this country the amount of this authorization each 5 days of war. We of the Committee on Foreign Affairs believe that it is worth while, insofar as finances go only, to extend this war—that is, financially—5 days after its conclusion, because of the tremendous hope for the future of civilization that is held out to us by doing so.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. LEWIS. I notice that on the first page of the joint resolution three words are stricken out. It states:

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time to time—

The words "from time to time" are stricken out. Certainly when this bill was drawn it was not contemplated that \$1,350,000,000 would be the extent of the amounts we shall be called upon to authorize for appropriation for this purpose.

Mr. JARMAN. Absolutely. It is contemplated that that will be the total. The gentleman will notice that the words "from time to time" have been dropped down three lines from where they are stricken out. It is just a shifting of words. The words now appear in the sixth line.

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, I see that; but certainly that does not mean the same as the way the bill was originally drawn. It was originally contemplated that these

appropriations would be from time to time, if I can read the English language.

Mr. JARMAN. I do not believe it has been mentioned here today, but the facts are that the original bill included no amount. It just had the phrase "from time to time," "such amounts as may be necessary," or wording to that effect. On motion of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] a maximum amount of \$1,350,000,000 was placed in the bill, that being the maximum it is anticipated will be needed. The phrase "from time to time" was retained to indicate that the whole amount will not be appropriated now, but that the aggregate amount will be appropriated from time to time. I think approximately \$500,000,000 is what will be first requested to be appropriated for use during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944. Do not overlook the fact that this \$1,350,000,000 is an aggregate, a total authorization, as definitely distinguished from an annual one.

Mr. LEWIS. May I suggest that while it has been stated here that \$3,000,000,000 were used to accomplish this same purpose after the First World War, in fact there was only a little more than \$1,000,000,000 used by the Hoover committee, as I recall it, and the rest of the \$3,000,000,000 went to loans made from time to time, which were supposed to be repaid to the United States, but were never repaid. Is that correct?

Mr. JARMAN. One billion dollars in loans, as the gentleman says, directly for relief purposes, primarily for foodstuffs, and \$1,300,000,000 in credits established by the United States Treasury for them in this country for this purpose, of which total about 10 percent was paid. Then also there was \$340,000,000 in gifts from private agencies in this country, and about \$37,000,000 in governmental gifts. May I add that we expect private gifts again?

Mr. LEWIS. And the rest of it was canceled.

Mr. JARMAN. Yes.

Mr. LEWIS. But the Hoover committee used a little over \$1,000,000,000, did it not?

Mr. JARMAN. I am not sure what the division of the total between the Hoover committee and the other relief organizations was.

Mr. LEWIS. Certainly let me suggest to the gentleman that the devastation caused by this war extends over a far wider scope of territory than the devastation of the First World War. That has already occurred, and, of course, there will be much further devastation. How can it successfully be claimed that \$1,350,000,000 is the limit of what we shall be called upon to authorize as our effort to carry out the commitments in this U. N. R. R. A. proposal?

Mr. JARMAN. The gentleman has placed his finger upon the main purpose of this resolution, and particularly the main desirability of it from the standpoint of the United States. The gentleman, who knows I am very fond of him, says, as I said, the need for relief will fade into insignificance when compared with that existing heretofore. The last



time we tried to care for it alone, and we did not entirely succeed, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 7 minutes more.

Mr. JARMAN. The last time we tried diligently to do it alone. Our failure and the expense are two reasons which prompt us to wish cooperation this time. We do not want to again attempt to do it by ourselves. This is our part. I believe the gentleman is overlooking those of the other nations, which are, of course, much smaller than ours. The gentleman is also overlooking local contributions, which will be supervised by U. N. R. R. A.—90 percent.

Mr. LEWIS. May I suggest that our contribution is about 60 percent of the total, whatever that total is.

Mr. JARMAN. Of the expense for supplies. I think the gentleman is correct. He is not referring to administrative expenses which are apportioned differently. It is about 60 percent, as the distinguished gentleman says, because that is what our national income justifies as compared with those of other United Nations.

Mr. BLOOM. Sixty percent—1 percent of the income of different nations, but it is not 60 percent of the total expense of U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. JARMAN. Yes, Mr. Chairman, the gentleman really means that it is 60 percent of the 10 percent of the total cost of U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. LEWIS. Then I want to follow that by another question. What is to be the total cost?

Mr. JARMAN. As has been stated several times today—it is approximately \$20,000,000,000, which is to be supervised, it is hoped, by U. N. R. R. A., but 90 percent of the total will be supplied locally, or by this international exchange or gold in possession of the countries, U. N. R. R. A. supplying financially only 10 percent, of which 10 percent we Americans supply 60 percent, except as to administrative expenses.

Mr. LEWIS. What, in addition to 60 percent, will be America's proportion of what is it—\$20,000,000,000?

Mr. JARMAN. That is all. That is what this resolution authorizes, 60 percent of the 10 percent of total relief to be paid for by U. N. R. R. A., or approximately \$1,350,000,000. We do not know whether that will finish the job or not. We sincerely hope it will.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to my friend, the ranking member of our committee.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. The gentleman is aware that, of course, before the Axis Powers acted, some of these countries that had gold reserves took those gold reserves, and they escaped the Axis Powers, so those countries, Belgium, France, Norway, and Holland, have gold in reserve, in exchange, that can be used, and so where those countries have gold reserves they will pay for their own relief, and U. N. R. R. A. will administer it.

Mr. LEWIS. I wondered if the gen-

tleman can tell us the amount of those gold reserves that have escaped the Axis?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I do not know whether that is a military secret or not.

Mr. BLOOM. I can show it to the gentleman.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. There may be some question about releasing those amounts, because of conditions over there, but they are very considerable.

Mr. JARMAN. I know my friend the distinguished gentleman from Ohio will not insist on that information under those circumstances.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. Yes; I gladly yield to my friend, colleague, and comrade from Connecticut.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. I have had inquiries from people who are interested in China Relief. They are concerned about the language on page 10 of the bill. The question has been asked by them—although they do not anticipate it would be done—whether under this any organization could say to China Relief, for example, "You cannot go into that." Could that language be interpreted, they being a foreign-relief organization, so that U. N. R. R. A. could say to China Relief, for some reason, or without reason, "You shan't go into a certain area." I cannot see how they could.

Mr. JARMAN. That is what I would say. Whether they could technically do it or not, I cannot conceive that they should, because this organization will need every help that it can get. The main purpose of the language to which the gentleman refers is to permit U. N. R. R. A. to supervise all relief. Its authority to do so will prevent organizations well supplied with funds from procuring more of the short supplies than they are entitled to on the basis of the whole picture. U. N. R. R. A. will supervise that.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. I wanted the answer in the Record for that purpose.

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. Gladly, to my friend.

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. I have a very high regard for the opinion of my good friend on matters of this kind, and that is why I ask the question whether or not he knows of any reason why lend-lease funds cannot be used to supplement any appropriations that might be made by virtue of this resolution.

Mr. JARMAN. Why lend-lease cannot be used?

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. To supply appropriations under this resolution.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me there?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Lend-lease operates only on the request of the military authorities. It is a supplement to the Army and the Navy, coming directly behind them. They are really under military control as to what they distribute in the countries of which our armies are in possession.

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. Is it not a fact that lend-lease funds have been used for foreign relief already?

Mr. WADSWORTH. They have been used on the request of the military commander. They were used in Algeria on the request of General Eisenhower, who wanted instantly to give relief to some of the Algerians, for the benefit of his own troops, so that he would not have behind him a half-starved population.

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. And that is done by the military only at the request of the military authorities?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes.

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. Then a request of the Commander in Chief would be sufficient?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes; I suppose so.

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. So that the President could allocate funds to supplement appropriations that might be made by virtue of this resolution?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I suppose it could be said that he could do it, but if he should it would be stretching the intent of Congress and the understanding our committee had, that lend-lease appropriations were in support of the armed forces.

Mr. ELSTON of Ohio. It would not be the first time the intent of Congress had been stretched.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has again expired.

Mr. BLOOM. I yield 3 additional minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN].

Mr. JARMAN. I want to say in further reply to the gentleman from Ohio, do not overlook the fact that every dollar of that lend-lease money was American money. What we are trying to do is to get away from shouldering the entire load and have some help in this relief. In this way we will get it.

Now, may I conclude? The administrative expense of lend-lease is contributed to by the United States to the extent of 40 percent instead of 60 percent. But I will not take time to go into that except to say that it results from the fact that those countries which have been occupied also contribute to administrative expense, and to state that other countries have already supplied \$700,000 on which U. N. R. R. A. is now commencing to operate. I cannot refrain from joining the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VOYTS] in his reference to the American representatives of U. N. R. R. A. On the council is that able gentleman, Assistant Secretary of State Acheson, who, as you know, was selected as chairman of the first meeting of the council and who very evidently did an excellent job. America's interest, I believe, is in safe hands with Dean Acheson on that council. Then as Director General while he, of course, is a United Nations official and is by no means representing the United States in his capacity as Director General, I am sure that practically all, if not all the members of the committee, gained the same impression as did the gentleman from Ohio, that this distinguished gentleman, able executive, excellent public official, and financial expert of note, is an ideal man to handle the affairs of the United



Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association. May I add that his testimony was that, aside from the humanitarian standpoint, it was very definitely good business policy for the United States. I am confident of your agreement with my opinion that Governor Lehman "knows his business."

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman from Texas, the ranking majority member of our committee.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. With reference to Governor Lehman, the Administrator, I want to corroborate what has been said by the distinguished gentleman from Alabama and also the gentleman from Ohio, that many members of the committee, including myself, had never had personal acquaintance with Governor Lehman until we began consideration of this legislation. I think that every one of those who met him and who heard him and talked with him and who heard him talk before our committee, were convinced of his capability and of his wisdom and of the fact that he was well qualified to do an excellent job as Administrator of this great organization. Of course, we have known Dean Acheson before and I also heartily share you gentlemen's high opinion of him.

Mr. JARMAN. I thank the gentleman. I am sure his opinion is concurred in by all members of what I regard as our excellent committee.

Mr. Chairman, I illustrate the attitude of Director General Lehman, my attitude, and what I believe to be the attitude of the Foreign Affairs Committee, that is that, while the passage of this resolution will not create an utopia, and although we are fully cognizant of the rocky road which confronts it, we are quite optimistic, by quoting from the hearings at the point where inquiry was made of me whether I had any questions to propound to Director General Lehman at the conclusion of his testimony:

Mr. JARMAN. Governor, as you pioneer along this new, broad, and uncharted course, which seems so pregnant with possibilities, your hopes are high, which attitude is shared not only by the membership of this committee but by the whole people of the United States and of the world. I simply wish to indulge the hope that in the final analysis it will develop that your expectations, yes, even your ambitions of this moment, may be abundantly fulfilled.

Governor LEHMAN. Thank you very much.

May I say to you that my hopes are high. I believe that this is a historic undertaking on which we are embarking, and one that has great possibilities, but I have no illusions whatsoever with regard to the difficulties. They will be very great and very numerous. I am very very alive to that fact.

Mr. JARMAN. You will note that my realization of that probability caused me to differentiate between expectations and ambitions. I said "expectations—even your ambitions."

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the distinguished lady from Ohio [Mrs. Bolton].

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, we have spent today, one of the 2 days given us, in the discussion of this resolution, which takes the United States for the first time into active participation in

world affairs. We will be a part of the international group that want to mend, as much as can be mended quickly, the broken world.

You have already been told that this agreement began in 1941 with the discussions in London, and it grew bit by bit. When finally the United States became part of the objective war, this agreement was entered into. You will recall that last summer I brought it to your attention that such an agreement was under discussion and that the Foreign Affairs Committee was to have hearings with the Assistant Secretary of State. We had those hearings. The Senate had hearings and the changes were made as you have already been informed. I asked you particularly to take the agreement home with you on your holiday and study it, take it to your constituents and let them give you their opinions on it. I am wondering how many of you did so, knowing we are all desperately busy people with each one feeling his own committee work the most important.

We were invited, we members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to come to Atlantic City to participate in the plenary sessions. I believe one member went down for the opening; five members went down for the end; and I had the pleasure of going down, sort of midseason, over a week end, when I had opportunity, not to go to the plenary session, but to sit down with the members of the conference, members of the secretariat and some of the observers.

I want to say at this point it would be very difficult to find a more able group of people than were gathered together from our various departments and of the press as members of this secretariat. I am happy to have this opportunity of expressing my appreciation and what I hope might be the appreciation of the House of Representatives for the very splendid type of people chosen and the magnificent service they gave. There was absolutely no suggestion on their part that the hours were long, and sometimes they worked all night and every night they worked very late.

But now I want to go out a little across the world. I do not think it is possible for us to consider this resolution without a background of what has happened to the state of mind and the state of body of the major part of the world. Europe has been decimated. It consists now of nothing but scorched earth and devastated—I was going to say "homes," but there are so few homes left. As the Germans swept across the whole of Europe they left behind them death and destruction. They kept only those things which they themselves wanted to use. They took back to Germany everything they needed, including human beings. They did everything possible to destroy the home, which is the foundation and the central point of living in all free lands. They created a situation such as the world has never seen, of starvation and destitution and horror, of indecency and of vileness. Now, I ask you, how can we who have still plenty to eat in spite of—well, shall I say—the stupidities of some of the

things that are being done to us? We still have plenty. We have all the clothes we want. We certainly have all we need. How can we possibly understand the hearts and minds of those people—men, women, and children—who are not just hungry but are starving, and have been for years? Children wandering from one place to another in rags, always cold and wet, or scorched with the sun, from which they have no relief, children banded together for protection, like animals, suspicious and at the mercy of any passing horror. How can we possibly understand? And if we do not understand, how can we move into this picture intelligently and understandingly when we do not know what it is? Our wildest imaginings do not give us the sense of what those people have been suffering, and are suffering today.

We have been the only light in their darkness. As the Germans took over they closed the doors around them, and the only access they had to the world was the little secret short-wave sets whose discovery meant death. At our end were those who sent out short-wave messages in all the languages of the many occupied countries, that were as little candles, little flickers of light in their darkness. They learned to look to America and they still look to America.

Then finally we have sent our men. They know that there are several million of our boys and our girls with them, who have gone there to liberate them, to give them release from the oppressor, from the torture, from the agony. Do you mean to tell me that it is conceivable that we send our soldiers and then say "No; we will not help feed you; feed yourselves, get ourselves upon your own feet!" Do we not want them to want our boys there? Do we not want them to welcome our soldiers? Do we not want them to open what houses they have and their hearts to our boys? Do we want them to draw away from us, as though we were something strange, impossible creatures without humanity or the milk of human kindness? I cannot believe that of us, nor can I believe that we as a nation and those of us who are here representing the people of this Nation, are going to be so short-sighted as to believe that to refuse this help, to refuse to be a party to giving them seeds to plant, to give them the little they need so that they can lift themselves up—I cannot believe that that sort of limitation is America, nor that it is the best for America, nor the right for America.

It is my conviction that America had better be very wise and look ahead, yes, look very far ahead. Do we want to be welcomed 10 years from now? Do we want friends across the Atlantic and the Pacific, or do we not? Are we so arrogant that we think we can live alone?

That is going to be an isolationism such as has never been in all the wide world! We will be so isolated that the cold of it will be unbelievable. I say to you that if we fail to continue to be a light in their darkness, the future will find us in a position where it will not be a question whether they need us; it will be that we shall need them! I can-



not believe this Congress will be so short sighted. I cannot believe that the people of this country will want to do anything less for themselves and the future than to play a vital, living, vivid part in this, our first venture into international responsibility. We are a young Nation. We are just children. Of course, we are going to make mistakes—dreadful ones. We are going to beat our heads against the wall because of some of them. We here in Congress cannot control the personnel; we cannot control the administration of this thing, but we can watch both and we can say to those responsible right here and now, "You be careful, because you are going to be held responsible. It is up to you to do this thing right. It is up to you to see to it that the name of America spells peace, that it spells relief, that it spells help, so that you can help yourself, you nations across the sea."

It seems to me that our obligation to our own children is so great that we should not hesitate an instant, regardless of the implications that are in the very words of the agreement and of our resolution. Of course, there are political implications. If you read the testimony you will find that I tried to follow that thought through; that I tried to seek it out so that we would not go into this thing blind to the fact that there are political implications. I say to you now, that unless there is very careful administration, very wise administration, we can readily be accused of having set up something quite appalling; something that would be against, rather than in the interests of, freedom. But in this resolution, in the agreement itself, you will find words that say, "There shall be no political use made of these supplies."

I asked the same questions of the Director General, not in the same words, as I had heard asked of the Assistant Secretary, whether he felt that we could keep free of political implication. He said it was the point and purpose of U. N. R. R. A. to keep free of them, and he proposed to do so to the fullest degree possible. Of course, it is possible that because the signatory nations, the fact that the signatories that represent the occupied countries are the governments-in-exile. There were no others. That does not mean that a new government may not be set up by these countries once they are free. I pursued that thought in my questioning asking what would occur in such a case. It was explained that it is customary—and I am sure you knew it as I did—that when a government changes there is an interval before the new government receives recognition. In that interval there might be a serious relief situation. I asked the Director General if he thought that relief could be continued through that interval. His reply was to the effect that he would do everything possible that it should be so, emphasizing the fact that U. N. R. R. A. had nothing to do with governments, with their acceptance or their rejection.

Now my point in this is very simple. I believe we of this Congress should support this resolution, but I believe we should do it with our eyes wide open. I

believe that we have a great responsibility to open them wider every day. It would be quite possible for us to say blindly, "Yes; this is wonderful. We want to be a part of an international group" and let it go without examining into it. I do not consider that the way for us to function, nor do you.

I believe it to be my duty as a member of this Committee on Foreign Affairs to advise this Congress that there are political implications that we must watch; that there are possibilities of maladministration which may increase. But I believe also that the intent and purpose of the 44 nations is to see to it that politics, political pressures, the attempt to foist a government onto a people that no longer wants it, or insist upon a new government being accepted by the people, is not the meaning of U. N. R. R. A. I believe it is necessary that we recognize that fact here and now.

I believe it might be less embarrassing to the President if he were not given this money, because we shall hold him responsible if we give it to him, and we shall hold him responsible if there is any finagling politically. We shall have the right to, more, we shall have the duty. I think it is quite possible he would be in a far more secure position if the State Department, as has been suggested, or the Treasury Department, be given this money to use for U. N. R. R. A. I hope there will be very serious consideration given this by the House. I think, as I say, that it might be a far less embarrassing situation for the President of the United States or for any to whom he may delegate this job.

We have been told that F. E. A. would be given the job. I would like to protest, as a previous speaker has done, that it seems unwise to me to choose the latest mushroom baby of a war government and give it such far-reaching authority, such a truly terrible responsibility in the new, wide world, because what we do is going to make such a difference. If U. N. R. R. A. fails—and it will not fail if we do our duty in the right way, but if it should fail—there could be chaos in the world because it is that immediate moment after the arms are laid down when the Army says to U. N. R. R. A.: "Now, come in and take these people to your heart and save them." It is that moment that is of such great importance.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mrs. BOLTON. I yield.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. The suggestion was made earlier this afternoon that U. N. R. R. A. was created in some way or other to help Uncle Joe Stalin. Is it not true that the situation in which Communism grows and flourishes is an atmosphere of starvation, disease, misery, and the chaos caused by the first three and that U. N. R. R. A. and its relief work will tend to make an atmosphere where Communism will not flourish?

Mrs. BOLTON. As I read history, revolutions, chaos, and anarchy of every kind grow best in a soil of starvation and suffering. In a well-administered U. N. R. R. A. I believe there is opportunity

to bring to the world at the most critical moment in history that which will make possible the beginnings of a new world. Let us safeguard it—yes—but let us not fail to take our responsibilities within the great family of nations, true to our dreams of freedom and the light that is America.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Ohio has again expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I have no more speakers at this time.

Mr. Chairman, I move the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and Mr. McCORMACK having resumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. HAYS, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration House Joint Resolution 192 to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization, had come to no resolution thereon:

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that following the other special orders previously agreed to, I may address the House for 10 minutes today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### MUSTERING-OUT PAY

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House by a vote of 387 for and none against accepted your Military Affairs Committee bill to provide for mustering-out payments to members of the armed forces. Under the provisions of the House bill, the maximum amount to be paid for persons eligible would be \$300. Under the provisions of Senate bill 1543, the maximum to be paid would be \$500. In that respect and in other provisions of the House bill there are major differences. Many of your Members of the House on yesterday are recorded as voting for the committee bill knowing full well that the maximum sum was insufficient and inadequate.

Members of the Lemke committee, consisting of 51 Members of your House, unanimously approved a maximum of \$700. With this in mind and realizing that a committee of conference of the two branches will be appointed to confer on these differences in the bill, I sincerely hope that the Members of the House appointed by you, Mr. Speaker, will lend all their efforts to a maximum payment of \$500 as a compromise between the House committee bill and the so-called Lemke bill.

#### THE SOLDIERS' VOTE BILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LESINSKI] is recognized for 30 minutes.



(Mr. LESINSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks.)

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the membership of the House has been advised that some time during the next week the House will consider the soldiers' vote bill.

As a member of the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, I signed the minority report to accompany S. 1285.

I sincerely trust that each Member of the House will give careful study to both the majority and minority reports relative to this legislation.

The majority report was prepared by the ranking majority member of the committee, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN], and in his report he states that it will enable every qualified voter in our armed forces to vote by absentee ballot for State, county, and other local officials, as well as President, Vice President, United States Senators, and Representatives in Congress.

He also states that as a rule men and women in the service are more interested in voting for their friends and relatives and members of their immediate families who are running for local offices than they are in voting for national officials.

Frankly, I do not believe that the men and women in our armed forces would prefer to vote for State, county, and local officials in preference to national officials.

In fact, in off-election years we find that only 50 percent of the people vote—and lots of times even less than that. However, when national elections are held we find that at least 80 percent of the people are voting and that the national candidates—by far—receive a larger number of votes than the State, county, and local officials. Therefore, the argument that the soldier would prefer to vote for his friends, relatives, and members of his immediate family running for local offices does not, in my opinion, hold water.

We can only judge the future by the past, and experience, after all, is the best teacher, and on the basis of the number of votes cast in Presidential years in contrast to off-election years, the truth is that when national elections are held there is a far greater number of votes cast than in other elections.

Take, for instance, the total number of votes cast in the first district of Mississippi in 1942 for Representative in Congress—we find that there was only 7,079 votes cast for the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN], although the 1940 census figures for that district disclose that the district has a population of 263,367, and in that congressional district in the 1940 election—the Presidential election year—there was a total of 19,330 votes cast for the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN].

The figures I have just quoted establish the truth—at least insofar as the First District of Mississippi is concerned—as to the total number of votes cast in a Presidential year and the small number cast in off-election years.

Therefore, I submit to the Members of the House that the majority report, insofar as it states that the men and women in our armed forces would prefer to vote for State, county, and local officials in preference to national officials, is a misstatement of the truth and facts.

There is a difference between giving lip service to our veterans and the members of our armed forces and giving real service to the members of our armed forces. If we really want to give the members of our armed forces the right to vote, we must follow the advice that has been given us by the War and Navy Departments, and provide a simplified, uniform ballot distributed by the Federal authorities, with the customary local authorities counting and tabulating the votes of their respective soldier voters.

It has been estimated that 1 out of every 10 voters in a Congressional District is now in our armed forces—on that basis, there would be at least twenty-six or twenty-seven thousand soldier votes in the First District of Mississippi, and with the poll tax restriction removed, and if ballots were placed under Federal supervision in the hands of the voters of that congressional district, even though only one-half of them voted, it could easily change the results of the election on the basis of the total number of votes cast in the last election.

The gentleman from Mississippi has taken the floor and accused Members wrongly of hampering action on this bill, and loudly declares that he wants the soldiers to have their vote. Why, then, is he covering up the weaknesses of this legislation?

The truth is, if the gentleman from Mississippi and the Members of this House really want the soldier to vote, you will support the Green-Lucas-Worley bill—and if you do not want the soldier to vote, you will then support S. 1285, as amended. Regardless of how loudly the gentleman from Mississippi—either on the floor of this House or by radio—declares he is in favor of the soldier vote, the true facts do not bear out his statements because it will be an utter impossibility to handle it through the States.

I believe that the members of our armed forces should be given the opportunity to exercise the right to vote and preserve those ideals for which they are fighting. If the members of our armed forces can be sent to the far-flung battlefields of this global war and be trusted to fire the guns, they certainly can be trusted to mark the ballot, and if they are good enough to fight and die for democracy, they are certainly good enough to vote in a Federal election. The members of our armed forces are fighting as American units and it is, in my opinion, the sacred duty of this Congress to provide them with a means of voting under Federal supervision.

We have been told by both the Army and Navy that it would not be possible for them to handle ballots containing the vast number of names necessary for State, county, and local officials; and then, too, some of the States under their constitutions do not permit absentee voting, and there is not sufficient time re-

maining to change the State constitutions. The distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLANNAGAN] dealt with that in detail in his very forceful address on January 11, 1944.

The Members who signed the minority report do not want to take away from the members of our armed forces the right to vote a State ballot, and the bill introduced by the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. WORLEY], on January 17, 1944, numbered H. R. 3982, specifically provides that nothing in his bill shall be deemed to restrict the right of any member of the armed forces of the United States to vote in accordance with the laws of the State of his residence.

I am not a lawyer, but I do know that this House, under the authority granted by the Constitution, enacted into law the Ramsey bill, which was approved on September 16, 1942, and is known as Public Law No. 712 of the Seventy-seventh Congress. That law provided the means by which the men and women in the armed forces could cast an absentee vote, and it specifically outlawed the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in Federal elections by any members of the armed forces who were otherwise qualified to vote. It also provided that a member of the armed forces desiring to vote was required to request a war ballot from the secretary of state of his State of residence, using a postal-card form supplied by the Army and Navy. Under this system, in 1942, when there was approximately 4,000,000 persons in our armed forces, the committee was informed that only 78,589 applications were received and that only 28,051 votes were cast.

It, therefore, follows that the only logical solution is to provide a uniform national ballot, and the Worley bill, H. R. 3982, in my opinion, contains the only effective provisions that will give to the men and women in our armed forces of voting age the opportunity to exercise their right of franchise. If Congress had the right back in 1872 to enact legislation that provides that national elections shall be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, and if they had the right to enact the Ramsey bill into law in 1942, it would follow as a logical conclusion, as a matter of common sense, that the Congress does have the right to remove the barrier that exists between the members of our armed forces and the ballot box in their home precinct.

The newspaper correspondents writing from overseas tell us in their columns that the members of our armed forces desire to vote in the national elections this year, and from the tone of the columns I have read I have come to one conclusion—they are interested only in the national election. If the members of our armed forces desire to express their choice as to who shall be their national officials, I submit it is the duty of the Congress to provide them with the means to exercise their right to vote for the principles for which they are fighting, and I sincerely trust that this House—when the soldier vote is under consideration—will substitute the Worley bill, H. R. 3982, for S. 1285, as amended.

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DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
(Issued January 22, 1944, for actions of Friday, January 21, 1944)

(For staff of the Department only)

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SENATE

PENALTY MAIL; ECONOMY. Joint (Byrd) Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Expenditures submitted a report on penalty mail (S. Doc. 147) (pp. 546-8).

The report includes figures showing the increase in the amount of penalty mail and Budget Bureau estimates of cost of handling (by the Post Office Department) for 1940, \$13,000,000, and 1943, \$30,000,000; states that "the departments and agencies do not exercise sufficient care to make certain that only essential material is sent through the mails"; recommends shipment by freight, express, or truck to field distribution points of bulk shipments of undated materials, stating that they "should never be sent under the penalty mailing privileges"; recommends enactment of H.R. 2001, to require executive departments, etc., to pay postage on official mail matter; states that there "is a need for more adequate records concerning the volume and methods of shipment of penalty mail"; criticizes present methods of envelope purchasing, the "large shipments of penalty mail from the field to take advantage of the higher 70-pound limit at Washington, D.C.," and "the rapidly increasing volume of circular publications...[with] the penalty indicia merely being printed...on the mailing pieces"; recommends that the "penalty mail privileges of the [executive]...agencies be abolished as such and that the Congress enact legislation which would provide that the departments...reimburse the Post Office at regular postage rates or upon a cost-ascertainment basis, from their regular appropriations, for their use of the mails"; and proposes that "between now and the time the above...is executed...1...[the] privilege of sending penalty mail weighing in excess of 4 pounds free of postage...be abolished, 2...each [executive] department...establish a recording procedure...3...the Post Office Department be empowered to revise its present contracting procedure...4...the Post Office Department...report quarterly to the Congress and the Budget Bureau the number of all such penalty envelopes purchased...5...the Post Office Department...determine the volume and established cost of handling...penalty mail...6...the Post Office Department cost-ascertainment procedure be amplified to determine the volume...by departments...7...the indicia showing the penalty mail privilege be placed on...mail...under such rules as the Postmaster General may prescribe...[and] 8...the Budget Bureau...report semiannually to the



So, by and large, in a project of this magnitude, we can all pick flaws and say that this is an entering wedge or the camel is getting his nose in under the flap of the tent. But I call attention to the fact, as was suggested by the distinguished Member from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], the aggregate appropriation was left open in the original bill.

Mr. DURHAM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURGIN. I yield.

Mr. DURHAM. At the present time we are training so-called Government military people to go into these occupied countries after we have once gone in and taken possession. Did the committee give any thought to using this personnel that has been trained at great expense to the War Department and the country?

Mr. BURGIN. The personnel will be recruited by the Administrator.

Mr. DURHAM. What cooperation are they going to work with; with this government military control?

Mr. BURGIN. They will not work at all until the military control is out of the territory.

Mr. DURHAM. That personnel is going to be trained and is being trained at great expense. At the present time we have 10 schools in this country today training these people.

Mr. BURGIN. But they go into the territory while the Army is there.

Mr. DURHAM. That is true.

Mr. BURGIN. This organization will not go into the territory until the Army vacates. But by and large it is an undertaking which we cannot neglect. We stayed out of the last peace organization of the world and it is my firm conviction this action has had a lot to do with the war we are in now. We cannot have peace in the world without America participating in it. We cannot have the U. N. R. R. A. and cannot have a relief program that will amount to anything without our contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, in considering the adoption of this Joint Resolution 192, this Congress is considering a highly important piece of legislation and is being asked to do three separate things which we should keep in mind, I believe, as we examine the various ramifications of this bill.

In the first place we are being asked to approve of the findings which were made at the Atlantic City Convention which gave birth to an organization which has come to be known as U. N. R. R. A.

In the second place we are asked to adopt a policy of wartime and post-war international cooperation with other members of the United Nations from the standpoint of providing relief to the unfortunate people of the nations requiring assistance.

In the third place we are being asked to provide a considerable sum of money in order to do our part in implementing this relief program.

Before discussing the bill in detail I want to make my own position crystal

clear. While this legislation was not reported out of the Committee on Foreign Affairs by a unanimous vote, since there were several who either voted against it or refrained from voting, I want to say openly that I was one of those who voted in the committee to report the bill favorably.

I want to say, however, that while voting to report the bill out favorably, I was one of those who signed or endorsed or approved the committee report which accompanies the bill. I might say a word or two about that at this time.

I had several reasons for not putting my personal stamp of approval on that committee report, despite the fact I was in favor of the legislation and voted in favor of reporting it out. Fundamentally, my reason for opposing the committee report, or not approving the committee report, I should say, is that it seems to me the report seeks to paint too rosy a picture of U. N. R. R. A. and what it is likely to do. I think, consequently, it lacks candor, because it fails to present both sides of the question and tends to make Congress and the country believe that everything hoped for in U. N. R. R. A. is a forewarned reality. I might just illustrate that by pointing to a statement or two in the committee report which made it impossible for me to approve of the report in the form in which it is printed.

Page 335, for example, of the committee report, if you will turn to it, and it is in the back of the hearings available to each of you, contains the following statement:

U. N. R. R. A. is the first civilian operating agency of the United Nations. Its organization is simple and workable.

As a matter of fact, its organization is not simple. Its organization is complex. It is in fact very complex. I think its organization is necessarily complex. I know of no simple form in which it could be put, but I for one have refused to sign my name to a report which would mislead the American people, who have not had an opportunity to consider it carefully, into thinking this is a simple piece of legislation. Such is definitely not the case and the report is in error in so describing it.

Let me illustrate just how unsimple it actually is. I refer to the debate of yesterday at page 489, where the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] asked a question of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM], chairman of our committee, in which he referred to the text of the U. N. R. R. A. agreement, printed in the bill, and wanted to know whether it was a treaty or an agreement, and whether, if the Congress passed this bill, it approved of the text. The gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM] said, "Yes; that is right." That was a definite and specific answer to a direct question; but on page 491 the persistent gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] a few minutes later asked identically the same question of the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORVY], and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORVY] said it was not correct, and that passage of this bill did not denote approval of the U. N. R. R. A. text. Consequently this legislation cannot be very simple when two distin-

guished gentlemen, good students of the legislation, who sat through all the committee hearings, give answers directly opposite to each other. I, for one, refuse to tell the Congress and the country that legislation is simple which is as complex as that.

Further, on page 338 of the report is another statement to which I cannot give approval, because it says:

The victims of war must be fed as soon as possible. Chaos and anarchy caused by human suffering would endanger us all.

I agree with the facts of those two sentences, but I disagree with the finding in the committee reports which, based on this statement, would exclude India, the greatest sufferer of them all, from coming within the confines of the bill. I shall have something more to say about that a little later on.

On page 339, the committee report says:

U. N. R. R. A. is an agency limited to the job of relief. It cannot recognize or refuse to recognize governments nor engage in political activities or decisions.

U. N. R. R. A. simply cannot help itself from engaging directly or indirectly in politics in the occupied countries. I grant that U. N. R. R. A. will not go out and recognize or fail to recognize governments, but by withholding food to one segment or another in Yugoslavia or Poland, or simply by its donation of this food, it is necessarily going to strengthen the hands of one faction or another. So automatically, it is involved in politics. I do not have any remedy for that fact, but I do find criticism with a report which says it cannot have anything to do with politics when by its very operation it must aid or discourage one political faction or another. Shakespeare knew the answer to that when he said, "Methinks my Lord protesteth too much." Obviously, U. N. R. R. A. has to be a part of the whole international political set-up. In my opinion, the country and the Congress should not be deluded on that point.

Further on page 339, the report says:

The need for relief is the only criterion which has been accepted to guide relief distribution, and extensive steps have been taken to see that this standard is fulfilled.

That is not a statement of fact, because if relief were the only criterion the relief would go to whatever countries among our United Nations that required it. It would go to India. But India has been excluded. Other criteria are included in the factors determining the distribution of relief, perhaps necessarily so, but they are there, and the report should not tell the Congress that relief is the only criterion.

Consequently, I say I cannot join with those of my colleagues who enthusiastically place their stamp of approval on this committee report.

I am, however, in favor of this legislation. I cannot support the flowery promises and fulsome praise found in the report, but I shall support the legislation because I feel its merits outweigh its weaknesses and it has both. I am one of those, Mr. Chairman, who recognizes the responsibility this country has for working with other nations to help eliminate distress, and suffering and pesti-



lence growing out of the war. I am one of those who believe that U. N. R. R. A., if properly administered, and if adequately safeguarded by the Congress, can make a very definite contribution to mankind at this crucial hour. I believe this for several reasons.

In the first place I consider this really a noble experiment, a great experiment in humanitarianism. And it is an experiment and nothing more, but I consider it a noble experiment made from the best of intentions by the best intenders in the world.

In the second place, I favor this legislation because it provides a laboratory experiment whereby the members of the United Nations ultimately can get actual experience in working together on a collective civilian enterprise; in doing a specific job in a definite manner by cooperative action. I believe in the theory of learning to do by doing, and consequently I favor this legislation for that additional reason.

Mr. COURTNEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. COURTNEY. Did not the gentleman subscribe to the report of the Committee.

Mr. MUNDT. The gentleman did not subscribe to the report of the committee. The answer is "No."

Mr. COURTNEY. Did the gentleman raise any objection to the report in the committee?

Mr. MUNDT. If the gentleman had been listening he would have heard several objections that I have just raised to the committee report.

Mr. COURTNEY. I mean in the committee.

Mr. MUNDT. I will not yield any further to the gentleman at this time.

Mr. COURTNEY. The gentleman did not make any criticism whatsoever.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, the regular order.

Mr. MUNDT. Would the gentleman like me to tell the Congress who wrote the committee report?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I am asking the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. COURTNEY].

Mr. COURTNEY. No. I am asking another question.

Mr. MUNDT. I am not going to answer the gentleman's question a second time, but I am asking him if he will ask that other question.

Mr. COURTNEY. The gentleman on the floor of the House is making some question about the committee report.

Mr. MUNDT. Very definitely so.

Mr. COURTNEY. But he did not do it in the committee. The gentleman did not make any objection to the report itself in the committee.

Mr. MUNDT. I am making my objection to the report here and now. I know of no better and no more public place to do so. If you want to ask me the other question I shall answer it. Otherwise, I do not yield any further.

Mr. COURTNEY. Is the gentleman in favor of the bill?

Mr. MUNDT. I have said that I am in favor of the bill. If the gentleman had been listening he would have heard me say that. When I was interrupted by the gentleman I had just given my second

reason for approving it; but I am not in favor of the committee report, and I do not blame the gentleman for not asking the other question I suggested.

Mr. CASE. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. MUNDT. I do not yield any further at this time.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Who wrote the report?

Mr. MUNDT. I do not yield further at this time.

My third reason for favoring House Joint Resolution 192 is that while it is costly, compared to ordinary figures, although it does involve \$1,300,000,000, it is not costly from the standpoint of its comparison with the cost of war. Its cost would be about what it would cost to run the war for 5 days. I believe the Congress and the country, which is spending untold billions, which we must spend in order to win the war, can afford to appropriate 5 days of war expenditures on a program like this with the hope that it will help out with relief and strengthen the base upon which a permanent peace must be built.

There are several amendments which I believe this Congress should consider carefully from the standpoint of making this legislation more workable; from the standpoint of Congress better measuring up to its responsibilities in this world-wide situation.

One of these amendments is the matter of establishing a time limit. The Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, suggested that a time limit might be all right, but that it should not be less than 2 years. Whether it is 18 months, 2 years, or 36 months, whatever it is, I think the Congress in adopting this legislation—and I believe we should adopt it and I am in favor of it—should put some kind of a time limit on it. I do not think we should set up this administration to run on ad infinitum, into perpetuity. Sometime, some place, somewhere, there should be a termination of it, in my opinion. As written at present, there is no renewal date or terminal point on this authorization and legislation whatsoever.

Second, I think the Congress should look well to the financial limitations of this authorization. If a reasonable time limitation is placed on it, perhaps the \$1,300,000,000 top asked in the legislation is sufficient as a matter of financial limitation. If it is going to run on in perpetuity, however, I think a more reasonable and modest initial appropriation should be made for this purpose, so that the authorities of U. N. R. R. A. will be forced to come back to the Foreign Affairs Committee to get added authorization on the basis of the job which we hope will have been well done up to that point. Either by a time limit of some kind, by a financial limitation, or by both, I believe Congress should keep some control over the direction and the activities of U. N. R. R. A. In no other way can Congress fulfill its responsibilities to the people of this Republic in insisting that U. N. R. R. A. conform with the purposes outlined for it in this bill.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. In just a minute.

In the third place, I think that if Congress can—I am not sure that it can—if

Congress can figure out some way that we can amend this resolution to be sure that more of the funds and more of the benefits are used for food, shelter, clothing, and medical relief per se and less of the funds for continuing rehabilitation and reconstruction measures—if somebody can figure out a good amendment in that direction. I say, it should be carefully considered. The committee discussed it, the committee tried to figure one out, but the committee has succeeded only in reporting an amendment that after all is simply a reiteration of language used earlier in the bill in the first instance.

Fourth, I think that Congress should seriously consider amending this legislation in order to take out a rather strange quirk of language legerdemain by which India becomes the only member of the United Nations in serious distress which is excluded from the benefits accruing from the act. This is true despite the fact that India is being asked to appropriate \$35,000,000 for the support of U. N. R. R. A. We have the definition of terms relayed to us by the Assistant Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, himself, that India shall not be eligible to obtain any of the benefits from U. N. R. R. A.

I now yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. WRIGHT. I am rather curious as to why the gentleman wishes to include India. I am referring to page 2, line 9 which seems to limit this relief to those areas which are liberated by the armed forces of the United Nations as a consequence of the retreat of the enemy. The gentleman does not suggest that India is occupied by the enemy.

Mr. MUNDT. I have the question; now let me answer it. The gentleman was reading from the preamble. If he will turn the page he will find that this relief was supposed to go—and I read from subsection (a) of section 2 of the bill on page 3—

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 3 additional minutes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I shall be happy to yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. If the gentleman will yield, I will let him have 5 minutes of the time that has been assigned to me.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the gentlewoman from Massachusetts very much.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Dakota is recognized for 8 additional minutes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Does the gentleman care to yield at this point or would he prefer to yield later?

Mr. MUNDT. I was cut off as I was about to read a paragraph. After I have finished I shall be pleased to yield. I am reading now subsection (a): The purposes of this act were:

To plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, etc.



I believe the gentleman from Pennsylvania will agree with me that that automatically would include India. It does not include India, however, according to an interpretation relayed to us by the State Department because it appears there is a conflict of language between the preamble and this section. There is a conflict of language there and consequently the definition—and let me point out that the definition has not been made by our Department of State, the definition appears no place in print in the resolutions adopted at Atlantic City—has been accepted by U. N. R. R. A. authorities that India is ineligible for benefits and relief. The State Department cannot provide you any written evidence anywhere of the author of this definition, but it was generally understood at Atlantic City, so I am told, that because of this conflict India is "included out." Thus from what one might describe as a source representing "diplomatic anonymity" comes the heart-rending report that India's suffering people are beyond the pale insofar as U. N. R. R. A. is concerned.

I now yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. A great deal is being said about humanitarian measures. Certainly it would not be humane to go into these countries and try to reeducate them in any form of religion that they do not like. They have a right to their own kind of education, they have a right to their own kind of religion. If under U. N. R. R. A. it should be attempted to reeducate them, to change their religion, it would be in the nature of Hitlerism. That is what Hitler is doing.

Mr. MUNDT. I thoroughly agree with the gentlewoman that neither this country nor U. N. R. R. A. should go into foreign countries and try to change their religion or try to inculcate any "isms" or doctrines alien to them.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I shall have to proceed for a time, if I may, although, first, I must yield to my colleague from South Dakota, because it would appear that there were disunity in our delegation did I not do so.

Mr. CASE. I merely wanted to give the gentleman an opportunity to answer the question he suggested the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. COURTNEY] asked him if he desired the answer, Who wrote the report?

Mr. MUNDT. I have no desire to answer the question unless it is asked by the gentleman of Tennessee who interrogated me and who is a member of our committee. I asked him if he wanted to ask me the question who wrote the report. If he wants to ask that question I will be glad to answer it; otherwise I am precluded from doing so since it would involve revealing information given out in an executive session of our committee. Now, I should like to continue to develop for a while this strange relationship existing between U. N. R. R. A. and India.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I really have not time.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I just wanted to find out what was back of that curtain of secrecy. Who wrote the report?

Mr. MUNDT. I do not yield, Mr. Chairman; and Mr. Chairman, I ask now that I be not further interrupted, for my time is fast running out.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield further.

Mr. MUNDT. I think that excluding India from relief is wrong, and the only way by which she is being excluded is by a tortured definition conceived by an anonymous somebody behind a curtain of secrecy up at Atlantic City.

It is wrong in the first place, psychologically, because the Indians in this war are our allies. There are 400,000 Indian soldiers fighting with our boys in Italy and throughout the world. It was an Indian corps that captured the greatest single individual captive of this war, General Von Arnheim in north Africa. I think it is psychologically wrong to omit a great and active ally like India from the benefits of U. N. R. R. A. The Japanese propaganda minister could ask for no better propaganda for effective use in India. She is threatened with invasion, her troops are fighting by our side; she is a great base for military preparation, our own troops are billeted there at this moment, yet she is excluded from the benefits although she is asked to contribute. I am not giving you my own opinion solely on that, Mr. Chairman, but I am going to read to you now a part of an editorial which appeared in the November 30 edition of the *Hindustan Times*, one of the three or four largest newspapers published in India. That newspaper published in India says this:

The Bengal famine has at least been attributed in part to the loss of Burma and supplies from that country, and is India to be victimized for it without being technically called a victim of Axis aggression? India has borne the burden of war—and there is no use raising technical questions about the nature of that participation. Her soldiers have won resounding victories in Africa and Italy; she is now the base for the reconquest of Burma and as a base she has had to strain her resources to keep Allied armies supplied. Under the U. N. R. R. A. agreement India can remain starved while Burma must be relieved. Were it not too tragic, it would be utterly farcical.

This is being read by the people of India. It is the editorial opinion of people who are our partners in this war and in whose towns and cities American service men and women are now employed. The propagandists from Tokyo who are inflaming the people because of this distinction have easy work when the Indians themselves resent the special and peculiar treatment accorded their crying needs for food and especially for medicine. I think you will agree with me that Congress should so act now that it at least make a recommendation that when the Council meets next in May it consider the possibility of including India as far as funds and facilities permit in the benefits available from the U. N. R. R. A.

In the second place I think it is unwise and unjust and unwarranted to exclude India for military reasons. We are helping the people in Sicily and Italy because Sicily and Italy are a base for military operations, if you please. India is also a base for military operations, military operations into Burma, mili-

tary operations into the whole southern Pacific area, military operations to help China, and to destroy Tokyo. It is destined to become increasingly important as the defeat of Germany becomes more imminent and as we have to fight the final stages of the war in the southern Pacific. How can we on the one hand through U. N. R. R. A. make relief available to peoples participating in the way of furnishing a military base in Italy and Sicily and on the other hand tell the Indians that unfortunately they should be "included out" because of somebody's definition?

Let me point out furthermore that there are almost a million refugees from Burma in India at the present time who under the terms of this act become eligible for the benefits of U. N. R. R. A., but whose hosts and neighbors, the Indians, equally hungry, starving from the same lack of food, dying from the very same diseases, are excluded from the benefits. Would that make for good relations? Does that make for simplicity of operation? Does that make for the simple workable arrangement which the committee report claims U. N. R. R. A. enjoys?

I want this act to create good will. I want this act to relieve suffering. I want this act to be devoid of all discrimination. I want this act to be free from any imputations as to race, color, religion, politics, nationality, geographical location, or preferential status.

The \$1,300,000,000 which is asked is, if you please, more money than the United States has ever yet been able to save in any 1 year in its history. Think of that. The most we have ever saved as a Republic has been in 1920 when as a Nation we saved \$1,184,116,007 which was that year applied to the reduction of our national debt. So \$1,300,000,000 is not small change. A billion three hundred million dollars is an important sum of money when we think of it in terms of collecting the money from our taxpayers rather than the ease with which modern Congresses pass multi-billion-dollar appropriation bills.

Here in Congress, we sometimes seem to lose our sense of perspective in money matters because we deal in such astronomical sums. Someone even referred to a billion three hundred million as a "modest sum." Mr. Chairman, modest or immodest, it amounts to about \$10 for every man, woman, and child in the United States or to a payment of \$50 for the average family of five. I mention this, Mr. Chairman, not because I am unwilling to have the United States underwrite this much of the world-wide relief program to follow this war and to be administered through U. N. R. R. A. but I mention it because it seems in my mind to underscore and emphasize the importance of this Congress making sure that this expenditure result in the relief of human suffering, in the nondiscriminatory aid of misery among our allies wherever it is found, and in the increase of the good will which we all hope people throughout the world have for the United States. I beg of this House to support an amendment which will make this possible, which will make India and any other people among the United Nations who suffer distress as



victims of war eligible for the benefits of U. N. R. R. A. insofar as funds and facilities permit. Let us treat our equally good friends everywhere with equal respect, with equal charity, and with equal justice in traditional American manner regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Mr. Chairman, may I refer those of you primarily interested in insisting on a policy of equal consideration for equal suffering as a guiding principle for U. N. R. R. A. to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for December 21, 1943, starting on page 11099, where I went into this matter in some detail. May I also suggest that you read the hearings on House Joint Resolution 192 which you have before you starting on page 273 and continuing for some 10 pages. In those hearings you will find the situation concerning India developed rather fully.

Some Members have asked where they can find evidence that India is not eligible under present circumstances to receive relief through U. N. R. R. A. It is possible some Members may argue that India is not excluded, that India will receive benefits, that India is not being asked for \$35,000,000 in contributions and being told in advance that relief will not return to her to give succor to Indian sufferers in India. Let there be no mistakes about the facts, Mr. Chairman. Let the record be clear. Let us proceed with a full knowledge of the situation as it is. Let me, to that end, give you the direct quotation from Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson, speaking as the American member on the Council of U. N. R. R. A. The evidence is crystal clear. Turn, if you will, to page 199 of the hearings and look at the paragraph on the bottom of that page. I shall read it, now, for the benefit of Members who may not have the hearings before them, and I shall also read the first four sentences at the top of page 200. Here are the words of Dean Acheson himself, in phrases so clear and so candid that they remove all doubt about the relationship of India and U. N. R. R. A.:

In correspondence which I had on the subject as chairman of the council during the time I was chairman, I expressed the view that the geographical scope of U. N. R. R. A. activities is limited to areas which have been liberated from army occupation and that therefore at the present time India does not come within the scope of U. N. R. R. A. activities.

Now, Mr. Chairman, let me read the first four sentences of the testimony appearing on the top of page 200 which immediately follows the remarks I have just quoted by Mr. Acheson. They read as follows:

Mr. MUNDT. Which summarizes itself, as I understood it, to mean that India will not be one of the beneficiaries of U. N. R. R. A., is that correct?

Mr. ACHESON. If you are talking about the same sort of distress which now exists in India you are correct.

Mr. MUNDT. That is right.

Mr. Chairman, I want to emphasize right here a fact that Mr. Acheson made clear in later testimony and on which he has given me his personal assurance in private conversation, later, that in the foregoing statements he was not defining the limitations of U. N. R. R. A. with respect to India in terms of the policies

proposed or recommended by the State Department of the United States but that he was simply relaying to the Foreign Affairs Committee the position and the definition generally accepted at Atlantic City by the delegates to the U. N. R. R. A. organization meeting. He was merely giving us the statement of the facts as they are and the definition by which India was left out of the relief picture without either putting his own stamp of approval or disapproval on the matter.

Thus the picture is clear. Unless Congress takes some step to recommend inclusion of India to the next council meeting of U. N. R. R. A. which will be held next May, India will remain in the incongruous and unconscionable position of being a contributor to U. N. R. R. A.'s budget but being ineligible for U. N. R. R. A.'s benefits. I do not propose to make our approval of House Joint Resolution 192 contingent upon a reservation that India must be included in but I do propose that this House should adopt an amendment to House Joint Resolution 192 which would make clear our recommendation that insofar as funds and facilities permit—no further and no less—India should be made eligible for assistance from U. N. R. R. A. even though the present enemy attacks made upon her are in the form of occupation of her normal bread basket and by bombs dropping on her cities from the air rather than by the actual marching of enemy troops through her fields and in her cities. I shall offer such an amendment on Monday next.

In this connection, Mr. Chairman, I shall include with my remarks at this point, under permission previously granted me by the House, the full text of the editorial appearing in the Hindustan Times for November 30, 1943, nearly a full month before I first called this bizarre business to the attention of the House on December 21. I hope Members will read this editorial over carefully with the full appreciation of the fact that it is published by an ally of ours in this war, by a fellow member of the United Nations, and by people in whose country our American troops are now encamped as a base for military operations essential to the winning of the war against Japan.

May I also suggest that in reading this editorial, Members give special heed to the following points:

No. 1. That to the people suffering in India, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, who will be quoted I am sure by Members unfriendly to my proposal as being entirely satisfied with India's exclusion, failed to reflect their true attitude. That is found in the first paragraph of the editorial.

No. 2. That what the Hindustan Times refers to as technical objections and what I have termed "a most unfortunate and tortured definition" in an attempt to reconcile a conflict between the preamble and article 1 of the Agreement do not appeal to the Indians of India as being good and sufficient grounds for excluding them from the benefits of an U. N. R. R. A. to which they are being asked to contribute generously. This is found in paragraph 2 of the editorial.

No. 3. I have previously quoted from paragraph 3 to show the bitter feeling of loneliness which India feels at being excluded from U. N. R. R. A.'s benefits.

No. 4. The final paragraph of this editorial contains this curt criticism reflecting the public opinion in India. "The first big organization for world cooperation is beginning its work as a colossal hoax." Mr. Chairman, those are not nice words to come from a member of our United Nations, and those are not lovely sentiments to be shared by the people in whose land so many American soldiers are now housed. If U. N. R. R. A. is to create good will rather than ill will—and that is what we all hope U. N. R. R. A. will produce—it is important that we remove from U. N. R. R. A. any basis for ill-feeling by a mighty and a proud people whose misfortunes are great, whose contributions to the war are prodigious, whose friendship is essential in this drive for victory, and whose cause for disappointment is obviously existent under the prevailing definition for circumscribing the benefits to flow from U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. Chairman, I shall now insert the complete text of the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Hindustan Times, New Delhi, India, of November 30, 1943]

#### TEXTS AND PRETEXTS

While Vice President WALLACE has characterized as a "shocking slur" Senator BUTLER's criticism of American expenditure in Latin America and high dignitaries of the Church are praying in England for our salvation, India has met with her first rebuff at the hands of the U. N. R. R. A. Even Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai should be knowing it. If he does not, the fact that the 44 nations which signed the agreement have decided to be blind to the harrowing facts of famine in India does not absolve even a Bajpai of his blindness. Relief and rehabilitation are in no way connected with politics except the politics of hunger, and none of the delegates to the U. N. R. R. A. could have feared that by rushing to the relief of Bengal he would be recognizing a single political fact. Certain facts are, however, indisputable. India has signed the agreement, subject to the approval of the legislature. India will have to pay for it, the principal aim is to give relief to liberated areas, 44 countries have decided to pool together their resources in giving that relief, and India needs relief at this moment.

Technical objections have been raised by both Dean Acheson, the Chairman of the Council of the U. N. R. R. A., and Colonel Llewellyn, the British delegate, that the Indian famine is "not within the competence of the Council to discuss at this session." These objections are primarily based on the assumption that India has not been a victim of Axis aggression. It would be difficult to find a parallel for this purblind adherence to the letter of a declaration in an age of broken pacts. Mr. Roosevelt himself interpreted its terms broadly as the utilization of "the production of all the world to balance the want of the world." But others more loyal to literal renderings prefer to stick to the patent text of the preamble which says that "immediately upon the liberation of any area, the population thereof shall receive aid for relief from their sufferings in the form of food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence, and the recovery of the health of the people." Mr. Roosevelt subsequently used the phrase "victims of German and Japanese barbarism," without intending to narrow down the construction of the preamble.

Is it contended that victims of Axis aggression would exclude, shall we say, victims of Allied advances? If there were to be a famine in the Azores, would it be a responsibility only of the Portuguese or the British or the Americans? The Bengal famine has at least been attributed in part to the



loss of Burma and supplies from that country, and is India to be victimized for it without being technically called a victim of Axis aggression? India has borne the burden of the war—and there is no use raising technical questions about the nature of that participation. Her soldiers have won resounding victories in Africa and Italy; she is now the base for the reconquest of Burma and as a base she has had to strain her resources to keep Allied armies supplied. Under the U. N. R. R. A. agreement India can remain starved while Burma must be relieved. Were it not too tragic, it would be utterly farcical. The Atlantic City charter would be more infructuous than the Atlantic Charter.

The Council of the U. N. R. R. A. has, of course, the pretext that the Indian famine is purely a pathological problem for the British Government. That Government is watching—maybe with concern or maybe with disdain—the helplessness of the Indian Government. That the Indian Government, composed as it is at present, is not any nearer a solution of the problem does not appear peculiar to the motley crowd in Atlantic City. Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai has evidently not told them that shipping space is not available even to make use of offers of help. Nor are the other delegates in a mood to take the risk of telling some home truths to the major nations represented on the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. The Indian delegate is unwilling to bring the matter up; why should others? The Chinese delegate is reported to be willing to give India's case favorable consideration and press for discussion in the Council and so also are the delegates of Australia, New Zealand, Chile, Mexico, and South Africa. As Sirdar J. J. Singh, president of the Indian National Congress in the United States, who has taken an active and vigilant part in this matter, has stated the delegates to the U. N. R. R. A. should bear in mind the possible psychological reaction in India to the fact that while India is to contribute to the relief of other countries, she herself is not to receive consideration. Even the central legislature, moribund as it is, will have to bear this in mind.

Colonel Llewellyn has tried to dispose of the matter cursorily by reminding himself that it has been already announced in Parliament that arrangements have been made to ship as much grain to India as it is possible to transport and handle for the remainder of the year, and that in any case a resolution passed by the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. would not mean practical help. This is not facing the facts. Mr. Roosevelt, in his eloquent address to the representatives of the 44 nations, declared that it was a matter of enlightened self-interest, of military and strategic necessity to give relief to countries liberated from the Axis yoke, and only a desire to ignore one of the ugliest facts in the British Empire can inspire the argument that the relief of Bengal is not a strategic necessity. If the U. N. R. R. A. agreement does not admit this interpretation, then it is time the declaration is differently—and more worthily—worded. It is perhaps useless to remind even ourselves that India was often the first country to think of going to the relief of distress anywhere in the world.

The United States, whose soldiers have been billeted in this country for so long, has, as Mr. William Fisher, the American journalist, stated in an article in *Life*, a special responsibility in the matter. Mr. Fisher makes the obvious suggestion that a dozen ships temporarily diverted from elsewhere and shuttled between India and Australia would have an immediate effect in relieving the famine. That such suggestions should pass unheeded is a matter which the U. N. R. R. A. can take cognizance of. We are, perhaps, talking too much of gruesome realities and too little of the complexity of committee work and the domination of the Big Three or Big Four. The first big organization for world coopera-

tion is beginning its work as a colossal hoax and there is the prospect of relief being in the end left only to A. M. G. O. T. and advisory commissions. World pools look inherently, and tragically enough for India, connected with politics. Is it our misfortune the Allies have failed in every test applied by India? The situation in Atlantic City seems to be that there is a fear that, if the U. N. R. R. A. takes up Indian famine, it might be impinging on British responsibility for the safety and welfare of India. That may lead to the recognition of certain other facts. Whatever Mr. Roosevelt might say, there is no freedom from fear among the delegates of the U. N. R. R. A. In their fear of ugly facts they prefer to go about in blinkers.

Mr. Chairman, I have no desire to belabor the RECORD with overwhelming evidence to establish the point for which I plead. However, a quotation or two from the American press might be in order. Under permission secured earlier today, therefore, I now call attention to an exhibit in the form of a news story from the New York Post of November 27, 1943, written by staff correspondent William O. Player, Jr. The news story is short and it speaks for itself. It might be appropriate, however, to high-light two rather significant points.

No. 1. The news story throws some additional light upon why the people of India do not share Sir Girja Bajpai's enthusiasm for the arrangements by which U. N. R. R. A. fails to provide any relief to India and why they are disappointed over his failure in not having India made eligible for consideration in this world-wide relief program.

No. 2. I call your attention to the statement of Dr. T. F. Tsiang, the Chinese delegate to the Atlantic City U. N. R. R. A. conference. Dr. Tsiang states he would favor relief for Bengal—the most seriously stricken Province of India. Mr. Chairman, thus not only the people of India, but the Chinese delegate to the U. N. R. R. A. conference, representing the other great Asiatic ally which we have in the Pacific, would look with approval upon any action taken by this Congress to extend the consideration to India which seems so amply indicated by both logic and facts. I now call your attention to this news story from the New York Post:

STARVING INDIA STALKS RELIEF COUNCIL'S HALLS  
(By William O. Player, Jr.)

ATLANTIC CITY, November 27.—Starving India's right to aid from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which until now only the New York Post and the India League of America has actively defended—has suddenly flared into one of the most burning issues of the U. N. R. R. A. council meeting here.

It was forced into the open at a press conference held yesterday by Sirdar J. J. Singh, president of the India League of America, who, brushing aside the diplomatic delicacies which had previously balked discussion, bluntly asserted:

1. That Sir Girja Bajpai, official U. N. R. R. A. delegate of the Indian (British) Government, had failed in his responsibility to the Indian people by not going ahead and presenting his country's case to the council, regardless of what the outcome might be.

2. That Sir Girja privately took the position that it would be unwise to make any request on India's behalf unless assured in advance it would be granted.

3. That in view of Sir Girja's actions, the Indian Legislature—unrepresentative of the people as it might be in many respects—

quite possibly would refuse to ratify India's participation in U. N. R. R. A. at all.

#### SOUNDS OUT SENTIMENTS

Singh, who has been here since Wednesday, quietly sounding out the sentiments of U. N. R. R. A. officials and delegates, admitted some of the officials seemed convinced that famine conditions in India didn't come within the legal scope of the Washington agreement.

On the other hand, though, he reported finding deep sentiment for India's plight among a number of delegations, particularly the Chinese. Singh's reference to the Chinese was the stroke that really started the ball rolling, because the Chinese delegate, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, soon afterward issued a formal statement saying that, though he regarded the question of jurisdiction one for the council to decide, he nevertheless had assured Singh that:

"If the question of relief in Bengal should be raised in the council, it would receive my personal favorable consideration."

Mr. Chairman, I shall call the attention of the Congress to but one other news story or editorial statement from the many appearing in American newspapers. I refer now to an article appearing in the New York newspaper PM, and signed by I. F. Stone. I think Members of this House realize that I do not ordinarily string along with PM and that PM does not ordinarily string along with me, so that makes matters even. However, I believe the following news report merits being brought to the attention of the Congress and the country. It is not very long, so I shall include its text in full at this point in my remarks. I believe Members will find the final three paragraphs of the article especially illuminating and thought-stimulating. News item from PM:

#### THE U. N. R. R. A. AND INDIA

ATLANTIC CITY.—"Have you ever been to Indya?" the British delegate asked, with the air of a man who has scored a crushing point. I had to confess that I had never been to India. And I can't read a word of Sanskrit.

We managed to write of British heroism in 1940-41 "without having been in London during the 'blitz.'" Is starvation so esoteric that we cannot comment on the famine in Bengal without a Cook's tour of India?

India's position at the U. N. R. R. A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) conference here and U. N. R. R. A.'s position on India breed embarrassing questions. There are United Nations represented here and Associated Nations. France is an Associated Nation, its national committee being but imperfectly recognized. India has full status as a United Nation. And her delegation has agreed with the others on the principle that each shall contribute 1 percent of her national income to feed the people of liberated areas.

This agreement is subject to approval by each nation "in accordance with its constitutional processes," a phrase intended for dulcet effect on the ears of our Congress. The Indian delegation is understandably worried about the moment when, back home, someone says, "Why didn't U. N. R. R. A. do something about our own starving people? Why the one-way bargain?"

I can imagine nothing more likely to infuriate Indian opinion than the request that India be asked to make a large contribution to relief for the hungry elsewhere while no attention is paid to her own. That should certainly be suki-yaki for Japanese propaganda.

There are answers, of course, but they won't read well in Urdu or Hindustani. U. N. R. R. A. was set up to feed people in liberated



areas—and India, as the preferred circumlocution goes, is not an area to be freed from Axis domination. It is outside the scope. It is not in the agenda. (Pontius Pilate should have had an agenda.)

While not as satisfying as a bowl of rice it may be of some comfort to hungry Indians to know that they did not occasion the slightest breach of diplomatic decorum.

"Chin up, old fellow," one can hear a returned Indian delegate explain to an emaciated untouchable in the streets of Calcutta, "we saved the agenda."

The agenda and the realities are not in accord. Why do we feed the people of southern Italy? Because that is the base from which our Army is moving north and we cannot have that base disorganized by starvation. Why should we feed the people of Bengal? Because that is one of the Anglo-American bases for the push into Burma.

India has plenty of money. Financially she has done well in the war. Her sterling balances are enormous. But you cannot eat sterling.

U. N. R. R. A., without stepping outside that sacred scope and sanctified agenda, could pass a resolution asking the Combined Shipping Board to make some extra tonnage available for foodstuffs to India.

"That," said the British delegate, "would only be a gesture." It need not be. The American and British Governments run the Combined Shipping Board, and if they want to send extra food to India they can—even though it mean that some of us get along without a third cup of coffee.

I am told that the Japanese have been dropping tiny packets of rice on Bengal. Of course, this is propaganda. But possibly better propaganda than posters on the "four freedoms," including freedom from want. A few shiploads of food would be better than either, and I still hope U. N. R. R. A. will take steps to send them before it adjourns on Wednesday.—I. F. Stone.

Mr. Chairman, let me make one other point, and I am through. From the very beginning one of the strong arguments made on behalf of U. N. R. R. A. by Mr. Acheson, Mr. Crowley, Dr. Sayer, and other witnesses before our committee was that the operation of U. N. R. R. A. would eliminate competition in the markets of the world by which individual countries would try to outbid each other in a frantic effort to get food and supplies for their post-war needs. It was a persuasive and plausible argument. It seems logical that one organization, if it buys for all, can better utilize the surplus supplies of the world than if each country must buy for itself in a race against time and diminishing supplies in order to avoid starvation, pestilence, and human misery. However, it should be apparent to all Members that when a great country like India is excluded from the benefits of U. N. R. R. A. it established a competitor of vast size in the markets of the world. Either India will compete with U. N. R. R. A. for medicine, supplies, and food wherever it is available, or, while barring India's present needs from consideration, U. N. R. R. A. will determine for India how much she will be permitted to buy and thus insult will be added to injury and ill will will be pyramided upon India's present sense of loneliness.

In two different places on page 486 of yesterday's RECORD the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], who is one of the foremost advocates of U. N. R. R. A. in this House, stressed this freedom-from-competition argument in convinc-

ing terms. Let me read you both of his statements in their entirety. They are as follows, in response to interrogatories by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDRESEN]:

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Can any of those countries which have dollar exchange buy anything here in the United States, or in any other country, with that exchange that might be delivered to them outside of U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. WADSWORTH. One of the purposes of this agreement is to prevent the countries that have money competing against each other in the world markets for supplies, and thus the country with the most money would get the most supplies and result in starving out a country with less money. Under this agreement all procurement of supplies must be with the approval of the joint organization which is charged with the duty of seeing to it that the available supplies are honestly and equally distributed, even though in many cases the country to be benefited will pay for it herself.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Then U. N. R. R. A. will control all exports to those countries of essential and other commodities?

Mr. WADSWORTH. When the supplies are finally procured, wherever they are procured, anywhere in the world, their distribution will be seen to by the central organization charged with the duty of seeing that it is done fairly, and stop competition between nations.

One does not have to be the second cousin to a lexicographer, Mr. Chairman, to understand the import of those statements, as they may full well work out for India. At least insofar as purchases outside of the United States and the United Kingdom are concerned—certainly for purchases in such neutral countries as Turkey and Argentina—India must either do one of three things: First, compete with U. N. R. R. A. and thus upset one of the basic reasons for U. N. R. R. A.; second, keep out of the market and thus aggravate her own serious shortcomings, especially in the fields of medicine and skilled medical and nursing talent; or, third, silently and patiently hope that while India is prevented by "anonymous definition" from being eligible for relief from U. N. R. R. A. she will in some way be given a few crumbs of comfort from a table which at best is unlikely enough to have supplies sufficient for all the guests for whom chairs are already conveniently placed and place cards conspicuously arranged. Neither alternative is very inviting. Much more inviting, in my opinion, would be the recommendation by this Congress that the U. N. R. R. A. council next May redefine its relationship to India so that at least her needs will be surveyed and her condition recorded and so that the world's distress can be included in a common poll insofar as the United Nations are concerned and then such relief as funds and facilities permit be made available to the deserving people in the distressed areas of India, more especially those of great military significance to our common cause.

Mr. Chairman, I submit that such a recommendation by this House and such action by the next U. N. R. R. A. Council will help make U. N. R. R. A. workable. It will help end confusion and competition. It will avoid any basis for a feel-

ing that discrimination has entered a field where only charity and human kindness should parade. It will increase good will in an area where it is most important in this war. It will pay dividends in humanity and it will reap dividends in kindly treatment and acceptance for our troops in India. It will be a great victory in our psychological war against the Japanese and deprive them of one of their greatest propaganda weapons. It will win the plaudits of our gallant Chinese allies. It will pool in one place the existing famine and pestilence problems of those of our United Nations with the greatest victims of this war and provide an opportunity for surveying the picture as a whole and meeting the problem insofar as we are able.

Finally, it will not add to the financial burdens of U. N. R. R. A. since India has the resources to pay for her relief, but it will round out its program so that especially the medicine, the nursing and medical talent, and the equipment so badly needed to stop death by disease in India can be distributed in its fair share to Mother India. Mr. Chairman, kind words, pious phrases, futile hopes, and adjectives of sympathy will not suffice to strengthen the sinews of war and increase our bonds of friendship with India, but appropriate action on our part on Monday by appropriate amendment to House Joint Resolution 192 will do the job. Let us meet this challenge squarely and wisely act when opportunity presents itself on Monday next.

(Mr. MUNDT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH].

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, some of the most important features of this legislation have already been discussed rather thoroughly and very ably, and I find it difficult to add much more to this discussion without being guilty of what might be called repetition to a certain degree. The committee has had recited to it the background of this proposal and the steps which were taken in drafting it; that is, the international agreement culminating finally in its being approved by the accredited representatives of the 44 governments, including our own.

Perhaps the committee will bear with me a moment in my endeavor to portray some of my own thinking on this thing since I first heard of the proposal. As I do that may I say that my thinking about it ran closely parallel to that of several members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

When we first heard of it one consideration seemed to us of great importance and that was that whatever the agreement should seek to accomplish it should not in any fashion whatsoever destroy the independent action of the United States with respect to the support of the undertaking and that the exercise of independent action by the United States should, of course, reside in the Congress of the United States. I think it is fair to say that that was our first concern.

Our next concern was, having entered into an agreement the conduct of the



undertaking should not be distorted into something which from the practical standpoint would be nearly impossible and from other standpoints highly objectionable. That is, we hoped it would not be expanded for use in what might be termed an international world-wide W. P. A. I know those two features were in my mind when I first heard of it and I know they were in the minds of my colleagues on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. So that when this thing was first brought to us in tentative form in an informal conference, at which all of the members were present from time to time, and in a series of conferences, our inquiries and insistence were directed along the lines I have just now indicated.

In certain respects the original tentative draft was not sufficiently explicit in our view to make it certain that in the furnishing of contributions the Congress of the United States should have the final and determining say in the matter. Second, it was not sufficiently explicit with respect to the type of work which the so-called U. N. R. R. A. was to perform.

I have been in the Congress 24 years all told, or nearly so, and have served upon a good many committees in both the Senate and the House. I think I am justified in saying to this body here this afternoon that never have I served on a committee which has received more intimate and candid and frank cooperation from an executive department as the Foreign Affairs Committee in our long, long sessions on this bill. The men who came before us from the very beginning made no attempt to conceal, no attempt to paint glorious pictures, made no attempt to evade our questions, and, as a matter of fact, upon more than one occasion expressed sympathy with our suggestions. A similar experience, I am told, was had by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations with these same representatives from the State Department, except that the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations went further than we did and were justified in so doing because in that committee due consideration was given to the difficult question of whether or not this instrument should take the form of a treaty or the form of an executive agreement.

If you will read the address of Senator VANDENBERG, of Michigan, delivered on October 27, 1943, found on pages 3903 and 3904 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, you will find coming from him a description of their deliberations upon this question and amongst others there is the statement that the original draft, tentative in form, was couched in language which in the judgment of that subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee did make it a treaty and the suggestions with respect to that part of this problem coming from the Senators, of course by informal action but nevertheless described in Senator VANDENBERG's speech, resulted in the language of the agreement being changed to such an extent that those Senators who had studied this thing from the beginning were satisfied that in its amended form it was acceptable as an executive agreement.

In the last draft which was finally adhered to by the 44 nations, language was

contained as contrasted with the original language, or the language of the tentative draft, which made it perfectly clear that no member-government, including of course the United States, could be held to any commitment with respect to the making of contributions and that whatever contributions should be made by any member-government would be made in accordance with its usual constitutional processes.

We were delighted when we found that stated so explicitly in the final draft. Also in the final draft we found the functions of U. N. R. R. A. explained with greater clarity so as to make it clear to the satisfaction of nearly all of us on the committee, perhaps not to the complete satisfaction of every single member, making it clear that speaking generally U. N. R. R. A. was to undertake a temporary relief, not long-time reconstruction or construction.

The general purposes and objectives of U. N. R. R. A. are contained in the first section of the agreement which is found on page 2. That is the foundation section upon which all the rest of the agreement rests and which governs and must govern if they are faithful to their undertaking and their understanding with us on the whole performance.

Several questions were asked about the committee report, one by the gentleman who preceded me. I do not know who wrote the tentative report that was submitted to the committee. I know this, however, that we took that tentative text and in three executive sessions lasting a total of 9 hours your Committee on Foreign Affairs went over every single sentence of it and changed it dozens and dozens of times, eliminating this, that, and the other and inserting things of our own authorship.

For example, the first paragraph in this report was inserted by your committee, and the author of that paragraph is the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS]. We thought that that was a proper introduction to the report in general, to indicate what this was all about. I will not take the time of this committee to go through the pages of that report. I have a criticism to make of it, that it is too long. I doubt if there are 40 Members of the House who have yet read it from beginning to end. I could point out that there are things in it which might be of interest which were inserted by the committee to make certain what the interpretation of your Committee on Foreign Affairs was with respect to this international agreement.

Again, on page 4 we find this short paragraph which we inserted:

It should be emphasized at this point that a study of the international agreement and the proceedings of the Council at Atlantic City—

I should say that several members of the committee went to Atlantic City and listened in to the best of their ability—makes it clear that each member government retains for itself the right to govern its participation in the undertaking in accordance with its usual constitutional procedures. Obviously this means that, in the case of the United States, its appropriations and contributions must be authorized by the Congress and approved by the President.

A committee report is fairly influential in the interpretation of an act. The courts have often held it so.

To make more certain of the understanding or interpretation of the Congress should it pass this authorization resolution, we proposed as a committee amendment section 3, which is found on page 15, and which has already been read to the Committee of the Whole by the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM]. We lifted that language right out of the official resolution passed by the Council at Atlantic City and made a part of their official records. By lifting it out of their own resolution and putting it into ours, we give notice to all persons concerned that the Congress of the United States in authorizing appropriations to implement the agreement relies upon what the Council of this international organization have already decided would be their policy.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE. With respect to the authorization of appropriations, would the gentleman as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs feel that the committee or the heads of U. N. R. R. A. would be warranted in assuming that they should make commitments if this resolution passes in its present form that would incur obligations resting upon the United States in the amount of \$1,350,000,000, prior to and without the passage of any appropriation by the Congress?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No, I do not think they would.

Mr. CASE. In other words, the gentleman thinks they should not make commitments in advance of or in excess of any actual appropriations made by the Congress?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes; and they have not done so. There has been a rumor to the effect that they have already begun to buy supplies. That is not true. They have made some estimates as to what they may need at the beginning of this work and have tried to identify the places where those supplies may be found if and when the appropriations are made for their purchases. That is all.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Leo Crowley appeared before your committee and in his statement indicated that he would handle the funds the United States would appropriate for our part in this agreement. Does the gentleman feel that it is quite certain that Mr. Crowley will be in charge of the funds? I may say the reason for asking this question is that personally I have a very high regard for Mr. Crowley and believe he will see that the interests of this country are made secure in the handling of this money, and that it will not be dissipated in a world-wide W. P. A. or some other scheme that would be injurious both to the people and to the country. I should like to know the gentleman's opinion of Mr. Crowley and his handling of the matter.



Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Crowley appeared before the committee and was questioned concerning the actual administration of the activities to be conducted in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired. Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 8 additional minutes to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, it is quite impossible to trace in the time allowed the machinery which is proposed to be employed by the agencies of the Government of the United States in filling the requests of U. N. R. R. A. after appropriations have been made. We have no final, definite announcement that Mr. Crowley and the F. E. A. will do the business operating of this undertaking in the United States. We were told that it is highly probable that the administration of it to that extent would be put under F. E. A.

We discussed at some length whether it would not be wiser for the Congress in authorizing this appropriation to specify an existing agency of the Government and name it in the resolution as the one which shall administer this undertaking in the United States. The committee has left the resolution without such a specification, leaving it to the President, in effect. An amendment will be offered, I believe, by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VOYTS] confining the administration of it to one particular, permanent, founded-upon-congressional-law department, such as the State Department or the Treasury Department. Some of us believe it might be wiser to select a department which has had long, long experience, which stands on a legal foundation and is not merely a device to meet the war emergency, but which is, as we all know, to continue after this war as a steady, permanent agency of the Government. I do not think that the issue, as far as this House can decide by amendment, is really vital to the underlying, fundamental problems represented in this joint resolution.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I wish to ask two questions which have a relation to the \$1,350,000,000. If I understand the general approach, the committee's report on pages 11 and 12 sets forth the general financial plan. That appears to be based on our national income. Will this \$1,350,000,000 be an annual contribution or an over-all contribution, and if the \$1,350,000,000 is the United States' portion of the financial plan, does this not commit the Congress to appropriating the \$1,350,000,000, and thereby make practically meaningless the proposition, "As the Congress may determine from time to time to be appropriate"? In other words, are we not committing ourselves first to \$1,350,000,000, based upon the financial arrangement in the agreement which has been made? Would that be fair?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Not quite that. In my view, and in the view of at least a majority of our committee, this is an announcement by the Congress to the effect that under no circumstances, un-

less some future Congress changes the whole picture, will the Congress of the United States appropriate more than \$1,350,000,000. It does not promise that the Congress will appropriate the whole of that sum, but no more than that sum, unless they come back and persuade a future Congress to amend that limit.

Mr. CRAWFORD. That goes directly to the second part of my question. I refer to page 12 of the committee report. As I understand that language, an agreement has been reached, that is, minds have met on the proposition, that we will pay let us say 1 percent roughly, or \$1,350,000,000; so, it seems to me that therein we commit ourselves to \$1,350,000,000. We make a commitment of that amount.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I cannot see it quite that way, as I have said. Mind you, that formula of 1 percent of the national income is a formula which does not have a binding effect upon any one of the 44 nations. And I think I ought to say at this point, that in our long discussions, which started away back last June, and also in conversations which I have had with people who have studied this thing, including people in the State Department, and some foreign representatives, I was very pleasantly surprised to encounter amongst other nations an insistence that there shall be nothing in this agreement that bound them without their consent. They were just as determined as are our people that they shall not be committed helplessly and hopelessly; and many of the suggestions for clarifying this agreement—that is, the first tentative draft—in this respect came from those nations, who wanted it clearly understood that they could not be dragooned by this international organization. They contributed a good deal of the spirit of liberty and the preservation of sovereignty in the drafting of this agreement.

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes.

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. I notice that in section 3 it says:

In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon—

And so forth. And then, running down to paragraph 11 we find the following language:

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief.

As I understand it, in the restoration of essential facilities that would mean the repair of water mains, or any of the essential services for carrying on. It would also mean that we would not be morally binding ourselves in the beginning of the reconstruction period that we stay there as long as necessary because this sets forth that it is coterminous with relief. Is that your understanding?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No, it is not. We had quite a discussion yesterday about this word "coterminous." In our discussions it was made clear that this is an emergency relief measure. When you go into an interpretation of "rehabilitation" you mention water supply. As a matter of fact, this is the way it

is working practically. The Army lands at Naples and drives the Germans back. Naples is a wreck. The water supply has been interrupted, not all destroyed. It has been blown up here and there, the main lines. The docks are all blown up, ships are sunk in the harbor. The streets are full of rubble, and the very first thing the Army engineers do, and the British engineers, is to mend, or toggle up, the waterworks, the electric light plants, so that they can get water and light, and then clear away the rubble and toggle up the docks, not permanent reconstruction. The armies will do most of that, as they go through. They have to. If a bridge is blown up, the British or American Army engineers are not going to wait for U. N. R. R. A. to come along and mend the bridge. Great heavens! The engineers are going to mend it with anything that they can lay their hands on. It is rehabilitation and incidentally benefits the civilian population.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New York 10 minutes more.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I develop this a moment, this matter of emergency rehabilitation or repair, because I think we ought to get the matter pretty well understood. You cannot draft and put into a statute a definition, a rigid definition, which will distinguish relief and rehabilitation. You have to follow a policy, rather, and be faithful to your policy, with occasionally some little departure from it. We have the right to learn something from our experience also. When our people and the British went into north Africa, lend-lease followed along with the Army, on the request of General Eisenhower, and distributed food to the natives. That was primarily a military measure. General Eisenhower did not want to have half-starving and perhaps an unruly and disorderly people in the city of Algiers, or in Oran behind his troops—give them food, or even chewing gum, if that will help keep them quiet. Those things were done. Undoubtedly some windows were put into houses that had been blown out, and perhaps a house or a cellar had a shed roof put over it. That is rehabilitation, temporary, toggle-up repairs—anything to get things in reasonably decent order so that the war may go on. And as it turned out, as I indicated in a colloquy yesterday with the gentleman from California, the French paid us back every dollar of it. The last payment, I noticed in a dispatch from Algiers, amounted to \$15,000,000. They had the money, they did not have the supplies there when our troops landed. U. N. R. R. A. is supposed to go along after the Army's needs have been taken care of, and not before, because this agreement says, in effect, that U. N. R. R. A. goes into operation only when the military authorities in the recovered, formerly occupied, territory give the signal, and not before. But things are bound to overlap, and you cannot draw a rigid line to separate



them. The thing is emergency relief, and we tried to make that plain.

Mr. ROWE. Pursuing the question of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD] with reference to the payment of \$1,350,000,000, and assuming that it is a promise to commit ourselves to that extent, I ask this question: If the Congress does not appropriate the money in different amounts, and at any time when needed as it proceeds, it refuses to keep exactly on schedule until the total amount of \$1,350,000,000 is appropriated, does that constitute our withdrawal from the Corporation?

Mr. WADSWORTH. It does not. We cannot be expelled. We may withdraw ourselves in accordance with the withdrawal provision in the international agreement. Several countries, I do not know how many, will not be able to live up to that 1-percent formula. For example, Greece will not be able to live up to it. What kind of income did Greece have in 1943? Greece is just a wreck. It could probably contribute very, very little until the work gets along a little and people begin to get on their feet in Greece. Then perhaps they will come in a little bit. But in the beginning Greece has to have relief from other nations that have got the money. There is a good deal more money available for this than the \$1,350,000,000. Some of these nations now occupied by Germany have large gold balances abroad and under the agreement and understanding reached by the Council at Atlantic City, they must pay for their own relief as long as those funds last. That is not part of the appropriations to be made to U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, as I interpret this bill, it does primarily two things. First, it approves this agreement. Then it limits in this part of the agreement included in the bill the appropriations to the amount authorized. Now, calling the gentleman's attention to article VIII, page 13, subsection a, line 23, "Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it."

Query: Does that provision authorize the Council to change, modify, extend, or limit the agreement as embodied in this bill? If so, will any action on the part of Congress be necessary before that changed agreement is binding upon the United States?

Mr. WADSWORTH. That paragraph "a" which the gentleman from Michigan has just read, refers, of course, as you see, to amendments which might be proposed in the future involving new obligations to be undertaken by the signatory governments. It says "new obligations." Now let us suppose that the Council, by two-thirds vote, proposes to change the plan. That amendment cannot take force and effect upon us until the Government of the United States says "Yes."

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. MICHENER. Question: Who is

the Government of the United States? Who makes that decision?

Mr. WADSWORTH. In my humble judgment, in that case it is the President of the United States. He is the executive officer at the head of this Government who signs this agreement. In that sphere he is the Government of the United States.

Mr. MICHENER. I quite agree with the gentleman. Then the answer is that the Council does and can change the entire agreement, providing the President approves of any changes without any action from the Congress.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have no such information. Congress can still decline to appropriate even when the change has been assented to by our President.

Mr. MICHENER. The only thing we have to do with it is to deny appropriations.

Mr. WADSWORTH. And that stops the whole thing. And if the Congress of the United States is not competent in its wisdom to take care of the interests of the United States, we would better adjourn.

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield for one further question?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. I have felt, as an individual, that the Army has been doing an excellent job in the rehabilitation work it has carried on in the occupied countries, as it has driven the enemy back. What would be the gentleman's thought in having this organization placed directly under the control of our Army as a civilian branch, so to speak, following through, so the overlapping would be eliminated? Now, you stated a moment ago—and I will be frank on this—that the organization was to get Greece on its feet. Many of us fellows in Congress are fearful that some of those nations overseas will get too much "grease" on their hands if we do not have the Army watching them. I would like to see the Army as the administrative force directing the civilian branch, such as U. N. R. R. A. Would that be possible, in your opinion?

Mr. WADSWORTH. U. N. R. R. A., by the very nature of the case, must be a civilian organization. You must remember it is an international organization. I do not think you could ask all the armies of the United Nations—

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. No; our Army operating our part.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Well, our part—our part is the contribution of money or supplies acquired in this country. And we will acquire some of it from other countries. We do that through our civilian agencies, like the War Food Board or the W. P. B. or the Treasury Department, as, perhaps, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS] is going to suggest, and those supplies, when procured, are turned over to the international organization to be distributed in such fashion that all the recipient nations shall be treated fairly and decently.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS].

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman,

I have requested this time from the Democratic majority so we can hear wisdom from a distinguished Republican statesman, Senator VANDENBERG. I want to read from the speech, to which reference has been made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 27, 1944, at page 8903. I quote from Senator VANDENBERG's speech, as follows:

Senator VANDENBERG. The executive and State Department at first announced that the relief- and rehabilitation-draft agreement would be executed by executive agreement. It was to be done exclusively by the administrative arm of the Government, without reference to Congress.

I challenged that interpretation of the situation by a resolution which requested the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to inquire into the question whether or not the relief and rehabilitation draft rose to the dignity of a treaty. The committee immediately considered the matter and subsequently appointed a subcommittee on the subject. I think it was very clearly the opinion of the committee that as originally drawn the relief and rehabilitation draft agreement did involve practically illimitable obligations on the United States almost in perpetuity, and that as drawn it was a treaty or should have been. Certainly it was not an obligation such as could be concluded merely by executive agreement.

Thereupon a special subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and two Under Secretaries of the Department of State undertook to rewrite the draft agreement so as to eliminate from it those illimitable commitments which carried it into the realm of a treaty, and which brought it back into what we thought was the realm of an agreement. We succeeded in rewriting it to a point where it is now literally nothing more than the authorization of appropriation, and there is no commitment in the text to anything except the expenditure of such moneys as are specifically appropriated from time to time by Congress for this purpose. Furthermore, the agreement itself will be textually included within the measure providing for the authorization of the appropriations.

I was convinced in the first instance that the relief and rehabilitation agreement should have been a treaty. The President was convinced that he could proceed by executive agreement. There we have the two extremes of the possibilities. We have rewritten the text so that, in my opinion and in the opinion of the State Department, we can now proceed on the basis of joint action by the two Houses, by action which is less than treaty action, because the text itself has become merely the authorization of an appropriation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS].

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I wish to point out to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], the sentence on page 8, "The agreement does not authorize or contemplate any project involving control of educational policies in liberated territories." I would like to have that provision placed in the authorization, that no money shall be used for the control of educational policies, also adding the words "or involving control of religious instruction." I tried to secure an acceptance in the Committee of those amendments but it was voted down. I think there is grave danger if U. N. R. R. A. should undertake educational activ-



ities in those countries, with the power of appropriating money to persons there to enforce any unwelcome type of education or any type of unwelcome religion upon those poor people.

We know what has happened in Norway, where Hitler has tried to impose his religious ideologies and his teachings. We know what has happened in other liberated countries. Nothing of that sort should happen under U. N. R. R. A., and I think there should be a prohibition written into the law against the use of any of this money for those purposes. The power of the purse is great. U. N. R. R. A. will have great power. That power must be used wisely to feed and clothe and prevent suffering, not to take away people's liberty and freedom of thought and action. I would like to say also that I am working out an amendment which will provide that the money and supplies will be distributed through over military personnel, rather than civilian personnel. It has worked well through the military personnel thus far, and I should like to continue it.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, would the gentlewoman yield for the purpose of directing an inquiry to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH]?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. CASE. In the light of the reply of the gentleman from New York, to the gentleman from Ohio, and the gentleman from Michigan, it would appear that the President might accept for the Government of the United States obligations under amendments that are adopted by a two-thirds vote of the council. The gentleman from New York said in reply to one question that of course, the Government of the United States might withdraw; but under the paragraph for withdrawal, I read:

Such notice of withdrawal shall take effect 12 months after the date of its communication to the Director General, subject to the member government having met by that time all financial, supply, or other material obligations accepted or undertaken by it.

Now, does that not mean that the President may accept obligations, which the Government of the United States will be bound to comply with financially before it can withdraw, regardless of what money may have been appropriated by the Congress?

Mr. WADSWORTH. In my humble judgment, nations need not withdraw in order to escape the meeting of an obligation put upon it as a result of that amendment. It might simply refuse to appropriate the money, and it could not be expelled from the organization. It comes back eventually to the Congress in every single instance.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. With reference to the question asked by the gentleman from Michigan in regard to the provision which says that by a vote of two-thirds of the countries a change can be made in the law of the council, I want to call attention to the practical effect of the likelihood of that not hap-

pening unless we want the change made. Each country has one vote, and we have in the Americas 21 American Republics, 20 of which are cooperating. We have the Philippines, in addition to that. So we will always have 50 percent of the votes, and they could never get a two-thirds vote to change it unless we were agreeable.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. It is impossible to be sure of cooperation of all the countries and republics mentioned.

Mr. CASE. I wonder if the gentleman from Texas means to imply that we carry all those votes in the pocket of Uncle Sam.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS] has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California [Mr. Ford].

(By unanimous consent, Mr. FORD was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, it is my purpose to discuss, briefly, as is my custom, Joint Resolution 192, dealing with United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

My discussion will not in any great degree deal with the merits of this resolution. Its merits are obvious to every man and woman in the United States who can and does project his thinking beyond the end of his or her nose.

My remarks shall be directed primarily to that group of chronic isolationists who just cannot see that if world order is to be even approximately restored that the outmoded philosophy of isolationism must be scrapped.

This benighted group will, in the course of the debate, inject constitutional questions. The opening gun of this group is advocacy of the immemorial right of the other body to pass on any agreement that is made with other nations. I think their contention falls flat by reason of the fact that this resolution comes from the other body. If, in the judgment of that body, this was a matter of ratification by a two-thirds vote, that method of dealing with it would have been followed.

Failing in making their constitutional argument prevail they will, I am sure, attempt by trick and device in the form of a series of apparently plausible amendments, to emasculate the resolution to such an extent that it will be totally ineffective for the purpose intended.

A study of the individual Members, who shall attempt to vitiate and emasculate this resolution, will disclose that they are composed of that group who because of their isolationist convictions opposed every effort on the part of this House to place this Nation in a sound defensive and offensive position before Pearl Harbor.

It looks to me as though, not satisfied with the havoc they wrought heretofore, they are now determined to carry their stupid and silly—to be charitable—opposition into the post-war situation, and so, by their insistence on isolationism, to completely disrupt all efforts to win the peace as well as the war.

As to the winning of the war, we as a

nation owe them nothing. While they have voted for appropriations; they have been busy issuing statements and indulging in carping and disruptive criticism that have beyond question of doubt rendered it more difficult for those wholeheartedly engaged in the war effort to achieve the end that we should all desire, namely, the securing of victory.

This statement is made merely for the purpose of asking Members of this body to carefully scrutinize the basis and character of the opposition to this resolution. It behooves every Member of this body to study this resolution. It will involve the expenditure of in excess of a billion dollars. Each Member will have to decide whether he believes this expenditure is warranted in the light of the tragic situation that has developed as a result of this global war.

Personally, I believe the resolution will be a step in the direction of laying the foundation of a lasting peace. I may be wrong. I have no criticism of those who disagree with me on that point, provided their disagreement is not based on the erroneous idea that because this resolution is favored by the Commander in Chief of the armed forces it must necessarily be lacking in merit.

The principal opposition that has so far developed has come from that group who have heretofore been vociferous in their demand that we ignore the affairs of the rest of the world—from that group who declared that we were immune from attack by any nation in the world. If their judgment as to the value of this proposal is no better than their pre-war judgment, I submit that they are not the group that should dictate or direct our activities in either the conduct of the war or in the post-war activities.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, the first thought in my mind is to relieve the situation and eliminate the misunderstanding with regard to the writing of the committee report on House Joint Resolution 192 and how it was written. I think it is necessary since so much suspicion has been brought into the debate with reference to the writing of the report, that the Committee should know just what happened.

I would like to say to the Committee, Mr. Chairman, that unfortunately, as the members of the committee know, during most of these hearings, the clerk of the committee, Mr. Boyd Crawford, was at home ill with pneumonia. At one time, everyone in the office was home ill. They were all sick. While Mr. Crawford was away, I requested the State Department to give me some help.

I said, "We have to go along with the work, which everyone knows, with reference to a report of this kind, and I must have something to keep me informed as to what is happening from day to day, during all these hearings."

Mr. Crawford's illness kept him away practically all the time and he was able to return only in time to assist with the work in the executive sessions after the close of the public hearings. So I received a statement summarizing what had happened during the hearings. I had the Government Printing Office put it up in galley form. I called a meeting of the committee after we had voted to report this bill out for the purpose of



writing the report. That is what the meeting notice sent to the committee members said. We came together in executive session to write this report. We went over the tentative draft of the report from beginning to end. Every suggestion was made. The gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS] was not present, but she had suggested that she wanted something in the report with reference to education. So on page 8 of the report, in the center of the fifth paragraph, you will find this:

The agreement does not authorize or contemplate any project involving the control of educational policies in liberated territories. The program of U. N. R. R. A. is a relief program—

And so forth. As the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] has stated, the preamble to the report was written by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS]. Every suggestion that was made for 3 days was voted upon and considered in executive session.

I do not think it is fair for anyone to cast suspicion about the writing of this report. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives wrote this report. If anyone wanted to object to anything in the report or to file minority views, it was his privilege to do so.

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I shall be glad to yield. Mr. BUFFETT. On page 4 there is a section of a letter from Hon. Cordell Hull, which starts out like this:

The broad plans growing out of the Moscow Conference, which the Congress has so warmly endorsed—

Did this Congress ever endorse the plan of the Moscow Conference?

Mr. BLOOM. That has nothing to do with it. Let us get down to the bill. There are a few other things that are more important than that.

Mr. HOFFMAN rose.

Mr. BLOOM. I hope the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] will let me finish.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I was just listening, lost in admiration.

Mr. BLOOM. Come right over here and take a seat.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

I think it is vastly more important whether this Congress endorsed that Moscow agreement—

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I have not yielded.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentlewoman from Illinois?

Mr. BLOOM. No; I have said I wanted to proceed.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, on this Indian question, I am in great sympathy with India; we all are, but I want to call the attention of the Committee at this time to what is already in the report. The Indian agent general to the United States, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, speaking as a member of the council from India at the conference at Atlantic City made a statement which is on page 203 of the State Department document publication No. 2040, Conference Series 53,

which is referred to on page 4 of the committee report. India is a signatory of this agreement. On page 202 of the same document you will find a statement on the subject of India by Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Let me read their statements.

Mr. Acheson said:

The active cooperation of the 44 United and Associated Nations to bring help to their neighbors has been demonstrated here. It is a tribute to our solidarity and a guaranty of success. It is of special significance that no individual burdens, however grievous, have served to make a breach in this solidarity. Take the case of India. She is afflicted today with widespread distress due to insufficiency of food over large areas, caused by the war, distress in which, I am sure, we all feel profoundly for her people. But her special situation has not prevented her from joining in our work here. We are grateful for this token of her cooperation and devoutly hopeful that, through the efforts of all those who are now engaged in the task, the ravages of famine and disease may swiftly be brought under effective control.

In reply Sir Girja said:

Mr. Chairman, I shall crave your indulgence for one brief moment, to thank you for your reference to my country and to wish U. N. R. R. A. the fullest success in its beneficent and pressing task of carrying succor to those whose heroic and steadfast resistance has lent to the concept of liberty a new glory and to the spirit of liberty a new meaning.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as the chairman of the committee asked me a while ago—

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman asked me—not that I might have something in mind—

Mr. BLOOM. No, no, no; go right ahead.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Not having anything in mind, but having had the help of the gentlewoman from Illinois [Miss SUMNER], she asked the gentleman when it was that the Congress endorsed, or rather concurred in this statement on page 4:

The broad plan growing out of the Moscow Conference which Congress has so warmly endorsed.

The gentlewoman wanted to know and she authorized me to ask the gentleman from New York when Congress endorsed that—the House? When did the House endorse it?

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McMURRAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I have plenty of help now.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I would just like to have the answer of the gentleman who rose to help the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Please do not sit down, because I will answer the question.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I will probably have to before I get any real results.

Mr. BLOOM. Did not the Senate endorse it in their resolution?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I asked when the House endorsed it. I realize the gentleman is guided largely by what the Senate

does, but there are some of us who have an independent opinion.

Mr. BLOOM. Did the gentleman read "The House endorsed it" or "The Congress endorsed it"?

Mr. HOFFMAN. It reads "Congress," but am I to accept the Senate as the Congress?

Mr. BLOOM. I am trying to explain to the gentleman. The gentleman does not let me answer. The Congress—

Mr. HOFFMAN. The Congress, the whole body.

Mr. BLOOM. The Congress consists of both branches, the Senate and the House. When the statement reads "Congress endorsed it" any branch of it, the Senate or the House, that is evidently what was meant; it might mean either.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman means that a part is equal to the whole?

Mr. BLOOM. I wish the gentleman would not interrupt; I want to proceed in an orderly way.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Will the gentleman tell me when the House endorsed that Moscow Conference?

Mr. BLOOM. That I do not know.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I did not think the gentleman did.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. Further replying to the gentleman from Michigan, bear in mind that this is a letter from the Secretary of State. Please also bear in mind that the other body, as I understand, practically endorsed, in fact did endorse, the Moscow agreement in the Connally resolution; you will also recall, Secretary Hull came here at the invitation of the entire Congress and was given an ovation shortly after his return from Moscow.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Was that an endorsement?

Mr. JARMAN. As I understand it that is the first time a Cabinet officer has ever been so honored.

Mr. HOFFMAN. It is only his view.

Mr. JARMAN. He was given a real ovation. I imagine had I been in his place I would have considered that invitation and that ovation an endorsement by the Congress.

Mr. HOFFMAN. That may have been interpreted as one purpose of the applause, but the applause might have been for other purposes also.

Mr. BLOOM. I decline to yield further.

Mr. JARMAN. I just assumed it was an endorsement and presume Secretary Hull did.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I cannot yield.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I want to correct a misstatement that has been made.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York declines to yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I had just called attention to the two statements, one by the Indian agent to the United States and the other by Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson on the Indian question.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?



Mr. BLOOM. Not until I have completed my statement.

Mr. Chairman, the Indian question is also dealt with in full in the letter written by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] to Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson which appears on page 275 of the hearings, and in Mr. Acheson's reply, which appears on page 276. All of these questions were considered day after day. If the membership wants to understand the Indian question—and we are all in sympathy with India; there is no question about that at all, we all would like to do something; I ask them to read the testimony on the pages I have indicated. It is not very long, but I do not want to take the time now to read it. You will then find out what the situation is. India has funds today in foreign exchange that she may use if it is necessary for her to buy anything.

For the information of the committee I wish to call attention to a news release of the British Information Services dated Washington, D. C., January 10, 1944, reading as follows:

**THIRTY-SEVEN FOOD SHIPS REACH INDIA IN 3 MONTHS**

Seven ships bringing 43,000 tons of wheat reached India in the month of December 1943 alone, 30 wheat ships arrived in October and November, and further shipments are expected there shortly. British Information Services announced today on the basis of advices to the Indian Agency General in Washington from New Delhi.

Food shortages in Bengal are now practically over except in remote areas, and the Indian Army, in cooperation with the civil authorities, is energetically combating disease which followed the famine, latest reports from the Government of India say.

The Government of India has arranged to import into Bengal from overseas and other Indian areas 646,000 tons of food grains during 1944 to implement its decision to relieve the Bengal government of the responsibility of feeding the city of Calcutta and its environs.

Striking facts show the extent of work done by the Indian Army in Bengal. Army transport has covered 130,000 miles, delivering thousands of tons of food. An Indian battalion has, in the districts of Khulna, Barisal, and Dacca, mobilized river transport to take tons of rice to outlying villages.

Transport bottlenecks are being eliminated. In 1 day alone 5,000 tons of foodstuffs were handled in Calcutta. Civil storage depots are being constructed and Army Nissen huts will help solve the storage difficulty in the districts.

Work is now directed toward completing food relief in outlying areas, fighting illness, providing thousands of blankets and clothing, and building up food reserves.

Drums and posters are used to announce to villagers the opening of new military hospitals. Already thousands of malaria cases have been treated and thousands of cholera inoculations and vaccinations have been carried out. In this fight field ambulance units are establishing hospitals and issuing new clothing to those patients who need them.

**RECORD RICE CROP FORECAST**

India's total rice crop this year is expected to be a record one, greater than any produced during the last 10 to 15 years, and will, it is believed, exceed 28,500,000 tons. Every Province in India will share in the increase, Bengal leading with a 16-percent increase in acreage and 45 percent in production. Assam comes next with 3 percent in acreage and 10 percent in production, as against the all-India figures of 6 percent and 16 percent, respectively. Bengal should have a rice crop of

9,700,000 tons and the final forecast may even show a crop of over 10,000,000 tons.

Unfortunately, however, the agreement is worded in such way that no country, not even England, although England has been bombed and other countries may be bombed and destroyed, can get relief through U. N. R. R. A. unless they are occupied. The agreement is very brief and very plain on this point. I quote from page 2, line 7:

Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war,

Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing—

And so forth. According to the agreement, they must be an occupied area. To my way of thinking—and I believe I am right—to amend the resolution with respect to India would put her in no different position than she is today, because she has the foreign exchange to pay for it. But U. N. R. R. A. will pay for any displaced people in India who must be transported, say, back to China, or to some other country that has been occupied by the enemy.

The representative of India signed this agreement at the White House. He went to Atlantic City, and I believe he was there all the time. He is a gentleman who on former occasions appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee, a very highly cultured, educated gentleman. He signed this document. The document is signed by him, and up to now, I do not know but I have not heard any real protest of any kind. If you were to do anything at all, how are you going to help India by inserting anything in this resolution?

Mr. MUNDT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. No.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I decline to yield. I have been very fair yesterday and today.

Mr. MUNDT. The gentleman used my name. Now he declines to yield.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman mentioned my name, too.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, a point of order. The gentleman speaks so infrequently that I insist we have order so we can hear him now.

Mr. WHITE. Will the gentleman yield to me at the proper time?

Mr. BLOOM. I decline to yield.

Mr. WHITE. I said "at the proper time."

Mr. BLOOM. No.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, if he does not yield to anybody I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman make the point of order that a quorum is not present?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, I make that point of order. I mean it and I want it in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and nineteen Members are present, a quorum. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Bloom] is recognized.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I do not

want to repeat what I have said. If anyone can show me any way that they can amend this agreement that will be beneficial, all right, because whatever we do here in amending this agreement must go back and the amendment must be approved by the other 43 nations.

Mr. MUNDT. I will accept the challenge of the gentleman. Will he yield?

Mr. BLOOM. No. I stated I would not yield. I want to finish my statement.

Mr. MUNDT. I just wanted to show the gentleman how that could be done.

Mr. BLOOM. After I get through I will be very glad to try to answer questions. The gentleman refused to yield to me after he mentioned my name. Let us play the game fairly. I have not a prepared speech. I am trying to give you some information. The committee is entitled to it.

Mr. Chairman, if anyone can show me any way whereby this agreement can be amended that would really mean something, not this shadow-boxing, gestures, "I want to be a great humanitarian," which does not mean a thing. Do not try to give the message out that, "I want to save the people of India." Let us be sincere and honest about this thing.

Mr. MUNDT. Will the gentleman yield? He is now questioning my sincerity.

Mr. HOFFMAN. And your honesty.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I am not questioning the sincerity nor honesty of my esteemed colleague from South Dakota. I refuse to yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I do not yield for a parliamentary inquiry. I do not yield for that purpose.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Does not the gentleman yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BLOOM. No. Please let me finish.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the gentleman's words be taken down, those words he said where somebody lacked a sincerity of purpose.

Mr. BLOOM. I did not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what words does the gentleman complain?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Where the gentleman from New York said that someone advocating aid to India was proceeding, as I gathered it, for a personal reason and he said the Member lacked sincerity and was dishonest or something of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the words objected to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, if anyone can show me any way whereby this agreement can be amended that would really mean something, not this shadow boxing, gestures, "I want to be a great humanitarian," which does not mean a thing. Do not try to give the message out that "I want to save the people of India." Let us be sincere and honest about this thing.

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee will rise.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair,



Mr. O'NEAL, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration House Joint Resolution 192 to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization, certain words used in debate were objected to and, on request, were taken down and read at the Clerk's desk, and that he herewith reported the same to the House.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the words taken down.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, if anyone can show me any way whereby this agreement can be amended that would really mean something, not this shadow boxing, gestures, "I want to be a great humanitarian," which does not mean a thing. Do not try to give the message out that "I want to save the people of India." Let us be sincere and honest about this thing.

The SPEAKER. The Chair, having listened to this language read twice, would fear that if he held that these words were violative of the rules of the House, we might find ourselves one of these days in the situation where debate in the House would be very restricted. The Chair cannot see anything in these words that would impugn the motives or question the honesty of any Member of the House, and therefore holds that they do not violate the rules.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 7]

Allen, Ill.	Hall,	Mott
Anderson, Calif.	Leonard W.	Myers
Ealdwin, Md.	Hare	Newsome
Ealdwin, N. Y.	Harness, Ind.	Norton
Earry	Harris, Va.	O'Connor
Eender	Hébert	O'Leary
Bradley, Pa.	Heffernan	O'Toole
Brumbaugh	Hobbs	Pace
Buckley	Jackson	Ploeser
Burchill, N. Y.	Jeffrey	Pracht
Burdick	Johnson, Ward	Ramey
Butler	Jones	Randolph
Byrne	Keefe	Rivers
Canfield	Kefauver	Rockwell
Capozzoli	Kelley	Sabath
Celler	Kennedy	Satterfield
Clark	King	Scanlon
Courtney	Kinzer	Sheridan
Cullen	Kleberg	Simpson, Ill.
Dawson	Klein	Smith, Maine
Dickstein	Kunkel	Somers, N. Y.
Dilweg	LaFollette	Sumners, Tex.
Dirksen	Lambertson	Sundstrom
Domengeaux	Lane	Taber
Eberharter	LaCompte	Thomas, N. J.
Fay	Luce	Treadway
Fish	Lynch	Vursell
Fisher	McKenzie	Weaver
Fitzpatrick	Maas	Weichel, Ohio
Ford	Magnuson	Weiss
Furlong	Maloney	Wene
Gallagher	Manasco	West
Camble	Mason	Winter
Gerlach	Merritt	Worley
Granger	Miller, Pa.	Zimmerman
Green	Morrison, La.	
Gross	Morrison, N. C.	

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 319 Members have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

The Committee will resume its session. Further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Bloom] is recognized.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON].

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, this is a very important measure which the House is considering, and a measure which should challenge the serious consideration of every Member of the House, because it has to do with our own welfare and the welfare of the world.

If there is one thing that the American people are united upon it is that we must win the war, and we must win the peace. The adoption of this resolution is designed to assist in attaining both of those goals.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs has been giving consideration to this subject for nearly a year. In addition to that, we have had the benefit of testimony from people in the conquered countries since the war first began September 1, 1939. I think the House should give our committee credit for at least knowing something of the background and of the necessity for this legislation. It is designed to bring temporary relief to the peoples in the occupied countries immediately upon the cessation of hostilities.

I wish the Members of the House could have heard the various witnesses from all of the occupied countries who have appeared before our committee from time to time in executive session. Then they would realize the gravity and the seriousness of the situation that prevails in those occupied countries. If the Members did not hear it yesterday, I trust they will all read the very fine statement made by the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] when she recounted some of the sufferings and some of the hardships that have been endured by those people in the occupied countries. Their food has been stolen and taken from them to Germany. Their clothing has been stolen. They have been driven from home. Today, in Europe, there are 20,000,000 people who have been carried from their own countries to other countries. More than half of that number are now in Germany—carried there by the German Government. When hostilities cease this suffering which they have been enduring will be aggravated in a way because there will be no civil authorities to control, because their governments have been driven into exile, and there will be desperate need of food and clothing and medicine. Unless that is furnished, and furnished promptly when hostilities cease, or when a country ceases to be occupied by the enemy, there will be chaos raging in those countries that will affect not only them but that will affect us and will affect the entire civilized world.

The question of how to deal with that problem is one that I think should challenge the consideration of the House.

I believe that the plan which has been worked out between the State Department in cooperation with our committee and the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, is the best way by which it can be done. In effect, it is this: It does not establish a world-wide W. P. A. for relief. It simply means this, and that is all this resolution means: It means that if you adopt this resolution this Government and this Congress will be authorized from time to time to make appropriations by which this food and clothing, medicine, fuel, and temporary shelter may be furnished to the people of the occupied countries when they are evacuated. It does not mean that this international organization is going to come to us and say, "Give us this and give us that." They are going to make their requests to the various governments and each government's own agency will determine whether or not they can meet the call. U. N. R. R. A. will not say, "You must give us this." U. N. R. R. A. will only make requests of the various governments. That is the way the agency representing our Government will carry this out; if money has been appropriated by Congress it will secure, if it can, such food as we can spare and such money as we can spare if requested by U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Not right now. Let me first get this picture into your minds.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Texas 5 additional minutes.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. As I was saying, this involves a large sum of money for this purpose, but as has already been pointed out, U. N. R. R. A. is only furnishing about 10 percent of the total needed and that will be expended, because many of those liberated countries have gold reserves. Before the invasion of those countries, Belgium, Holland, France, and Norway were able to get their gold reserves out of the country. So they have large sums of money that can and will be used for this matter of relief. The funds which U. N. R. R. A. has will only supplement and buy for those countries where they do not have gold reserves with which to buy themselves.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this plan has been worked out carefully. At this meeting at Atlantic City, where 44 of the Allied countries met, every phase of the operation of this plan was gone into in detail. That meeting was in session for about 3 weeks. It was my privilege and pleasure to be there at some of the sessions. The representatives from the various countries were of the highest type. They were the best people in those countries. They carefully worked out this plan, and they are to be commended for doing an excellent job.

We know that this relief is going to be needed, not only for those people, but for our own sake. We know that in the last war we had to spend large sums of money for this very purpose. We spent



more than \$3,000,000,000 in the last war for this purpose. Under this plan we will spend in the aggregate not exceeding \$1,350,000,000. Why? Because in this plan all of the other countries will contribute to the fund. And, by reason of this organization being set up early, we will be prepared to do it more efficiently and more effectively, and a single organization like U. N. R. R. A. will prevent duplication, which would result if the countries attempted relief separately.

Someone has said, "Why, do it now." We must get this machinery set up. We must get the organization ready to function, because no one knows when the end of the war will come. As each country is liberated there will be need for these funds. It is imperative that we should act and act promptly in providing the funds.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Not yet. Please let me finish.

I think this is important, not only for the purpose sought to be accomplished by the resolution, but I think it is vitally important with reference to our program and our procedure and the attitude which this Government is going to take in this great war toward the other nations of the world.

We have spent \$300,000,000,000 in this war and this will only be a small percentage of the total amount that we have spent. It is an amount that has to be spent in the completion of this war and the restoration of peace.

Mr. Chairman, let me say that if this House does not adopt this resolution we might as well say to the world—and we thereby do say to the world—that notwithstanding we adopted the Fulbright resolution by an overwhelming majority to cooperate with the other nations of the earth in trying to preserve peace—if we fail to adopt this resolution we will be saying to the country and to the world and to our allies that we did not mean what we said in the Fulbright resolution—if we refuse to cooperate with our allies in furnishing some temporary relief to these conquered and occupied countries we might as well stop thinking about preserving peace and the Fulbright resolution would mean nothing, and nothing could be done toward taking any international action with reference to the preservation of peace. It is vitally important to let the world know and to let our allies know that we are going to cooperate with them in trying to give this temporary relief, and we shall not isolate ourselves from the other nations of the earth.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield.

Mr. STEFAN. The gentleman indicated that during the last war we spent something more than \$3,000,000,000 on a similar proposition. I am sure we want to do something to relieve the suffering of the world. The thing of first importance now however is to get clear in our minds what we are doing. This \$1,350,000,000 is not per year, is it?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. No; no, that is the total amount.

Mr. STEFAN. And it can be expended for goods or given as money.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. STEFAN. Our surplus food and materials could be used for this purpose?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Yes. That amount is the total, and no money can be spent until it is appropriated by Congress, and the Committee on Appropriations, of which the gentleman is a member, will first pass upon appropriations as they are made.

Mr. STEFAN. Then, too, this is merely an authorization; the Appropriations Committee may cut or increase.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Absolutely; the Appropriations Committee will pass upon it before anything is done, and then Congress will vote upon the appropriation bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN].

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD] may extend his own remarks at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, insofar as the economic bill of rights assumes that the world has enough for everyone if we give it a global New Deal, there are shoals ahead. Despite protests that no role of Santa Claus is intended, an indefinite extension of U. N. R. R. A. may result from encouraging other nations to higher living standards than can be sustained. I submit for those who are interested, the greater part of an article which appeared in the Scientific Monthly by Dr. Karl Sax, of Harvard University:

POPULATION PROBLEMS OF A NEW WORLD ORDER  
(By Karl Sax)

Promises of an abundant life and freedom from want for all peoples of all nations seem to be made with no consideration of agricultural production or population pressure. The universe may be expanding, but this world is not, and already many parts of the world cannot support the existing populations at much more than a subsistence level. Man lived and multiplied on this earth for 500 centuries before the population reached 850,000,000 people, but at the end of 1 additional century the world population had doubled. During the recent past the world population has been increasing at the rate of 1 percent a year, a rate which would nearly double the present population before the end of this century. There are now 40 persons per square mile of land area in the world. The population density of the United States is almost exactly that of the world as a whole. Some parts of the world have high population densities; other areas are sparsely populated. In some areas the populations are growing rapidly, while in other regions the population is at a stationary level. It is the differential population growth and density in various parts of the world that present difficult problems in establishing global unity so essential to world peace and security.

It is estimated by competent authorities that about 2½ acres of arable land are needed to provide a human being with essential food, clothing, and other necessities. The total area of all cropland in the world is about 4,000,000,000 acres, according to Dr. H. H. Bennett, head of the United States Soil Conservation Service. The world population is now over 2,000,000,000, so that the cultivated land per capita is only 2 acres. There is more land that can be cultivated in many parts of the world, but most of it can be farmed only with diminishing returns or at a much greater cost of production. Many regions of the world are already overpopulated on the basis of domestic agricultural production. With the exception of Russia, practically all the nations of Europe and Asia are no longer able to produce enough food to maintain adequate nutritional standards. The population of large parts of Asia manages to live on less than 1 acre of arable land per capita, but the masses do little more than survive and many do not even do that very long. Millions of acres have been exhausted by continued cultivation and erosion, and no new acres are available in these densely populated areas. The answer to the population problems of Europe and Asia would seem to be the proper distribution of either the populations or the food supplies of the world, but in practice this solution is not at all simple.

When population pressure exceeds the food supply, as it does in many parts of the world, there are several paths of escape. The overcrowded nations of Europe have followed three methods. Industrialization and modern methods of transportation have enabled these nations to maintain populations whose food requirements exceed their own agricultural production by importing food in exchange for manufactured products. Population pressure also has been relieved by the migrations of the people of Europe to the new nations of the Americas, Australia, and Africa. These 2 methods are possible only when other parts of the world can still support larger populations or can produce a surplus of food products. The third method followed by the peoples of Europe, in spite of legal and religious bans and the exhortations of priests and politicians, is the artificial reduction of the birth rate. Most of the European countries have reduced their birth rates during the past 50 years from over 30 per 1,000 to less than 20 per 1,000. In fact, many of these countries—England, Germany, France, Austria, and the Scandinavian nations—have had birth rates below replacement levels, and nearly all the others are rapidly approaching a stationary or diminishing level of population. Of the countries of Europe, only the Slavic nations have anything approaching the natural birth rate of 40 per thousand, and only Russia has agricultural resources to support a much larger population. As the socio-economic conditions improve in Russia, her birth rate too will decline.

Population pressure in Asia is even greater than it is in Europe, but the nations of Asia have found no satisfactory solution. More than half of the world population lives in Asia, with little relief from population pressure by migration, industrialization, or birth control. Only Japan has developed industries sufficient to permit her to import a considerable part of her food supply. Industrialization and aggression have enabled Japan to double her population during the past 50 years, but the increase is maintained only by low standards of living and long working hours. China and India have birth rates considerably higher than Japan's 30 per thousand, but their populations have grown more slowly, because these countries have been unable to provide for a rapidly



growing population. The Malthusian law operates with little restraint in continental Asia. Population has increased faster than food supply and has been held in check only by famine, pestilence, and natural catastrophes.

Can the people of Asia meet the problems of population pressure? What are the prospects of increased food supply, migration to sparsely populated regions of the world, or reducing birth rates to the level of agricultural production?

Food production in Asia cannot be increased appreciably. Most of the agricultural land already is in cultivation and, owing to intensive cultivation, produces more per acre than our farm land. The farms are small, averaging 2½ acres in Japan, 3½ acres in China, and a little more in India. Three-fourths of the population derives a living from agriculture. Modern agricultural methods would result in little increased production, although they would release many people for the development of essential industries.

Industrialization of Asia can increase the food supply only so long as other nations are able to produce a surplus of agricultural products. The leading food exporting countries are Russia, Argentina, Canada, and Australia. Russia, with her resources and modern methods of farming can export large quantities of food after the war, but if her birth rate remains at 40 per thousand, Russia will, in another generation, require all the food she can grow. Improved socio-economic conditions in Russia probably will reduce the birth rate, but this will be offset by higher living standards. Argentina is able to export a third of the food she produces, and Canada one-fifth. Europe alone will require most of the exports of both Australia and Canada. These and other food exporting countries can supply a considerable agricultural surplus for some years, but most of them are growing rapidly and will have little surplus food for export in another generation.

Emigration offers little hope for Asia, because most of the other regions of the world are already populated or controlled by the white races. It seems improbable that Australia, Canada, the United States, and the countries of South America will welcome large numbers of Asiatics with any greater enthusiasm in the future than they have in the past. Most of these nations will acquire their own optimum populations in a relatively short time, without the questionable benefits of Asiatic immigration. Certainly there is no moral reason why those nations which restrain their birth rates to improve their standards of living should provide for the surplus populations of other countries which breed without consideration of the economic and social consequences.

Invasion of neighboring countries, already overpopulated, provides no more Lebensraum for the invader unless the peoples of the conquered nation are exterminated. Such a practice cannot be tolerated in a civilized world. Nor is there any biological justification for the myth of racial superiority, which has been used by the Nazis as an excuse for their attempts to enslave or exterminate neighboring peoples and racial elements of their own population.

Let us assume that we can help feed and industrialize Asia and increase the standard of living. So long as birth rates of 40 to 50 per thousand persists, the population will increase just as fast as food supplies and medical science will permit. The only rational solution of population pressure in Asia is the reduction of the birth rate. But among both nations and individuals the practice of birth control tends to be limited to the more fortunate socio-economic groups. The social and economic conditions in Asia would seem to preclude any general practice

of birth control, unless recent advances in contraceptive methods make birth control more generally available and practicable than is now the case.

## II

Many misguided optimists believe that there will always be enough for all regardless of the number of people who occupy the earth. Such optimism is not limited to newspaper columnists, such as Dorothy Thompson, who assures us that there is enough for all in this world of modern science. J. D. Bernal, a reputable English scientist, suggests that if we could convert coal and limestone into food materials "we should have enough food for a population thousands or millions of times that which exists at present." An increase of 1,000 times would establish a population density of 40,000 persons per square mile of land surface of the world, while an increase of a million times would mean that there would be less than 1 square foot of land area available for each person. Nor is Bernal's faith in agricultural science shared by those who know something about the subject. It is true that England can support 1 person per acre of cultivated land, but it can be done only by intensive cultivation, liberal use of fertilizer, an exceptionally favorable climate, and a low standard of living for a large part of the population. Her agricultural index of productivity is 177 compared with the world average of 100, but this does not mean that the rest of the world can reach England's level of productivity.

It is true that science has made almost incredible contributions in the field of communication, transportation, production, and labor-saving machinery. Scientists will continue to work miracles for the benefit of mankind, but it is improbable that they can do much to increase agricultural production. During the past 50 years, plant breeding, crop rotation, the use of fertilizers, pest and disease control, and the use of modern agricultural machinery have increased yields per acre by as much as 40 to 60 percent in the United States. This is a remarkable increase, but it has been almost completely offset by the deterioration of the natural soil fertility and by new problems in pest and disease control. According to the United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook for 1938, we are little more than maintaining crop yields at a stationary level in spite of remarkable advances in agricultural science. The same trend is true in other countries. Some nations have higher yields per acre than we do, but largely because of more intensive cultivation and less production per man. The American farmer cultivates an average of 20 acres; in Belgium one man cultivates only 5 acres; and in China the average area cultivated per man, or woman, is less than 1 acre. One-fifth of our population can produce sufficient essential food with a surplus for the "ever normal granary," but in China three-fourths of the workers are engaged in farming and produce only enough food for minimum needs, with little or no surplus for lean years. Whenever a large proportion of the population is required to produce the food supply, the standard of living for all is maintained at low levels. We could produce more food by more intensive cultivation and by using more submarginal land, but this could be done only by lowering the living standards of the entire population.

Since the world population density is approximately that of the United States, a further examination of our population and our resources is of particular interest. The United States is well endowed with natural resources for a high degree of industrialization and has large areas of fertile land for agricultural production, but in normal times we just about balance food imports with food exports and ship to foreign countries only about 10 percent of our American-grown

food. We can produce more food but not enough to feed many more people either here or abroad. According to the United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook, the present cropland area is somewhat more than 400,000,000 acres, but of this area about 60 percent is subject to erosion under current agricultural practices, or is too poor to farm at a profit. Half of this land subject to erosion or too poor to farm profitably should be retired from cultivation. Of the land not now in cultivation, less than 50,000,000 acres should be used. Thus if we include all cropland of any value which can be maintained in cultivation, the total is about 370,000,000 acres or less than 3 acres per person. At present, we use over 3 acres of arable land per person, and still we do not provide adequate food for a large part of our population. According to the Food Nutrition Board of the National Research Council, our pre-war diet was deficient by the following amounts: fresh vegetables 59 percent; milk 45 percent; citrus fruits and tomatoes 28 percent; beans, peas, and nuts 25 percent; eggs 17 percent; and meat, poultry, and fish only 4 percent. Cereals were adequate, and there was an excess of fats and sugar. The deficiency of protective foods is largely a problem of economics, but these foods are expensive to produce and distribute.

There may be a temporary solution of the food problem, without relying on the chemists to produce food from air, sawdust, and coal. Our normal diet consists of about 40 percent animal products—meat, eggs, milk, and cheese. It requires six to eight times as much land to produce food in the form of meat and milk as it does to produce the basic cereal and legume crops. The reduction of animal products in our diet would release more of the basic food crops for human consumption. Recent work done at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology seems to show that the basic cereals and legumes, fortified with essential minerals and necessary vitamins, can provide an adequate diet without meat and milk or even without fresh vegetables and fruit. Such a diet would be as satisfactory as that enjoyed by the European peasant or the Asiatic coolie, although it might be more monotonous. In normal times this basic diet should be supplemented with the usual foods we enjoy, but in an emergency it would provide more food for more people.

Actually there is little need for the Occidental peoples to look forward to synthetic food supplies or a cereal diet. Their growth rate is becoming adjusted to agricultural resources, and with few exceptions those countries with limited resources have reached a stationary or diminishing population. Recent trends in the United States indicate that our population will be stabilized at about one hundred and sixty million. It is only in the Asiatic countries that population pressure is likely to exceed any possible increase in food production. Is the Occidental world going to adopt Oriental standards of living in order to feed and industrialize the peoples of Asia? It seems premature to speak of raising the standards of living for all races, when even the richest Oriental nations are unable to provide a reasonable standard of living for a large part of their own populations. During the past year the exportation of only 6 percent of our food supplies to our allies and increased consumption of food by our war workers and soldiers have led to a food shortage in spite of the fact that we had bumper crops in 1942.

## III

The decline in birth rates in the western world has done much to reduce population pressure, but it has raised other problems which threaten the internal security of these nations. The threat which disturbs political and religious leaders is the fear that their nation or their sect will be submerged by



more rapidly breeding nations or religious groups. France is often cited as the horrible example of the consequences of birth control. France has long had an approximately stationary population, but in the years before the present war France had a higher stabilized rate of natural increase in population than did Germany, England, or the Scandinavian countries. If all the countries of Europe had reduced their birth rates when France did, there would have been little excuse for more *lebensraum*. If manpower were the determining factor in war, a population race between France and Germany would mean the defeat of France, simply because Germany has resources to support a larger population, just as Russia is destined to control all of Europe if she so desires. In a peaceful world there would be no need for expansion of population to the limits of subsistence, and each nation could maintain an optimum population level in accord with adequate living standards for all. Even in a world at war, a large population does not necessarily imply military might. China has at least five times as many people as Japan.

In all countries in which the practice of birth control is prevalent, the differential birth rate between the different economic and educational classes is a matter of considerable concern. The situation in the United States is typical of most occidental nations. According to Lorimer et al., in *Foundation of American Population Policy*, the urban white families with annual incomes of over \$3,000 had a reproductive index of only 0.46, while those with earned incomes of \$1,000 a year or less had about twice as many children. But the only class which exceeded replacement levels in 1935 were those on relief, with a reproductive index of 1.43. Does this trend indicate that we are approaching the conditions of a termite society in which a specific caste is maintained only for the purposes of reproduction? Even in normal times the third of our parents least able economically to raise and educate children produces two-thirds of our future generation. The same trend is found in relation to education. College graduates have relatively few children, as indicated by their reproductive index of 0.57, but those with less than a seventh-grade education have had a reproductive index of 1.18. Fortunately, our rural population has a considerably higher birth rate than our urban groups.

Why do those who are least able to feed, clothe, and educate children have much higher birth rates than the more able, or more fortunate, members of society? The late Dr. Raymond Pearl, of Johns Hopkins University, has provided the answer based upon a survey of more than 30,000 women in urban maternity hospitals in the United States. Differences in birth rates among the various racial, economic, educational, and religious groups are due almost entirely to differences in the prevalence and effectiveness of the practice of artificial contraception, and to a minor degree to differences in age of marriage and the practice of criminal abortion. Among the rich and well-to-do, 83 percent of the mothers with more than one child practiced contraception, while among the very poor classes only 35 percent used, or attempted to use, contraceptive methods. Pearl's detailed records show that these poor mothers had large families due primarily to ignorance of contraceptive methods and to irresponsibility, rather than to a desire for many children. This conclusion is supported by a survey made by the *Ladies' Home Journal*, in which it was found that practically all married couples want children and that nearly all want more than one, but that relatively few want more than four.

Both nations and families are confronted with the same problems. If they have more children than they can feed and educate, they are doomed to lower living standards and higher death rates and are handicapped in economic and cultural development. But if they do curtail birth rates they are in danger of being overrun by the unrestricted breeding of their neighbors. The logical solution would seem to be the control of birth rates in accord with the national or family resources. At the same time, every effort should be made to insure equal opportunity for all. Only with equality of opportunity can the inherent capacities of all individuals be fully developed.

The history of both empires and families seems to show that a relatively high degree of culture and economic success tends to be followed by degeneration or extinction, just as in evolutionary history those species which developed a high degree of specialization often failed to survive, while more degenerate or more aggressive species survived and flourished. Evolution does not guarantee progress, but only change. Man has been able to control his environment to a remarkable degree, and there is no reason why he should not be able to control his social evolution. But it cannot be done by abandoning rational thought and reverting to mysticism. We need more of the scientific method, particularly in the field of social relations and human conduct.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

(Mr. JONKMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks.)

[Mr. JONKMAN addressed the Committee. His remarks appear in the Appendix of today's RECORD.]

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. LUDLOW].

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, there is one feature of this bill which I doubt anyone can defend successfully, and that is its discriminatory character.

It is rather incongruous and foreign to the beneficent and altruistic intentions of the act that we should entirely exclude from its benefits a worthy people who have been friendly to America and who have rendered valuable assistance to the cause of the United Nations—the people of India.

Some of our citizens may have doubts as to how far we should use our means to assist the world after the war is over, seeing that we will have our own tremendous problems of rehabilitation right here at home, but I think that every fair-minded person will say that U. N. R. R. A. should not be a closed corporation. It should not pick favorites. It should not discriminate among equally worthy friendly nations, giving to some and denying to others.

The United States is a great democracy founded on the ideal of equality. The founding fathers denounced special privilege as the greatest of all evils in government.

It does violence to our splendid traditions to stop our democracy at the water's edge. In dealing with equally deserving foreign nations under this bill we should not make fish of one and fowl of another.

The gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] has an amendment he in-

tends to offer that would wipe out this discrimination. I commend it to every Member of this House. Its text is as follows:

In expressing its approval of this act, it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit any area important to United Nations military operations which may be stricken by famine or disease shall be included in the benefits available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

In my opinion, this amendment is anchored in sheer justice.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DAY].

Mr. DAY. Mr. Chairman, this joint resolution presents the most flagrant violation of the Constitution that has been presented to the Congress by the New Deal administration. Violations of the Constitution at the hands of this administration have grown so frequent and so violent that they are positively immoral, and are so regarded by millions of our citizens. The great loss in popularity which the New Deal has suffered is due in large part to the utter disregard of established law. These departures have been constant and unbroken, furnishing a clear pattern of the gross evils arising from a studied attempt to change our form of government. This is the great issue of today and will be the determining factor in defeating the New Deal next November.

U. N. R. R. A. resolution is not just a mere measure for the relief of the suffering peoples in foreign lands. It is admitted that "U. N. R. R. A. is an international body formed by 44 nations." The agreement constituting U. N. R. R. A. has no standing under the Constitution and could not be submitted to the Senate for approval. It was an impeachable offense to have even signed it.

This joint resolution is presented to us at this time as an "authorization for an appropriation" to the President for such sums, not to exceed \$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate, as the Congress may determine from time to time to be appropriate for participation by the United States in the work of U. N. R. R. A. But it does not stop there. The contract, or agreement, is set forth in full in the resolution, and then follows section 3, reading, in part, as follows:

In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the first session of the Council.

This section changes the entire character of the joint resolution from that of mere authorization for an appropriation to the advice and consent of the Congress upon a question of foreign policy. Clearly, the House of Representatives has no such constitutional power, and this section is in direct violation of article II, section 2, of the Constitution, reading, in part, as follows:

He—

The President—

shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.



The agreement establishes an international government consisting of 44 nations, and in the Council it is expressly provided that "each member government shall name 1 representative" and that each member government shall have 1 vote. This means that the Congress is asked to ratify and confirm an agreement made entirely by an executive department and committing the United States to the approval of an internationally formed policy with only 1 vote out of 44 in the governing Council of this international body. Furthermore, it is expressly provided in article VIII of this agreement that its provisions may be amended as follows:

Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote, and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. With reference to the words "shall take effect for each member government," does not the language earlier in the bill in effect designate the President of the United States as the member government, as he is the one who entered into this agreement?

Mr. DAY. No. There was an acceptance here a while back that it would not be the President, but there is nothing in this bill and there is no warrant in law, and the fact that they have come to the Congress and asked for an authorization would lead logically to the fact that the same body would have to give the authority. I think we would have to pass upon it.

And then follow these words:

Amendments involving modification of article III, or article IV, shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the Central Committee.

A careful reading of the agreement reveals that article III covers the creation of the Council and its organization and article IV covers the creation of the Director General and defines his powers. The Central Committee mentioned in article VIII, is composed of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. Up to this point it would appear that the United States could not be committed to any new obligations without their consent. But article VIII does not stop there, for in its last paragraph it contains the words:

Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote.

This provides a wide latitude for amendments without the consent of the United States and by its terms 30 nations combined together could involve this Nation to such an extent that a cause of war could easily be occasioned. We could easily be at the mercy of the Soviet Union which will be the dominant power in Europe and perhaps in Asia. The United Nations consist in large part of the British Dominions and the governments in exile. The Soviet Union from all present indications will completely absorb these governments in exile as they have Poland. Dare we rely on only one vote in such an international council

when the right to amend the underlying agreement is practically unlimited? Can we withdraw from such an international body without giving deep offense to the overpowering Soviet Union? Would this not amount to a gross betrayal of our gallant sons who are fighting and dying to preserve this great Republic?

In the pamphlet issued by Food For Freedom, Inc., an organization which has promoted U. N. R. R. A., there are 20 questions and answers and it is of vital importance that we call attention to the following:

18. What is the relationship between U. N. R. R. A., which is an international organization, and the United States agencies concerned with foreign affairs? In the relief and rehabilitation field all foreign operations will be carried out by the United Nations organization and the foreign operations of the United States agencies in this field will end.

This means the end of the American Red Cross, and could very seriously hamper the American Army in the field.

19. Will joining U. N. R. R. A. involve the United States in entangling alliances?

U. N. R. R. A. is in no sense a system of world government. Individual countries make their own decisions as to their part in the operation of the plan. It is not a political alliance. It is temporary and limited in nature. It will encourage the United States to agree to membership in some form of world government only if our citizens become convinced that it is to our national interest to join with other nations in the common solution of world problems other than relief and rehabilitation. No commitment of such action is made by the participation of the United States in U. N. R. R. A.

This is a positive admission by the proponents of U. N. R. R. A. that it is a world government so far as relief and rehabilitation are concerned. How can the Congress of the United States by a joint resolution of both Houses of the Congress place the United States in a world government when even a treaty cannot do this?

It is time for the American people to realize that no international agreement or treaty can change the character of this Government. The Constitution of the United States ordained and established a republic and there is no authority to place this Republic in a United Nations world government, even to the extent of relief and rehabilitation. For we cannot overlook the fact that in the agreement constituting U. N. R. R. A. there is the right of amendment to extend far beyond mere relief and rehabilitation and into full world government. I desire to call attention to the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the historic case of *Geofroy v. Riggs* (133 U. S. 258, 267), in which the opinion was written by Mr. Justice Field and establishing forevermore this fundamental principle:

The treaty power, as expressed in the Constitution, is in terms unlimited except by those restraints which are found in that instrument against the action of the Government or of its departments, and those arising from the nature of the Government itself and of that of the States. It would not be contended that it extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the Government

or in that of one of the States, or a cession of any portion of the territory of the latter, without its consent.

We have heard a great deal about the creation of a world super state, world government, one world and union now and many enthusiastic internationalists seem to be laboring under the false impression that it is merely a matter of passing an act of Congress to place the Republic of the United States permanently in such a world government. This fallacious reasoning does violence to every principle and concept of our American constitutional system and it is high time that this fallacy be exposed. Let it be understood once and forever that our form of government cannot be changed by any act of our people or by any act of any of the three great departments of our Government. The Constitution of the United States can be amended according to its terms but there are limitations as to the extent of such amendments. In article V of the Constitution the method of amendment is outlined and it takes a vote of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress or two-thirds of the legislatures of the 48 States and ratification of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States or by conventions in three-fourths of the States. But it is expressly provided that no amendment can be adopted depriving any State without its consent of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

It is well understood in American constitutional law that the Constitution creates a Federal Government with fixed and limited powers and that all powers "not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Article I, section 3 of the Constitution provides:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State.

It will thus be seen that no representative designated in any U. N. R. R. A. agreement can have any legislative authority over the people of the United States or of any of its property or territory and that Congress has no authority to create any council or central committee. Such designations are absolutely foreign to this Republic. There is no sanction under the established law of the United States which has existed unbroken for over 150 years to approve any such international body. For it must be conceded that if the Senate of the United States by treaty cannot change the character of this Government, certainly a joint resolution of both Houses cannot do so. It is a monstrous proposition and should not receive any consideration short of contempt at the hands of the Members of this Congress, who have taken a solemn oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. Any Member of Congress voting for such a measure will be retired by the people when they understand the facts.

I take this occasion to appeal to the President of the United States and those in authority to cease and desist from any further attempts to subvert the Constitution of the United States. Our



people are becoming restless and discouraged. The constant proposals which undermine the very character of this Republic are weakening our national morale and causing disunity. We face a great crisis. It will require every ounce of strength of all of our people to win the victory which we deserve. This is a political year but we must not play politics at the expense of overthrowing this Republic by internal discord. The American people are patient and loyal and are willing to make every sacrifice for the common good to win this war. But they are forever determined that they will not surrender the liberty ordained and established by the Constitution of the United States and they want no part of any world government, world superstate, one world, or union now. And they are sick and tired of secret arrangements and slick subversions that undermine our great charter of freedom. This joint resolution is a vicious attempt to edge us into a world government and has no bearing on the vital problem of winning the war. The Army has not asked for U. N. R. R. A. The hearings are silent upon any such testimony. General Marshall did not ask for it. Nor did Secretary Stimson. This is not a war measure. It is a political move to involve us in world government. We can supply all needed relief as we have done with a generous hand in the past. No Member can ever justify a vote for a measure so plainly in direct repudiation of the welfare and integrity of the United States of America.

(Mr. DAY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BRADLEY].

(Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, we have a very important piece of legislation under consideration at this time. It is basically of importance because we know not how many more similar Executive agreements may be brought before this body for ratification and appropriation. As usual this forerunner, of what I predict will be many more similar requests for American largess, is presented to us not only as a necessity of war but also as a great humanitarian measure.

Now let me say at the outset that no one can deny the desirability, even the military necessity, for the immediate rehabilitation of the liberated peoples. No one can deny the importance of gaining as soon as possible the good will of the peoples of the presently conquered nations. No one can deny the sound fundamental reasoning that the sooner these conquered nations are rehabilitated, the sooner they can become prosperous, the sooner the entire world will recover from the effects of this gruesome struggle and the sooner the entire world, including ourselves, will financially benefit therefrom. No one can deny the possibility of pestilence invading a liberated, starving nation, but only a fool can insist

that such pestilence must be avoided in order to protect the health of any Allied troops that might occupy that area for police or administrative purposes, when one considers for one moment the remarkable medical records that have been made by our Army medical authorities in this war. And in passing, it might be well to note the measure before us provides that the U. N. R. R. A. cannot enter previously occupied territory unless and until the military authorities have in effect evacuated and has permitted them to follow in.

My objection to this legislation, Mr. Chairman, is founded not on its aims, not on its ideals, it is founded rather upon its method of presentation. It is founded upon its possible unconstitutionality, it is founded upon its possible future implications and obligations for our country, and it is founded upon the fact that I ask—as do so many other millions and millions of our people, just how much longer can we continue to impose an ever increasing strangling debt upon our future generations—the sons and daughters of those who are fighting today to preserve America for Americans and do their part in restoring this world to a world of peace?

Mr. Chairman, throughout all the decades of time from its very birth, this Nation has been known as a humanitarian nation. Never has it failed to meet its world-wide responsibilities in this regard. There are those who still would cast scorn upon those of us who believe in America first; there are those who would call us isolationists. I challenge them to point out any instance in the history of this Nation when humanitarian principles were involved or relief or succor desired for anyone in need that this Nation, through its patriotically inspired and quasi public or private institutions, such as the Red Cross, the Quakers, and other religious organizations, failed to meet their responsibilities in bringing aid, comfort, and relief to those who had suffered some grievous injury. That can and should be done again in this very instance by means of popular contribution on the part of the American people who can afford it rather than through the means of governmental largess at the expense of our future taxpayers. Yet this legislation prohibits such voluntary help, except under strict control of the director of U. N. R. R. A.

Let us consider the history of this particular legislation. Let us go back a bit further and give some thought to the international policies of our Nation and the statesmanship emanating from our great State Department, operating under this New Deal.

The New Deal came into power in 1933. Hitler came into power in 1935. How many of the Members of this House recall the devious machinations of this administration and the State Department during those long-ago days of the Neutrality Act, when the President was to be called upon to deny shipments of instruments of war to either of the belligerents at war? Do you remember that for some strange reason, possibly emanating from No. 10 Downing Street in London, the President denied that a state of war

existed between China and Japan and so we proceeded to supply arms and munitions to both. We continued to ship scrap iron, high-octane gasoline, lubricating oils to Japan right up to the last. In fact, it has been said that on the very day Pearl Harbor was attacked, at least two ships were then on the west coast taking on gasoline and oil for Japan. Why? Well, did it ever occur to you, Mr. Chairman, that certain interests in this country were making pretty handsome profits out of the delivery of those war materials to Japan?

On the other hand, how many of you recall that when the Russians invaded Finland, it was again determined that a state of war did not exist and we sent help to our then friends—the courageous Finns—that little nation which even today—even while she is in the international doghouse—has never failed to meet her financial obligations to this country. Even then we sent her arms and equipment and aircraft, aircraft taken from our own marine flyers right here in the District of Columbia, who later so courageously defended Wake Island. And again I ask you, How many of you recall a statement made on the floor of this House, I believe in 1940, by the esteemed gentleman from New York, Mr. DANIEL REED, that it was American, British, and French capital that was primarily responsible for, and a contributing factor in, the rearmament of Germany and the creation of the Frankenstein monster, Adolf Hitler? The gentleman from New York [Mr. REED] made that charge right on the floor of this House and he made a further charge that there had been an international agreement reached after a conference in London that there was to be a phony war staged in Europe as a result of which England, France, and Germany would control the entire continent of Europe, and would seek to control the markets of the world, in order to freeze us out. The gentleman from New York made those accusations on the floor of this House, stating at the time that they were a matter of record in the files of our State Department here; and so far as I know, I have never heard either of those charges successfully refuted on the floor of this House. The point I am making in bringing up this past history is the fact that our diplomats or statesmen in our State Department knew what was going on in the world, or should have known, and, having known, our policy should have been to prevent this war and we had it within our power to do so.

Well, we can all remember that after this war started with the invasion of Poland by Germany and Russia, that time the President finally decided that there was a war going on and that, therefore, under the Neutrality Act, all belligerents could expect no help from this country until we lifted the arms embargo. Then we can all remember that it was a case of giving Britain the tools and she would come and get them and do the job. Then we can all remember that it was not long before this Nation was flooded with a campaign slogan that "Britain delivers the goods." Then we can all recall that it was not long after—



ward that we began to take the famous steps "short of war" and how often it was stated—again and again—on this floor that those steps short of war were the surest way to keep out of war.

Who can fail to remember the campaign of 1940? "I hate war. Again and again, your boys will never be sent to die on foreign fields." Yes, that cry was uttered over and over again not only by one candidate for the Presidency but by his opponent, and we were told later that perhaps that might have been campaign oratory.

Well, now let us see if the State Department is running true to form in this instance and let us look at the history of this particular legislation and then see whether or not you feel this is the way to accomplish these admittedly desirable humanitarian results?

Mr. Chairman, as was stated here yesterday by the eminent gentleman from New Jersey, this program of the U. N. R. R. A. was started in England in September 1941 when a meeting was held in St. James's Palace with representatives of the various exiled governments. Both the Soviet Government and ourselves were represented at that meeting; we by an observer only. The Soviets did not join the committee then formed, because it was British dominated. From that meeting came the Inter-Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements and, in order to have a secretariat which could get to work on the actual problems, the British Government created a bureau, entirely British, headed up by Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, who had also been selected as chairman of the Inter-Allied Committee. This committee proceeded to get facts, although it was handicapped by not only lack of funds but the fact that the exiled governments were pretty well disorganized and their available records were very scanty indeed.

Also, as was stated here yesterday, one of the reasons this organization got under way was the fact that it had been learned that certain of the exiled governments were employing their funds to purchase and store up in South-American countries certain supplies which they would need for their own rehabilitation in the post-war world; and it was embarrassing the over-all war effort to have these certain commodities removed from the market and put into storage.

After we had entered the war, following Pearl Harbor, we, of course, had a full representative on the committee and thenceforth proceeded seemingly to take the lead in working out some more satisfactory United Nations formula or agreement.

As is customary in the operations of our State Department, the first thing we did was to send to Britain to bring them over here to establish our State Department's policy for us. Consequently, Sir Frederick Leith-Ross was brought over here for a matter of several months and in cooperation with our State Department, and doubtless taking the lead in those discussions, we began to draft some sort of a workable agreement to which the other nations could conform.

Then we sent out a call inviting delegates from the 44 nations allied directly

or associated with us in opposition to the Axis—to enjoy the bounty of the United States at our famous resort in Hot Springs, Va. This meeting was, of course, called the International Food Conference and was held during the last 2 weeks of May of last year. As is rather well known to this House, the gentleman from Ohio, Dr. SMITH, and myself rather unofficially attended that conference. We found that our Government had taken over the facilities of the Homestead Hotel in Hot Springs and for a nominal sum of \$5 per day—paid by their governments—these international delegates enjoyed the bounty of the United States for which presumably our Government—just as did the gentleman from Ohio, Dr. SMITH, and myself—paid the usual rate of \$14 per day. And I might add, we paid ours out of our own pockets so the Government is out nothing as far as we are concerned.

We had a very interesting time and we saw very many interesting things and met many interesting people. We found among other things on our arrival that for some strange reason, not now apparent in this debate, the press of the United States had been denied access to this International Food Conference. They were quartered outside as if they were some scourge to be avoided. This was a mistake in State Department, or perhaps White House, policy that was later freely admitted. One of the news correspondents who arrived at the meeting was surprised on his drive down to run across a newspaper distributor from that section of Virginia, the rear end of whose car was jammed with current newspapers returned to him by the hotel newsstand under the excuse that they could not be sold. We quickly ascertained that no newspaper was displayed on that newsstand whose editorial opinions or whose headlines seemed offensive to this administration. Such papers as the Chicago Tribune, Washington Times-Herald, and New York Journal-American for some reason could not find their way to the newsstand. Later they did to the ratio of possibly six Chicago Tribunes to perhaps 100 Chicago Daily Suns banked on top of the poor little Tribune.

Meanwhile our State Department presumably with the cooperation of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, had been working diligently and they had brought forth a tentative document setting up the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The Honorable Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, brought that document down to Hot Springs while Dr. Smith and myself were present. Previous to that this tentative draft had been submitted to the President of the United States for his perusal and he had called a meeting, attended by leaders of both parties of the House and Senate and Secretary Hull and Governor Lehman, who had been selected by the President to preside on this forerunner of a possible world super state. Mr. Acheson likewise attended and at that time, in the presence of that august body, he went over a tentative outline of this proposal. He did not read it word for word, but he did give that

gathering the general idea and on completion of that meeting at the White House immediately started for Hot Springs. No one can convince me otherwise but that this so-called Food Conference was called for the particular purpose of presenting this preliminary draft to the nations present. Frequently it has been said here that there was nothing undercover about this entire transaction. Mr. Chairman, that is a misstatement of fact to which the gentleman from Ohio will voice his approval. There was nothing open and above-board about that obviously British dominated meeting at Hot Springs that we could discover. It was all covered by a smoke screen of obscurity.

It is true that on June 10, 1943, the State Department issued a release to the newspapers of this Nation, not only issuing a statement in connection with this U. N. R. R. A. program, but likewise submitted to the press the tentative draft that had been submitted at the Hot Springs meeting, and it had issued this release, as Mr. Acheson stated, because they had benefited by the unfortunate experience which they had had at the Food Conference. For some strange reason, with one or two minor exceptions, the press of this Nation missed this release and did not give it the publicity it deserved. Now, bear in mind that was June 10 that that release was issued. Shortly thereafter some of the Members of our esteemed House Committee on Foreign Affairs met informally off the record with Mr. Dean Acheson to have him explain this program to them.

As a result of this meeting on July 7, 1943, the chairman of this great committee called the committee together and had the Honorable Dean Acheson present and suggested to our esteemed gentlewoman from Ohio—

Mrs. BOLTON, will you kindly explain to the committee your idea of the purpose of the meeting this morning?

At which time the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] suggested that perhaps the committee would be interested in having Mr. Acheson explain to that committee the program which had been submitted almost 2 months earlier to the United Nations Food Conference at Hot Springs. That, Mr. Chairman—July 7, 1943—is the first time our House Foreign Affairs Committee met to have this program explained to them, and it was then, and only then, that our State Department had come to the Congress of the United States with a program to which this country had already been committed insofar as the State Department could commit it. And so, Mr. Chairman, much as I respect and admire my good friend, the chairman of this committee, I must say that when—if I understood him correctly yesterday—he sought to give out the impression that this legislation before us, with its agreement for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration written into House Joint Resolution 192—and which it states on line 10 of page 1 was "established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and associated governments on November 9,



1943"—is directly the result of the work of his committee or of the Senate committee or a combination of both, I cannot conclude that such is the case. I have carefully gone over the bill before us and I find it almost identical with the program submitted to the Hot Springs Conference, which was read and explained line by line to the Foreign Affairs Committee on July 7, 1943. Mostly minor changes therein have been made, presumably at the request of some of the smaller powers to diminish some of the powers of the Central Committee, composed of the four larger nations, and the escape clause in article X added. If that was brought about by the committee it deserves our thanks. The devilry, if any, had been done. We had been committed in principle almost 2 months earlier. To those who would deny this, let me ask this one question: How can any responsible government, a presumably responsible official of a government, submit a proposed agreement in writing to a conference of 44 nations without itself immediately assuming not only its responsibility therefor but its commitment to enter into the proposed agreement?

Now some interesting things developed at that meeting of the committee with Dean Acheson. Among them was established the birthright for the famous Fulbright resolution. The esteemed gentleman from Arkansas questioned the advisability, or desirability, of the State Department's proceeding that far with a commitment on the part of the United States without some authorization from Congress. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] recognized that we had been, or at least would be, committed to, at least on good faith, participate in such an organization. He asked quite pointedly whether all that was left for the Congress to do was to appropriate the funds requested in this bill. Mr. Acheson did not dodge the issue but admitted frankly that the Congress had been bypassed to some extent but that, controlling as it presumably does the purse strings of this country, as provided in the Constitution, we would not need to participate effectively if we did not appropriate the money. That truly was quite a concession, but Mr. Acheson did confide that it would be indeed embarrassing if we did not contribute. It was then that the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] suggested that in order at least to save face, perhaps, it should support the State Department in further negotiations on this program as well as in making future international commitments by adopting some simple resolution to be passed by the Congress, and which resolution I interpreted, at the time when I voted against it, would give carte blanche authority to the State Department or to the Chief Executive to proceed at will in future circumvention of the House and Senate, to say nothing of the Constitution.

Mr. Chairman, the way this thing has been handled, and armed with the authority of the Fulbright resolution, there is not the shadow of doubt in my mind but that we might possibly conclude a

peace treaty without the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States as provided in the Constitution, which we have all taken an oath to uphold and defend. And I might say in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that at that historic meeting on July 7, 1943, even my good friend the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs himself was inclined to voice considerable indignation at the fact that the State Department should proceed in the drafting and in the securing of the acquiescence of our United Nations to a program as comprehensive as this without having previously brought the matter before his committee, as it properly should have been and before the similar committee of the Senate. The chairman of this great committee pointed out distinctly that too frequently it has been the policy of the State Department to bypass the duly elected congressional bodies of this Nation when policies such as this are being established, and then bringing them in—and then only hurriedly—before the Appropriations Committee with a blanket request for an appropriation for something which had never been before a legislative committee and on which hearings had been held and constitutional legislative authorization been had. The chairman of this committee was absolutely right in his stand. I am pleased to say that the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, agreed with him. But I repeat, Congress was not taken into consideration in advance on this measure; it will probably and undoubtedly not be taken into account on future measures. Again and again we will be handed a pig in a poke with an implied commitment already made; and we will lose faith and lose face with the nations of the world unless we acquiesce in, and support, the commitments already made by a group of pseudo statesmen who have proven themselves totally incapable of matching wits with the statesmen of world politics.

I agree with the statement made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISHL], and I join with him in admiration of Mr. Winston Churchill. I join with him in admiration of Mr. Josef Stalin. I join with him in admiration for Gen. Chiang Kai-shek. I join with him in admiration of these three men because they are everlastingly steadfast in putting the interests of their own nation first. With Mr. Churchill it is England first; with Stalin, Russian interests have never been known to suffer, and with Chiang Kai-shek it is China first, last, and always. It is about time that somebody in this country gives some little thought to America first. Let us quit this game of international ring-around-the-rosy. Let us give some thought to the fact that Uncle Sam is now expending more money on the war effort than all the other nations of the world combined. Let us give some thought to the fact that we are draining our Nation's natural resources faster than all the other nations of the world combined. Let us give some thought to the fact that money does not grow on trees here or anywhere else. Let us give some thought to the post-war program of relief and rehabilitation in our own country, among our own return-

ing soldiers after this war shall have been won. Let the cost of rehabilitating the devastated nations come out of the voluntary contributions of those, who, following the precepts of our own history, will at the conclusion of this war seek to profit from their participation in the rehabilitation of the devastated nations and, lastly, let us assume a realistic foreign policy in the future that will protect this Nation forevermore from any threats of involvement in foreign wars and in the prevention of the use of American dollars in the creation of any more Frankensteins like Hitler and Tojo, in order that they may again be turned loose on a peaceful world in order that some of these selfish individuals can prosper by the war emergency created thereby.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT].

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, during the debate in this House yesterday, the various members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs explained in detail the functions and the purposes of this resolution. I doubt that I can add anything of value to what has been said. Furthermore, the report of the committee hearings contains an exhaustive, detailed account of all that has been done or is contemplated in this resolution.

Some 4 months ago this Congress, by the significant majority of 360 to 29, approved the basic policy that this Nation should henceforth participate with the other nations of the world, in an effort to achieve a just and lasting peace. Since that declaration, three great conferences have been held by the four most powerful nations of the world. A start has been made toward the goal of international cooperation for the maintenance of peace. I recognize, of course, that these are only the first gropings of a tortured and suspicious world, and that the road to peace is going to be much longer and, in an entirely different sense, even more difficult of attainment than is a military victory in this war. It will be a long, evolutionary process, made up of many mistakes and constant differences of opinions, yet I still think that the urge to peace is so strong and the alternative so disastrous that eventually our reason will triumph over our prejudices and emotions.

This bill we are now considering is the first concrete, specific step to be taken by this Congress in carrying forward our determination to participate with the other peace-loving nations in a common undertaking. It has been suggested here that after the last war, under the direction of Mr. Hoover, we did a good job of relief on our own and without all this bother of a cooperative organization and, therefore, why should not we do the same now. Several reasons were pointed out why circumstances require this approach this time, but I think perhaps the most persuasive reason of all is that if our policy, henceforth, is to be that of cooperation with other nations to keep the peace, then why not start to cooperate at the first opportunity. The very fact that this is a cooperative venture of 44 nations is one of its principal virtues. If we can make a success of this effort, we will have,



learned not only that the other peoples of the United Nations are after all pretty decent, just as we are, but also we will have demonstrated to ourselves and to the world that we are capable of intelligent cooperation with other nations. This will be an invaluable experience when we come to the much more difficult questions inherent in the problem of cooperation in the political and economic fields. In other words, I might say this is our first lesson preparatory to vastly most difficult tasks which all of us know lie ahead, and which we should not put off considering until they are upon us.

Let us assume, for the purpose of illustration, that this organization works satisfactorily to all concerned. Is it not quite possible that, with perhaps only slight alterations, this same kind of organization could be adapted to the broader problems of the control of force and prevention of aggression? In any case, to me one of the principal merits of this bill is that it does create a cooperative organization through which 44 nations will meet, discuss and make decisions for the welfare of all. In the adoption of this bill, there is no risk whatever to our independence of action and the cost is only what ordinary humanity will demand, and about what we will pay, even though no commitment to do so is made.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I think the gentleman has put his finger on one of the most appealing arguments in behalf of U. N. R. R. A.—it certainly has been one of the arguments that influenced me—and that is that it provides a convenient working opportunity to experiment in collaboration, and that is one reason why, in addition to relief, I would like to see India included so that she may have with us that experience in collaboration.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I thank the gentleman.

Yesterday one of the opponents of this bill stated that its passage will be a great victory for Stalin. I was unable to follow the reasoning by which this remarkable conclusion was reached. I will confess that I agree that Mr. Stalin, if asked, probably would favor this bill for the same reasons that our committee favors it, which is the future stability and peace of the world. The Russian Government has, of course, as everyone knows, signed this agreement. If the Russians were primarily interested, as was implied, in imposing communism upon the whole of Europe, they undoubtedly would oppose this bill. Communism or fascism, in fact any violent change in the established order, does not generate and spread among a people adequately fed and treated with justice. Hitler knew that his new order would never be accepted by a decent world, and that is one reason why he proceeded to use unprecedented savagery to reduce the conquered peoples to such abject desperation that they would accept anything. Likewise, if Stalin was primarily interested in promoting communism throughout the world, rather than peace, he would have nothing to do with a plan to bring help

to the starving and helpless people of Europe. On the contrary, he would seek to further their misery, knowing full well that out of their confusion and helplessness they would naturally turn to communism as they have done before. I think that Russia's support of this organization is in itself evidence that, first and foremost, Stalin is interested in the establishment of order and peace in the world so that his own country may have an opportunity to develop and prosper.

A further reference was made yesterday by a different speaker to the effect that Mr. Stalin and Mr. Churchill were interested, first, last, and all the time, in the welfare of their own countries and that our only standard should be our own welfare. The implication of these remarks, as delivered, was that neither of those two gentlemen is, nor should we, be interested in any kind of international organization. I accept the standard that we should primarily be interested in our welfare and that Stalin and Churchill are interested in theirs. That is certainly my interest in this matter. I reach, however, from this premise exactly the opposite conclusion from that of my colleague.

It so happens, I believe, under conditions existing in the world today, and in view of the terrific destruction of modern war, that the selfish interests of all three of these great countries demand that something be done to prevent the recurrence of total war. If Stalin and Churchill are half as smart as my colleague implies, I am confident that they are not as shortsighted in evaluating the true interests of their countries as he would lead us to believe. If we but grant that there is such a thing as enlightened, farsighted self-interest as opposed to the hand-to-mouth, day-to-day, narrow selfishness of the emotionally unstable, then I think we could agree that it is self-interest, enlightened self-interest, which motivates Stalin, but that that self-interest demands a lasting peace, and a lasting peace means peace with justice.

I do not think for a moment that Stalin is a do-gooder or philanthropist. I do think he is a highly rational man with the ability to evaluate the future. He foresaw, for example, the present war better than did this Government and, without his foresight and ability to prepare for what he saw, we would be in a sorry plight today.

The danger to the peace of the world and to our own prosperity is not the cold, rational self-interest of Stalin and Churchill. The real danger is the muddle-headed emotionalism of pseudo patriots who think by appealing to the petty and shortsighted selfishness of human beings, they are preserving a world that has already vanished. If a better world is to be created out of this terrible mess we are in, reason and foresight and national self-interest must guide us and not our prejudices and emotions.

It seems to me that the fact that we have never before followed a certain policy or procedure is not a sufficient reason for not doing so now. I cannot see why some of those who have influenced our policy in the past can, in view of the

present condition of the world, be very proud of it today. Why cannot we admit that perhaps we have been slow to adjust ourselves to modern conditions and have made mistakes? As someone has said, "All men make mistakes, but only fools persist in them." I do not, by any means, imply that our unilateral relief in Europe after the last war was in itself a mistake. I think our policy of political isolation was. This resolution is a real step along the road of rectifying that mistake.

In conclusion, may I say that I think one of the principal reasons why it is difficult for us to bring ourselves to assume our proper share of the responsibility for the affairs of this world is the fact that it is almost beyond the powers of any of us truly to visualize, to appreciate, to feel the enormous power and significance of this great country of ours. Each of us in this House, as individuals, represent such a small portion of this Nation that we cannot help but compare our own districts to the world and feel that the world expects too much of us. But if we are to continue as a great nation, we must, through some means, realize that we are, one might say, not just one nation. We are 48 nations, many of which are individually far wealthier than the vast majority of the 44 signatories to the U. N. R. R. A. agreement. Not only are we rich and powerful but our success in self-government and our traditional abhorrence of aggression by violence has given us a unique power of moral leadership among the nations of the world. If we could but know our power and then wield it boldly and courageously instead of timidly and apologetically, I am confident that there are few things we could not, together with our allies, accomplish. I shall support this resolution, and I sincerely hope that this House will show to the world that our recent declaration of policy was not just a pious platitude.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield now to the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. MURDOCK].

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Chairman, I support this resolution wholeheartedly. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Chairman, I am supporting this resolution wholeheartedly for reasons many of which have been explained by others, and for which I will take only a limited amount of time to explain further. On September 20 last year when the Fulbright resolution was before the House I spoke in favor of it and voted for it with the hope that it would help to prevent the recurrence of another war such as this. Early in November on the eve of the signing of an international agreement among the 44 United Nations to care for the relief and rehabilitation of Europe, I said:

At the close of the World War, I remember that America furnished relief and much rehabilitation to Europe, some of which found its way directly or indirectly into rearmament. I saw a generation of young people grow up in poverty in this land of abundance as a result of our national folly after that



war. Most of our sons now dying on the battle fronts of the world to save us a second time from savagery have already twice been the victims of America's blunders. Do we want another "lost generation" now in the nursery to starve through their teen-age years before being fed to the cannon of the third world war?

It might seem that I am inconsistent in the attitude expressed on September 20 and on November 8, with reference to this relief work in Europe. I assure you that I am not inconsistent. I have already assured the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] that I appreciate his contribution, and have all along supported it as I understood his intention, being cautious that our efforts shall not be misdirected so that undesirable results could flow from our charitable actions.

Having just listened to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] author of the resolution which the House adopted overwhelmingly on September 20, I want to compliment him again and praise his efforts on this commendable work. As he has just told us, the move we are considering today in this resolution is the beginning step for our Nation in international cooperation. If we take this first step in practical cooperation cautiously, I think it certainly is a step in the right direction. The gentleman from Arkansas may well be proud that it is the outgrowth of the resolution which bears his name. Of course, he may be justly proud of the part he has had to play as a member of the committee which initiates such legislation.

As I indicated in the House on December 6, I have been giving thought to many proposals for an effective and lasting peace. Such is the great desire of all of us, and it is a weighty and binding obligation imposed upon us as a sacred trust, if we are not to break faith with those who die in this global war. It is futile to think of a sensible plan for an enduring peace without thinking of a feasible and constitutional way of adopting such a plan. If this is a good plan for world wide relief, embodied in House Joint Resolution 192, as a beginning step, possibly additional steps leading to that enduring peace may be taken the same way this is taken. I am sure it can be done constitutionally and within the limits of our solemn obligation which we took on becoming Members of Congress.

Much has been said here about constitutional method of our international relations. There are those who read the treaty-making provision in the Constitution and hold that international agreements must be adopted by the treaty-making process. I do not subscribe to that view. I maintain that the Constitution makers intended more than one method of providing legally for agreements between nations into which our Government enters as a party, and that the treaty-making provision is only one of these methods. I have studied American history enough to know that two methods have been used.

I maintain that the admission of Texas, a sovereign republic and an independent nation, as a State into this union by joint action of both Houses of Congress

was as constitutional as though it had been admitted by treaty arrangement. Not only is it just as constitutional but it is more democratic to have the Nation's will expressed by a majority vote in both Houses of Congress than it is to have the Nation's will thwarted by about a one-third vote in only one House of Congress.

Assuming, Mr. Chairman, that the will of a majority of our citizens can be legally expressed by this method of legislation, and I believe it can, and that the heartfelt wishes of the American people can be properly carried out with prudence in cooperation with the other nations, each doing its fair part, I believe that this measure will save the war-torn world from chaos, will alleviate untold suffering, and lay the basis for an enduring peace. I furthermore believe that the same process carried a step further will enable America to do her part wisely to rehabilitate a devastated world in a practical way while at the same time enforcing the freedom from war which we have twice had to finish.

In carrying out this peace program I want it done in such a way as not to make the American people the scapegoat and not to victimize American children now in the nursery, as was done before. History must not repeat itself in this respect, as could be done and might be done. By repeating the follies of the twenties the children of today could be also victimized twice by being deprived of what they should have during their teenage years and then being called upon to die for their country in about 20 years from now. That is the thing we must not permit to happen again. These children must inherit peace and security instead of an increasing hazard.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS].

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I am not going to be so presumptuous as to assume that I can add anything of much weight to what has already been said. I do want to touch by way of reiteration on a few of the points already made by those who favor this legislation. Let us boil this thing down to just a simple formula. There is no use making anything complicated about it. This whole thing boils down to just two or three questions, and if we can resolve the doubt in our minds as to those questions I think we can very easily vote for the legislation. A good many points have been raised against the resolution; three or four of them are of some importance, and I shall direct a few of my remarks to them. However, no question has been raised in the first instance as to the need for help by the distressed peoples of the earth today, particularly the victims of war. There is need there, we all admit. Very well, let us start from that basis. There is an obligation on the part of somebody. There is an obligation on the part of the nations of the earth to do something about it.

That is elementary and I am sure we will all get together there. I am sure, too, that we will all get together on the proposition that the United States

should help. That is in line with the history of the United States. She always has heeded the cry of distressed and suffering peoples.

Mr. O'HARA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield.

Mr. O'HARA. Does the gentleman know of any country in the world that has been more generous in answering the cry of distressed humanity in any part of the world than the United States of America?

Mr. RICHARDS. I know of no country that has been more generous, just as the gentleman has stated. That is why we well know we are going to be generous in this instance.

Now the question is, How are we going to go about it? During the last World War, or just shortly after it, we gave, as has been said here time and time again, and I reiterate, we gave about three or four billion dollars to relief. Take the picture and the problem then and compare it to what the problem is now and just ask the question, Are we going to do that much, or are we going to do more, and is the responsibility of this Nation and other nations of the world greater today than it was in 1919? In 1919, or shortly after the First World War, Denmark had not been overrun; Norway had not been overrun; Holland had not been overrun; part of Belgium had not been overrun; France had not been overrun; Italy had not been overrun; China had not been overrun; thousands and thousands of islands in the Pacific had not been overrun.

This bill provides a mechanism for relief to be carried to the victims of war and aggression as we liberate these and other areas. We have a more gigantic problem today than we ever had before. That is agreed. How are we going to go about it? Is the United States going to be Santa Claus again and let the other nations of the earth say "There is rich Uncle Sam. He can shoulder the burden"? Are we going to shoulder the entire responsibility as we did during the last war, not only in the matter of a relief contribution of three or four billions but also billions and billions of dollars poured out as loans on which we never received a cent?

Now, the United States of America, as the gentleman from Ohio has said, has been a leader in the community-welfare plan. That plan has been successful in every hamlet, in every city, in every State of the United States that has tried it. The community plan seeks to equalize the individual burden. U. N. R. R. A. seeks to equalize the national burden.

Members have questioned the amount that the United States is going to contribute. It has long been a principle of our system of taxation that ability to pay should be the basis of taxation. We have a progressive system of taxation—income tax. That question came up at Atlantic City. The 1 percent, based on national income in 1943, seems to be a very fair proposition, particularly insofar as the United States is concerned, because it does not progress into the higher brackets where the United States, the Nation that has got the highest in-



come of any nation on the face of the earth, has to pay more in proportion. Now, if anybody has a kick about that, it seems to me it should be some of these poor nations down in South America. That is the way it looks to me. Some have said, "I am against this bill because I am for the United States first." All right, take it from the standpoint of the United States alone. I am willing for the bill to stand or fall on that premise.

This bill is a good bill for us from the standpoint of the military. We are performing major war operations all over the world today. We are recapturing territory overrun by the enemy every day. Our military leaders are crying for some organization to come and take charge of this territory as they retake it, and help clean it up and let the military go ahead and fight and win this war. The military wants this bill, but let it be understood that U. N. R. R. A. will not take charge of any recovered territory unless and until the military asks it to go in. This organization must cooperate with the military in its operations. It is certainly a military advantage for us to provide contentment and peace and satisfaction and quiet instead of chaos behind our fighting lines, sometimes only 2 or 3 miles away. The \$1,350,000,000 authorized here as the United States' contribution to U. N. R. R. A. amounts to the current cost of 5 days of this war. This Congress knows the War Department could come up here through the Committee on Military Affairs and ask us now to give General Eisenhower or General Clark \$1,350,000,000 to support his secondary lines and we would give it to him without question. We have done it again and again. This \$1,350,000,000 is just as important to the success of our arms as some of the billions we have appropriated for the Army and Navy themselves.

How about the economic side of the question? In looking forward we must remember that we will have a lot of young men coming back after this war is won and lots of young boys and girls in this country now who are too young to go to war who are looking toward the horizon of the future. The good will which we shall have created by approval of this bill will provide a fertile field for the youth of America.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. I yield 5 additional minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RICHARDS. Now, you cannot do business with a ruined country. You cannot do business with a disillusioned people. You cannot grow crops in a field that is not fertile. That is all there is to it. There are some farmers here who know that if a man's farm has been devastated by flood or otherwise and the man has not a dollar to spend upon it to produce another crop you are going to reach down in your pocket and furnish him the money for the seed in order that he may do business with you and pay you what he already owes. That is elementary.

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield.

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. The gentleman knows that there is an old saying in this country that a burned child stays away from the fire. You cited a moment ago the experiences we had following the last war, in which we were so generous but had been insulted when we tried to recover some of the assistance we had given in the form of loans. What lesson in history would you cite in order for us to believe we would obtain the benefit you cite by giving this assistance to them?

Mr. RICHARDS. We have never before tried an international community welfare plan of joint responsibility and joint action.

This is a new departure. Never in the history of the world have 44 nations sat down together and agreed to give, in proportion to what each has, for relief of those less fortunate.

Now, consider this bill from a political standpoint, if you please. One Member yesterday said something about it furthering Stalin's desire to control Europe. I do not put much faith in that contention. The things that will help out Stalin's movement and the Communist ideology in the liberated areas are disease, hunger, and nakedness. If we do nothing for these people, then will the man on horseback ride, whoever he may be.

Now, there has been raised here a question as to whether the President could pledge United States participation in U. N. R. R. A. by Executive agreement.

The gentleman from California [Mr. GEARHART] says U. N. R. R. A. is in reality a treaty and, insofar as United States participation is concerned, must be ratified by two-thirds vote of the Senate. I am willing to admit that there is no very clear line between Executive agreements and treaties. Presidents have differed about it and Congresses have differed about it. One of our great Presidents said that an Executive agreement was only an understanding that went out of force and effect when the President making it went out. I did not agree with that viewpoint. The able gentleman from California [Mr. GEARHART] took the position that Executive agreements with foreign nations are treaties. If that is the case, then every agreement signed by our President with the representatives of other nations must go to the Senate for confirmation and approval by a two-thirds vote.

Mr. GEARHART. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield.

Mr. GEARHART. Evidently, the gentleman did not listen to my statement. What I said was, whereas they are all treaties, or all treaties are agreements, I never contended that they all should be sent to the Senate. There are certain kinds of Executive agreements or treaties that do not have to be sent to the Senate. Those that are made by the Chief Executive under his specific powers conferred upon him by the Constitution, and those that are made pursuant to direction from the legislative branch of the Congress. They do not have to go to the Senate and do not have to be ratified.

Mr. RICHARDS. If I misunderstood the gentleman, or misquoted him, I beg his pardon. The record of yesterday will speak for itself. I do want to say that since the inception of our Government our Executives have entered into many treaties and many executive agreements with other governments. The line of demarcation between the two has never been entirely clear. Our Constitution deals with the subject only very briefly, so there is a large field left for common sense.

If an Executive agreement is not sufficient in the present instance, then many of our Presidents have been woefully mistaken. There have been about 1,200 Executive agreements in the history of our country, many of them not previously authorized by Congress. In this case the evidence shows that the President of the United States has tried to be absolutely fair with the Congress, both before and since he signed the U. N. R. R. A. agreement. That is as fair a test as any. I challenge any man in reading back over the history of treaties and Executive agreements to find one instance, where the Executive has been fairer, has tried harder to bring the legislative into his confidence than has been done in this instance. Senator VANDENBERG admitted that. The Foreign Relations Committee of the other body seems to be satisfied on that subject, and the other body is always jealous of its treaty-ratification rights and powers. Why should this House object to being brought into the confidence of the Senate and the Executive. If this agreement were a treaty we would have no say-so about it other than to appropriate money to carry out its terms. Before the master agreement was made this House was consulted. After it was made they asked us to come to the meeting at Atlantic City. Now we are passing on an authorization for participation. Someone has raised objection to the master agreement being made a part of the bill. It was placed there solely for the information of Members of the House and Senate, for no other purpose. I am informed that Senator VANDENBERG insisted on that.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Carolina has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MILLER].

(By unanimous consent, Mr. MILLER was granted permission to revise and extend his own remarks.)

[Mr. MILLER of Connecticut addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the distinguished constitutional authority from California [Mr. GEARHART].

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Chairman, I took an oath when I became a Member of this body, to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. Though I know there are some who may believe profoundly that I am in this instance mistaken in my interpretation of that great document, it will be my earnest endeavor to make good on that pledge.

Since this administration has been in power there has been a noticeable change



in its attitude toward the document which constitutes the fundamental law of our great country. As time has moved on it has become increasingly apparent that the administration has grown bolder in its profession of a new interpretation of old provisions of the Constitution, provisions which, in their most casual reading, seem so plain as to be beyond discussion or debate. As it gains courage in its new beliefs, in its pursuit of its false gods, we are treated to more bypassing, more burrowing under, more skipping around, more hopping over of its plainest provisions than anyone, raised in the tradition of the Constitution, could believe possible. While the deviation from time-honored interpretation is always accompanied by protestations of the noblest of purposes, in the end is ever revealed the ignoble objective—the avoidance of a plain mandate of the Constitution, that which was intended to be the fundamental law of the land.

Now, we find ourselves toying with words, dealing in sophistries and very fancy definitions in an effort to distinguish so-called executive agreements from that which we in the days gone by have known as treaties.

Let me assure you, my friends, that every international understanding is a treaty, that every international understanding is an agreement. It makes no difference whether you call them agreements or treaties or conventions or concords, or covenants or by any other name which one might use to describe a meeting of the minds of persons who are negotiating in behalf of governments. They are all international agreements, nothing more, nothing less. But I have never contended and I do not contend now that it is necessary to submit every international understanding, whether called Executive agreement or treaty, to the Senate for its advice and consent.

The President of the United States has the right to make international agreements in respect to the carrying into effect every responsibility that the Constitution reposes in him. True, they are few in number, but in respect to them he can make agreements and he does not have to submit them to the Senate of the United States.

There is another kind of agreement which he can negotiate and not have to submit to the Senate for ratification. The agreements in this classification are those which are executed under a preceding authorization from the legislative branch of the Government. Directives of this kind, theoretically at least, constitute the Chief Executive the agent of the legislature and that which he does is in reality its act. But every other kind of agreement, every other one that is consummated with another country, must be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent. In this category is the agreement, a copy of which is set forth in the joint resolution under consideration. A moment ago, I called attention to what has been described as a marked change of attitude toward the treaty-making prerogative, a change which has occurred in the last 12 years, during which this admin-

istration has been in power. Why this change has occurred men may differ, but the impartial observer, I am quite sure, would attribute it to the attitude of the Chief Executive himself. Just how important does the President regard constitutional law? Just how binding upon his conscience are its terms? Perhaps I should not assume to say on my own responsibility. In order that his views in respect to the inviolability of the Constitution of the United States and the obligation of citizens to support and defend it be made clear, permit me to quote that which he had to say in a letter he wrote way back in 1935 to the Honorable Samuel B. Hill, then a Representative from the State of Washington. These were his words:

I hope your committee will not permit doubts as to constitutionality, however reasonable, to block the suggested legislation.

It is from that expression that all these weird constitutional theories have flowed, those fantastic theories which have found expression in this resolution which is under consideration today. Such an expression of light regard of constitutional restraints was bound to be reflected in the thinking of subordinate administration officials, in the writings of those who hold high official responsibility under him.

Mr. Chairman, a distinguished member of the State Department, one, it is quite evident, who has been influenced unduly by the President's expressed disrespect for that which true constitutionalists have ever regarded as sacred, a Mr. Wallace McClure, wrote a book, a book upon which was conferred the high title "Democratic Procedure Under the Constitution," a book in which he discusses the question as to what shall be done with the functions of treaty making by consent of the Senate as prescribed by article II, section 2, of the Constitution.

He reveals quite methodically and in no uncertain terms his antipathy for the constitutional methods of validating international understandings, proclaiming his approval of the one-man method as opposed to the joint-action method in which the Executive and the Senate participate, condemning the latter as:

The undemocratic control of the treaty-making power by a minority of the Senate—

Which he asserts—  
contributed to irresponsibility—

In government and constituted the very—  
antithesis of democracy.

Just how the totalitarian action of one man is more democratic than is action in which elected representatives of the people participate is not by him made clear.

As a conclusion he asserts:

That for controversial international acts the Senate method may well be quietly abandoned and the instruments handled as Executive agreements.

In a grandiose concession to the sensibilities of others, he observes in a spirit of finality that perhaps no harm would result from the submission to the Senate of—

Large numbers of purely routine acts about which no public opinion exists and no question as to their acceptability arises.

That, Mr. Chairman, is the all-time low to which our constitutional treaty-making power has fallen in the estimation of this administration. It is that depth from which the American people must rescue it. Will their chosen representatives in the Congress of the United States remain silent in a crisis such as this?

And it might well be added, since it might be regarded as significant, that the author of that book and those quotations to which I have just referred, the Honorable Wallace McClure, has been duly rewarded. As soon as that book was released he was promoted, and a short time thereafter repromoted—lifted out of a position of obscurity in the State Department, elevated to a position of high eminence, holding today one of the highest responsibilities in the Foreign Service.

But there are others, some who are held in high esteem—persons whose love of country and respect for its institutions cannot be brought into question—who do not share the views of our present Chief Executive or his promotion-seeking apologist.

As a contrast to the views of the President, let me quote—

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Chairman, may I have some additional time?

Mr. EATON. I am sorry; I cannot yield or I would impinge on eternity.

Mr. GEARHART. Can the gentleman from New York let me have any additional time?

Mr. BLOOM. I am sorry, but I have none available.

Mr. GEARHART. I know how sorry the gentlemen are. Unfortunately, I am against the resolution. Passing strange how much time there is for those who are for it.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GORE].

Mr. GORE. Mr. Chairman, today and also on yesterday the propriety and constitutionality of this measure was questioned on the grounds that this United Nations' agreement constituted, or was tantamount to, a treaty which must be submitted to the Senate for ratification by a two-thirds majority. Had this interpretation, sincerely entertained I am sure, been less narrow, more in conformity with facts, and less violative of fundamental concepts of popular government, I would not venture to counter the assertion.

But, Mr. Chairman, at a time in world history when democracy and the institutions of freemen are under the severest attack since our young Republic blazed the trail of freedom, whatever instrumentality or method tends to enable the people to consolidate their control over an important function of their government, and to emancipate governmental procedure from undemocratic encumbrances that make them less able to perform the people's will is a matter of



supreme importance. This is particularly true of a democratization of United States foreign affairs.

We must remember that the procedure of ratifying treaties by a two-thirds vote of the other body of Congress was adopted at a time when the United States was a weak and isolated Nation, and that this method of giving a veto to a minority of one branch of Congress has, in the past, made the conduct of our foreign affairs difficult, and reliance upon this undemocratic procedure now, in regard to this particular legislation, as well as the broader field of constructing the peace structure, would leave us impotent to act by majority will in adapting ourselves to a rapidly changing world, much less to lead it.

As for me, I hope that this Nation will never again be at the mercy of a minority of only one branch of Congress in a matter so supremely important as the conduct of the Nation's foreign affairs, mistakes in which may mean the difference between war and peace.

In other words, I am hoping that we will travel the road to a people's peace, and we may be sure that if our part in the peace arrangement is to be permanent it must be rooted in popular will. No President or party can, for very long, lead where the people and the Congress will not follow.

What we, as representatives of the people, must do is to see to it that the people, through all their representatives, have a part in building our international understandings, and that each measure be subject to majority will. Control of foreign policy by a minority of only one House of Congress, instead of furthering popular control, thwarts it.

And, Mr. Chairman, it is highly important to realize at this particular time when the pattern of the future is being made, that binding international agreements and understandings can be made without the consent of a two-thirds majority of the other body of Congress.

True, treaties, as such, must be consented to by two-thirds of the other body. But, fortunately, our international understandings do not have to be in the form of treaties. They may, with equal force and effect in so long as they are supported by the people and their Government, take the form of agreements and be approved, formally or by implementation, by ordinary majorities of both the House and Senate.

I concede that the procedure by which this program of relief and rehabilitation is being democratically formulated is not expressly spelled out in the Constitution. But, on the other hand, I submit to you that it is not prohibited by, nor violative of, the Constitution. The same is true of judicial review of congressional acts. Where in the Constitution is the judicial branch expressly given authority to declare invalid or unconstitutional an act of Congress? Yet, this has come to occupy an ace position in our constitutional scheme of things. Where, then, is the sound reason to question a similarly sound development through precedent and historical usage of a procedure for fuller legislative participation in the

formulation and conduct of the Nation's foreign policy?

Without going into a highly technical argument, which time would not now allow, permit me to say that in my humble opinion this procedure is firmly established in precedent, historical usage, and political concept.

Far from being an innovation, as some have seemed to imply, the United States has made more than a thousand international agreements that have not required ratification by two-thirds of the Senate. Fact is, the number of such agreements far exceeds the number of treaties in our history.

Nor is this the first time that the procedure, requiring ratification by two-thirds of the Senate, has appeared unworkable. Indeed, this procedure, whereby the policy of the minority, not the majority, prevails has been almost always unworkable in crucial tests throughout our history. For example, a treaty for the annexation of Texas failed of ratification by the necessary two-thirds majority. The President later submitted it as an agreement and it was approved by an ordinary joint resolution which requires only a simple majority of both houses.

For another example, two treaties were submitted to the Senate for the annexation of Hawaii. Neither was even acted upon. Finally, annexation was accomplished by joint resolution passed by both Houses.

In fact, had it been necessary for all our foreign agreements and policies to be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, the foreign affairs of the United States could not have been successfully conducted. Many of our most popular and beneficial foreign policies have not required ratification by two-thirds of the Senate. For instance, take the lend-lease program, certainly a milestone in foreign policy. It requires continued support of Congress, to be sure, but not two-thirds of the Senate. For another example, take the neutrality legislation of the last decade, an important if unfortunate foreign policy. The Monroe Doctrine, too.

Even George Washington, a month after the Constitution was signed in Philadelphia, wrote a friend:

I am mistaken if any man, bodies of men, or countries, will enter into compact or treaty, if one of the three is to have a negative control over the other two, but granting that it is an evil it will infallibly work its own cure.

It is really hard to see how majority action by both Houses of Congress, whether in giving expression to the people's will beforehand or in final approval of peace agreements, can be reasonably opposed. To do so, one must contend that every objector should be equal to every two advocates. It would be to argue for minority rather than majority control of a question of supreme importance to the people, which is the case almost nowhere else in our system.

Minority control gives a field day to partisanship. It literally puts an administration at the mercy of its political enemies in treaty-making. We all know that, under our two-party system, one

of the principal roles of the opposition party is to oppose. And our past political history teaches us that when there is a promise of reasonable political capital, opposition generally becomes virulent. Is not this one question that can be placed above the murk and mire of partisan politics? If we are to win the peace, I think it must be by the same earnest, patriotic, nonpartisan endeavor by which we are now winning the war.

This is one pitfall we can and must avoid. It would be a ring in our nose at a time when we must seek our security in bringing about results rather than in merely preventing action—the result of the two-thirds rule.

Whether we want it or sought it, the responsibility is ours to help lead the world in a cooperative effort to preserve the future peace. To deny this responsibility is to disclaim any concern for a peaceful and orderly world. And failure to act will be even more disastrous than action.

May we continue to move forward cooperatively, democratically toward a people's peace.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN].

(Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the Record.)

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, we in the House are considering how to bring to the suffering peoples of Europe and other countries relief from hunger and want. The one big underlying thing that you and I will have to remember is that something other than money, even billions of dollars, is necessary before our wishes to help out these unfortunate peoples can be fulfilled.

That something is food, an abundance of food, produced here in the United States of America. If we do not produce that abundance of food, our own people will require for their own needs all that we do grow ourselves. There will be no excess, unless that abundance of food is produced, to ship abroad and whether or not we authorize the appropriation of hundreds of millions of dollars in this bill, the purpose of this legislation will be entirely thrown out of the window if the farmers of America cannot for any reason bring out from the good earth of this Nation that enormous quantity of grains and food that we must have.

In September 1942, some of you may remember, I made a speech to this House calling attention to the difficulties under which farmers of our country were laboring at that time. You will perhaps recall the auction notices shown to you that day and the prediction made by myself at that time. "We may have enough food today, but how about tomorrow?"

Fourteen months later on November 30, the privilege was accorded me to again address the House on this subject urging the allocation of more steel by the War Production Board for the manufacture of farm machinery and farm implements. That particular speech was followed up by introduction in the House on December 3, 1943 of House Joint Resolution 201, which simply directs the



War Production Board to allocate for this year's use an amount of steel equal to not less than 125 percent of the steel used for the manufacture of farm machinery and farm implements for domestic use in the calendar year, 1940.

I have requested of the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture that hearings be held upon this resolution as soon as possible. The gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. WICKERSHAM] and the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. LEMKE] have kindly cooperated with me in calling a meeting of our farm-machinery committee for next Friday morning at 10:30 a. m. in the caucus room of the Old House Office Building. To that meeting each and every Congressman interested in the production of food in America is invited to come.

Mr. Chairman, we see that Mr. Donald Nelson, Chairman of the War Production Board, revealed in the last few days that certain civilian requirements can be taken care of now and that the critical need for steel, aluminum, and certain other materials is now on the decline as far as the actual war effort is concerned. If this is the fact, I certainly think that we should put every ton of steel that we possibly can spare and other critical materials that are not needed into the manufacture of farm machinery for the production of food, not next year, but this year. We cannot begin too quickly with this.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, we note in the press that there is a possibility of steel being given for the construction of 900,000 baby buggies. Very desirable as these undoubtedly would be, it seems to me that it is far more essential that the farmers be given the farm machinery to produce food for these babies instead. It appears we are about to use our surplus steel for post-war purposes when I think we should be using it to win the war. In other words, help supply the shortage in farm machinery, needed to produce the food to win the war.

We also note by press releases yesterday that a new major drought may be on its way in the Midwest. We hear that 50 percent of the winter-wheat acreage in certain portions of Nebraska is already wiped out. Surely, while we are debating a bill here for the relief of starving people in other countries, now is the time to see that our own farmers can produce every ton of that food that they are more than anxious to produce if we will only see that they get the machinery to do so. Congress will fail in its responsibility to the Nation if this is not done, and done quickly.

You all know without my telling you how the farms of America have been stripped of every surplus man who could possibly be spared and that these men have gone into the armed services of the United States of America. In certain portions of our country, as many of our Members from rural districts can testify, there is a desperate need even today for additional labor. We can help to replace that labor by seeing to it that the farmers obtain right away in time for this year's production of food every possible farm implement that can be manufactured. Yes, and manufactured before July 1, 1944.

If food is not to be considered as a munition of war it would be idle for me to stand here today and ask that a further part of our precious supply of steel or critical materials be allocated for the manufacture of farm machinery, but food is definitely a very important munition of war. Surely, if necessary to do so, we can give an additional one-half of 1 percent of our steel production for this absolute necessity of life.

What I am saying today is not critical of anybody, of any bureau, of any party. It is my hope that this much needed legislation, House Joint Resolution 201, can be enacted into law as soon as possible so that our people here in the East will perhaps not want for food themselves a year from now and so that our Nation can ship much abroad for those who need it badly. You Members from the industrial areas are just as vitally interested in this as we from the great producing areas, yes, more so.

You all know what happened to your flocks of hens and to your dairy cattle because of the lack of corn last summer and fall. We had sufficient corn back in my area but very little to spare you, too, much as we did want to give you part of it.

We can well see today how the production of meat will go down disastrously in this Nation this year because of grave mistakes in judgment. The production of hogs will shortly hit the skids downward. The refusal of our Government to hold a floor under hog and egg production will react badly on this year's production of these major requirements for our tables.

Let us try now to do what we can to cure these mistakes and remove the dread possibility of there perhaps not being enough food for our own people, let alone the starving children of Europe. Now is the time to give the farmer encouragement—give him the tools to work with—give him farm machinery to replace his men who are necessarily gone to the front. Let us not have it said here, in regard to the production of food, of milk for babies, of bread for starving children in Europe, "Too little and too late."

[Mr. VOORHIS of California addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I now yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOODRUFF].

(By unanimous consent, Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan was granted leave to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

#### THE FEEDING OF THE STARVING

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I read an article in the New York Times which gave such a horrible picture of conditions in that part of Italy occupied by American and British troops, that I believe we who are, after all, collectively to some extent responsible, should know the facts and thus gain an understanding of what we can do about our present and future obligations. We know, of course, that an adult doing normal work needs somewhere between 2,500 and 3,000 calories of food a

day to maintain normal body weight. Also, he will starve if, over a period of time, he gets less than 1,500.

In that part of Italy which at present is occupied by American and British troops, there are living some 10,000,000 or more people. Most of them are small farmers and workers, of that kind which it has become customary to refer to as the common man. Mr. Harold Callendar, the author of the article I refer to, tells us that our experts with the Allied Military Government figure on an absolutely necessary average diet for these millions of people of 1,789 calories, barely above the 1,500 minimum. Of these 1,789 calories, not less than 1,006 calories must be shipped to Italy, since only 783 calories can at present be obtained locally. It is, indeed, a practical question that we now face. The Italians, like citizens of other occupied areas, seem to take the attitude that those foreigners who have occupied their country by force, and who have destroyed their means of livelihood, carry the full responsibility. Mr. Callendar adds that this is not the Allies' view. It is, of course, obvious that if the fate of the nations into whose country our armies move is wholesale starvation, in addition to complete destruction of their homes and means of existence, then a cry of wrath is likely to rise against us. Yet most of the destruction of necessities and all of the looting has been wrought by the Nazi armies while they occupied Italy and as they retreated.

Mr. Callendar has figured out that in order to feed the Italians in that southernmost part of Italy now occupied by our troops, it will require nearly 100,000 tons of foodstuffs monthly. Now, if you look at a map of Europe indicating the area occupied by the Germans, and compare it with that small strip of land we have so far been able to wrest from them in southern Italy, you will realize that as our invasion armies move forward toward Berlin, we shall be confronted with problems of saving so many millions—even hundreds of millions—of people from famine that I am at a loss to see how America can possibly assume even a major share of such a responsibility. We, in the United States, are not brutes. We always have had a warm heart and a generous attitude toward the people in distress everywhere in the world.

But we in this country are only 130,000,000. We still live fairly well on the rations allotted us from the products of our farms. We also have to supply our British friends and our Russian allies with a good share of their daily bread, and we do that gratis, in the form of gifts under lend-lease. Assuming that we could tighten our belts still further, how many millions of additional people do you think we could feed with American wheat and milk, meat and sugar? How many millions could we clothe and shelter? Surely not a population far bigger than our own. Yet so many, believing the extravagant promises being made by our representatives, will stretch out their hands toward us begging for their daily bread of which they will be deprived by military operations. I wish I could give you a satisfactory solution



to that question, but I admit that I stand appalled before such a problem. Certainly no such solution is offered in the bill now before us, under the provisions of which it is proposed to not only feed all these millions, but also to rehabilitate their waterworks systems, their power plants, their industries, indeed, their entire economy, the cost of which will be fantastic. Notwithstanding the statements of the proponents of this measure that we are to bear only our fair share of this expense, we all know, if our previous experience teaches us anything, that in the last analysis it will be the American people, the American taxpayer if you please, who will bend his back in hard labor for generations to come to liquidate this expense.

One good rule is expressed in those wise words, "Charity begins at home." I hope the war will not finally inflict upon our people the indescribable misery of famine. I hope we may be spared from those tribulations which are afflicting, and perhaps for years to come will afflict, every nation in the Old World. But if we are to embark upon a program of rehabilitating half the world, I am not so sure that we may not eventually be confronted with domestic problems of so serious a character that we may not surmount them and retain our present form of government and all the wonderful things which have made us great.

Irresponsible propagandists promise us the marvels of a post-war world. I do not see why we should fool ourselves or let them fool us. The post-war world is not going to be a marvelous world. The post-war world will be a very sick world, and it will be a very poor world. It will be a world in which we shall face a great many heartbreaking problems, such as the care of those who will become terribly incapacitated during the war; problems of helping our millions of soldiers to make the difficult readjustment from military life to peaceful employment. We are spending more than all other warring nations combined, and when our wars in both Europe and Asia are ended, we will be burdened with a debt of probably four hundred billions, a debt greater than that of all other nations combined. We shall face the tremendous problem of resettling large parts of our population now camped around the war plants. And most difficult of all we shall face the problem of cleaning the hearts of our youth who, in so many cases, will tend to drift, deprived of the greatest asset in life—the memories of a happy childhood home with mom and dad.

Only a sound America can help lead the rest of the world back to sanity. Therefore America's problems must receive first consideration. Those are the responsibilities we first must meet. We will feed the starving, yes; but further than that we must not, we cannot go, without inviting destruction. We cannot help a world in chaos by going down into chaos with it. Nobody is saved by everybody being starved. We may as well recognize the horrible tragedy we shall face, that America cannot produce enough of the vital necessities of life to go around for all the world. It is im-

possible to let loose a destruction of a magnitude such as we are now witnessing, and expect, or hope, that the nations will escape the dreadful hardships and suffering.

Many Americans like to think of this war as a war of liberation. That is our only possible excuse for being involved. Altruistically inclined as we are, we like to believe our boys will be welcomed as liberators in all the oppressed countries.

In desperate times such as those we are now experiencing, in times of scarcity and deprivation, there is one problem more important than any other, and that is that more, and ever more food and other consumers' goods be produced in every part of the world. Every conceivable effort must be made to once more put out Nation, and all other nations, to work to produce those commodities which together give us the material basis for a decent standard of living. We cannot wait until a clumsy bureaucracy acts. We cannot depend upon incompetent and inefficient boards and bureaus. We cannot depend upon power-lustful politicians who are seeking to use hunger and suffering as the means of making whole peoples do their bidding. It is the American farmer, the American laborer, the manufacturer and the businessman who must do the job for America; on the hundreds of thousands of independent and enterprising individuals will rest the hope for the future in this country, as the future of other countries will rest with their farmers, their laborers, their manufacturers, their businessmen, and their enterprising individuals.

The salvation of humanity lies neither with the politicians nor with the preachers of utopia, but with the men and women everywhere in the world who have the spirit of enterprise required to get back to the hard work of remaking a destroyed civilization. And each nation must, for the most part, do that for itself. America, even with the modest assistance we would receive from others, cannot feed, clothe, and rehabilitate the whole world.

Mr. Chairman, unless the resolution before us is amended to radically reduce the commitments of this country I shall vote against it.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON].

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I am one of those individuals who would predict the future by checking the past, and a review of the history of Europe from the Dark Ages to the present day does not justify our entrance into this agreement under the terms that are now drawn. The history of Europe is one of continual strife among its divided people and at no time during the past 1,000 years has there been a period when relief would not be needed by one of its countries. We are to be a partner in U. N. R. R. A. Forty-four nations will join us as copartners. Let us face realities, however. When \$2,000,000,000, as is now proposed, is contributed, our share will be \$1,350,000,000, the other 43 nations will contribute the remaining \$650,000,000. We will contrib-

ute 75 percent of the total and have one forty-fourth of the control. Even the major board comprised of the 4 leading powers will outnumber this country 3 to 1.

I am fearful that we are establishing another world-wide W. P. A. I am of the opinion that this legislation should be returned to committee and amended, so that the appropriation for its operation would be made directly to the Army of the United States. It should be accountable to that branch of service for all its actions and all appropriations by the Congress should be made to the Army, under whose direction U. N. R. R. A. would operate.

By such a method of administration it would be impossible for professional social workers to become entrenched and endeavor to rehabilitate the world. Through a spirit of Christian charity we in America are anxious to help Europe to help itself. However, we do not intend to make continuous appropriations that the people of Europe may live in ease and indolence, as was advocated by the social element in control of relief in this country a few short years ago.

Let us make this organization accountable to our armed forces and its leaders, who are hard-headed practical soldiers, who believe in assisting people to assist themselves, and will not be swept away by emotional theorists. If we are to foot the bill of this world-wide relief program, our interests should be safeguarded. The Army will afford us that protection. I shall vote to give it to them, as I do not want to see the day when the letters "U. N. R. R. A." mean Unlimited, Nefarious, Relief, Racket Association.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

[Mr. HERTER addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the last speaker the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH] 5 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, in obedience to my oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States, I must vote against this resolution. This measure violates the basic principle of the Constitution, the very sovereignty of the United States. It vests in an international body power to legislate for our country.

The measure would further take away powers which the Constitution vests exclusively in the Congress and hand them over to the executive branch of the Government.

On November 9, 1943, representatives of 44 nations at a meeting in Washington signed what is called agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. President Roosevelt signed as the representative of the United States.

Fourteen of the signatories entered reservations with their names. The reservations in most cases stipulate that action by the legislative bodies of the coun-



tries concerned is necessary to make the agreement binding upon them. In a few cases the reservations stipulate that further action is necessary by certain other governmental bodies of the countries concerned to make the agreement binding upon them.

President Roosevelt signed without any reservation. As Chief Executive of the Government of the United States, he assumed absolute power to make the agreement binding upon it. He did not consider congressional action necessary to make the agreement binding upon our Government. This point is borne out by certain language in the agreement, which reads as follows:

The governments or authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto \* \* \* have agreed as follows:

There is hereby established the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee accepted this view in reporting out House Joint Resolution 192, which contains the following language:

*Resolved, etc.,* That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated \* \* \* for participation by the United States \* \* \* in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and associated governments on November 9, 1943.

#### Resolution 12

Rehabilitation supplies are to consist of materials, such as raw materials, machinery, and spare parts needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated territories; and, within the scope of the administration, the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, so far as they can be repaired and restored to meet immediate, basic needs, such essentials as light and water, power, transportation, and communication. These needs include rehabilitation of essential relief industries, such as those which provide food, shelter, clothing, medical supplies.

Raw materials may be supplied by (a) the liberated country in which the industry is situated and in which the materials are to be used, (b) another liberated country, or (c) any other country. The task of the administration in cases (a) and (b) should be the rehabilitation of the raw material producing industries such as coal mines, mineral mines, construction materials industries, etc. \* \* \*

It is recommended that pools be created of materials such as processing materials, machine tools, mobile power units, maintenance equipment, industrial machinery of both standard and special types, and spare parts. \* \* \* assist liberated areas in restoring the transport and communications system to satisfactory working conditions; it should also help to restore equipment, repair shops, workshops, shipyards, etc. It is recommended that a pool of transportation equipment both fixed and mobile should be created either from stocks manufactured overseas or in Allied or neutral countries \* \* \*.

It is recommended that the requirements for raw materials, machinery, spare parts, and processing materials should be established within each country and that a definite order of priority be established taking into consideration: (a) Technical factors, such as, on the one hand, the necessity of restoring the public services (gas, water, electricity), and, on the other, the needs of various types of consumer goods; (b) social factors such as the necessity of providing reemployment; (c) temporary economic factors

such as scarcity of certain raw materials and shipping.

Therefore, wherever the word "government" or "member government," as it pertains to the United States, is used in the text of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation agreement it refers specifically and exclusively to the President of the United States. Here is one of the key points in the consideration of this resolution. It must be kept in mind constantly to grasp the full import and implications of House Joint Resolution 192.

What does the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration propose to do? Does the President have legal authority to bind the Government of the United States to the proposals and undertakings that are projected in the agreement which sets up this international organ?

The agreement for creating a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration would establish a global—the word "global" was used by delegates at the Atlantic City conference—program of relief and rehabilitation for the war-stricken peoples of the Allied countries which have been overrun by the Axis Powers. The preamble of the agreement provides for—

Aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.

In a convention held at Atlantic City by representatives of the member countries which had signed the agreement for establishing a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, this program as outlined in the preamble of the agreement was elaborated, in part, as follows:

#### Resolution 13

In the relief period priority in the rehabilitation of essential shelter or accommodation in the liberated areas should be given to: hospitals and schools; habitations for homeless persons, especially for workers engaged in essential public services and in industries having high priority in relief, as well as for farmers and agricultural workers.

Where it may be necessary, however, there should be imported construction tools such as hand tools, building supplies and equipment, including excavating machinery \* \* \*.

\* \* \* Accommodation of a more permanent, though not necessarily final character, for persons who cannot be returned to their homes either because their homes have been destroyed or because these are in territories still occupied by the enemy \* \* \*.

\* \* \* Pools of building materials shall be promptly created so that advance arrangements can be made for the accommodation of farmers and agricultural workers.

\* \* \* Accommodation or shelter for workers in the food processing industries should be provided.

#### Resolution 14

\* \* \* A program of operations covering proposed activities of the Administration in connection with relief and rehabilitation including the care and transportation of displaced persons. This program may cover the entire period of contemplated operations of the administration, or any part

thereof. The operating program shall serve as a guide to the activities of the Director General, but, except as provided in article IV, paragraph 2 of the agreement, shall not limit his action when the situation requires other action.

#### Resolution 26

That the Council hereby creates standing technical committees on: agriculture, displaced persons, health, industrial rehabilitation, welfare.

#### Resolution 27

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Agriculture shall be \* \* \*.

To formulate proposals on technical policies in regard to agriculture, fisheries and food production and the rehabilitation of the industries concerned therewith and related subjects \* \* \*.

#### Resolution 30

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Industrial Rehabilitation shall be:

To advise the Council, the Central Committee and the Director General as to the nature of and scope of problems in fields relating to the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, to the rehabilitation of industries producing urgently needed goods, and to rehabilitation supplies in areas in which the administration will operate.

To formulate proposals on technical policies relating \* \* \* to the rehabilitation of industries producing urgently needed goods, and to rehabilitation supplies.

#### Resolution 31

That the functions of the standing technical Committee on Welfare shall be:

To advise the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General as to the nature and scope of welfare problems \* \* \*; including the direct provision to victims of war of relief through other than normal economic channels of distribution; emergency measures for the care of children, expectant and nursing mothers, the aged and disabled, and other victims of war.

From this it is seen that there would be practically no limit to the variety and scope of the functions that could be performed under this scheme—from setting up a soup kitchen to the construction of a railroad.

Section 3 of the resolution is in my opinion a rather sorry and fatuous gesture to assuage the fear that a reading of the list of undertakings of this projected program is bound to produce in the minds of many. The section referred to reads as follows:

In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the first session of the Council, summarized in paragraph 11 of resolution No. 12, and reading as follows:

"11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world."

If the language in this section makes any sense, I cannot see it. It seems to be an attempt to make the reader believe that rehabilitation is something alto-



gether different than can be found in any dictionary, something different from what every man, woman, and child knows it to be, indeed something different than the Atlantic City conference said it was out of the corner of its mouth. I cannot believe that language like this belongs in any Federal statute.

The agreement provides for a global bureaucracy—a Council, consisting of a representative and an alternative representative from each member country; a Central Committee of the Council, which shall consist of the representative of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, and a Director General presiding; a Committee of the Council for Europe and a Committee of the Council for the Far East.

Resolutions Nos. 18 and 19 passed by the Atlantic City conference provide—

#### Resolution 18

That the Committee of the Council for Europe shall consist of the members of the Council or their alternates representing Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the French Committee of National Liberation, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia \* \* \* and in addition the members of the Council or their alternates representing Brazil, Canada, and the United States of America.

#### Resolution 19

That the Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of the members of the Council or their alternates, representing Australia, China, the French Committee of National Liberation, India, The Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippine Commonwealth, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation program would provide relief in the form of food, clothing, shelter, medical care, welfare, preparation and arrangements for the return of millions of prisoners and millions more of exiles to their homes, reemployment, and so forth in the countries in Europe and the Far East which have been partially or wholly overrun by the enemy, covering an area in excess of 13,000,000 square miles—not counting north Africa and numerous other areas—or more than four times the size of the United States; to a population in excess of 850,000,000, or more than six times that of the United States.

In addition it would undertake to rehabilitate the raw material-producing industries, railway and other transportation facilities, communication facilities, electric power producing and distributing facilities and other public utilities, fisheries industries, and practically every industrial plant and facility which has been wholly or partially destroyed by the war on the entire globe. Estimates of the destruction of these facilities have been given which run into the hundreds of billions of dollars.

It is estimated the program would cost the United States \$1,350,000,000. In terms of sound finance and enlightened self-interest this is a huge sum of money. Judged by the standard of spending that has been followed by the administration in the last 10 years, it is of course piddling. If this scheme is put into opera-

tion and costs us 10 or more times \$1,350,000,000, surely no one should be surprised. The limitation to this amount which is provided in the resolution cannot in the light of past experiences have much meaning. When the amount had been used up, more funds would be requested. Once this scheme were in operation, as is the nature of all political machinery, it would develop powerfully impelling forces for its own perpetuation and expansion.

Where is the legal authority for the action the Chief Executive has taken in writing the agreement with 43 other nations to set up this international scheme for war and post-war relief and rehabilitation which is to cost the United States \$1,350,000,000 to begin with and which can run into many billions more? I do not believe the Executive has any legal authority to bind the United States to this unusual and grandiose proposal from the standpoint of the cost that would devolve upon our people. I do not believe there is anything in the Constitution or the Federal statutes which gives him this right. I think this action taken by the Executive goes clear outside and far beyond his functions and duties in carrying on the foreign policies of the United States as provided for under the Constitution.

Not only from the standpoint of the enormousness of the program and the huge costs involved has the Executive exceeded his constitutional prerogative but also from the point of view of other unusual and clearly anomalous provisions that are set out in this so-called agreement, I refer particularly to article VIII in the agreement. This article provides for amendments to the agreement, three in number. It says:

The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as follows:

"(a) Amendments involving new obligations for member Governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member Government on acceptance by it."

Remember that we said at the outset that the term "Government" or "member Government" used in the agreement, as pertains to the United States, has reference to the Chief Executive only and does not include the Congress. Therefore, under this provision the Executive would have absolute power to bind the United States to new obligations in the scheme. As indicated heretofore, the obligations attaching to the United States that are contained in the agreement come under the heads of relief and rehabilitation. The terms "relief" and "rehabilitation" can certainly be interpreted broadly and made to include a vast field of activities. Under "a" of article VIII, however, distinctly new obligations could be added. For example, the President might under this provision have power to enter into an agreement with the other nations whereby the United States could make loans for relief and rehabilitation.

Section b of article VIII reads as follows:

Amendments involving modification of article III or article IV shall take effect on

adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the Central Committee.

Under this provision, articles III and IV of the agreement could be amended by the Council and the central committee alone. The President's acquiescence would not be required nor of course would that of the Congress. With respect to the point I am making now, the contents of articles III and IV of the agreement and the possible effects any amendments thereto might have are wholly immaterial. It is sufficient to point out that the international body would have the power under this provision to effectuate amendments to articles III and IV without the consent of either the Executive or the Congress.

Section c of article VIII reads as follows:

Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the council by a two-thirds vote.

Under this provision amendments could be made to the agreement without even the support of any representative of the United States whatever. Thus, the power to effectuate other amendments to the agreement for the establishment of a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration would be placed entirely in the hands of foreign nations. The term "other amendments" could certainly be interpreted so as to make it include a great many things. It would open the door for a lot of new functions and undertakings. Though this is exceedingly important, it is not the main point I wish to bring out here. What is of more importance is that this provision would give over to the international body the power to alter and amend the agreement without the consent of the United States—yes, even against our will.

Up to now I have spoken only of the agreement signed by the President and the other 43 nations for the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. I have discussed only the provisions and constitution of that agreement as such and standing by itself. Now I shall discuss that agreement, not as such but as in integral part of House Joint Resolution 192. There is a clear distinction between the agreement as such and its embodiment in the resolution. Of what does this distinction consist?

I have stated that I do not believe the President had any legal authority to sign the agreement and bind the people of the United States to the costs and sacrifices that would be involved in it. I am certain the President had no legal authority to bind the United States to the provisions contained in article VIII; namely, to hand over to an international body the power to alter the agreement without the consent of Congress. But pass House Joint Resolution 192 and you will have made the agreement into substantive law and you will have given specific legal sanction to the President's action in entering into this agreement. Pass this resolution and you will have established a procedure which can be used by the president as well as future Chief Executives for creating other international agencies.



Pass this resolution and you will have set a dangerous precedent. Right now two other international schemes are in process of development by the administration. I refer to the proposal for a United and Associated Nations stabilization fund, which would involve an initial gold liability by the United States of \$2,344,000,000; and to the proposed international bank for reconstruction and development, which would involve an initial gold liability by the United States of an additional \$3,300,000,000. As I shall show later, these other two international schemes are of the same pattern as this proposal for a United Nations relief and rehabilitation administration.

What the Congress is really being asked to do here is to pass a law which contains specific provisions to hand over to an international body the power to amend the very law we are being asked to pass. Pass this law and you will have given over to an international body the power to make laws for the United States of America with or without the consent of the President, any representative we might have on that body, and the Congress of the United States being in any event precluded from having anything to say about it.

Pass this proposed resolution and you will have violated the fundamental principle of the Constitution of the United States, which vests in the Congress the sole and absolute power to act as the representative of the people. Pass this law and you will have violated the principle of sovereignty of the United States. You will have established the principle of the superstate. If you believe the welfare of our people and the destiny of our Nation are safer in the hands of Ethiopia and Mexico and Russia, then you should vote for this resolution. If, on the other hand, you believe the welfare and destiny of our people will be safer if left in our own hands you will vote against this resolution.

The argument is being made that through the United Nations relief and rehabilitation set-up the other nations would help to bear the cost of the program, that the United States would not have to bear the cost alone as it did in World War No. 1. There is nothing in this resolution which binds any other government but the United States itself to provide funds for relief and rehabilitation. The conference at Atlantic City in the form of a resolution set a figure of 1 percent of the national income—on the basis of the 1943 income—of each member country whose home territory has not been occupied by the enemy as its share of the contribution to the program. It is my understanding that a number of countries who signed the agreement have already indicated their unwillingness to subscribe that amount. Russia, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Yugoslavia in the European area, and China and other territories in the far eastern area, have been wholly or in great part overrun by the enemy. All of these countries would be recipients of relief and rehabilitation under this scheme. The population of the countries who would be recipients of relief and

rehabilitation is more than 850,000,000. The population of the countries outside of the United States who would be supposed to furnish relief under this program is perhaps less than 200,000,000.

Furthermore, what about lend-lease? How much of the relief and rehabilitation that would be provided by any and all of the countries other than the United States would be supplied directly or indirectly through our lend-lease program? Keep in mind that practically all the countries joined in this global rehabilitation program are either recipients of lend-lease or eligible for lend-lease. Consider also the two other agencies that are being proposed to finance the greater portion of the world with United States capital—the United and Associated Nations Stabilization Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. These two schemes are being set up on the basis of an initial gold liability by the United States of more than \$5,600,000,000. Here would be two more large sources from which the other nations who have subscribed to this relief and rehabilitation plan could draw funds to meet their contribution. When all the circumstances are taken into consideration, it is seen that the contribution it is alleged they would make would be largely imaginary.

Yet with the United States furnishing the vast bulk of the funds if not nearly all of them, the control of the scheme would be given over to the foreign nations. On the Central Committee we would have 1 vote in 4 and on the Council 1 in 44.

A very serious question arises in connection with this proposed program that I feel certain the House Committee on Foreign Affairs has not adequately considered. That question is, Where would we get the money? We would get it by having the Government print it. There is no other possible way to raise the funds that are proposed for this program. The present amount of Federal taxes collected plus all the Government securities that are being sold to the public falls far short of meeting Government costs. This state of affairs is revealed in the figures showing the amount of Government obligations held by the commercial and savings banks of the country.

On June 30, 1943, the total amount of deposits in all banks was \$96,329,000,000. On the same date, according to information supplied me by the Federal Reserve, all banks held \$57,748,000,000 in United States Government obligations. In other words, 60 percent of the bank deposits represented Government printed or fiat credit dollars. This situation presents a dangerous menace to this country. Eventually its deleterious effect will manifest itself either through outright drastic inflation of prices or more drastic regimentation of our people, or what is more likely, both. This enormous volume of fiat credit threatens to destroy the value of every investment, savings account, insurance policy, social-security account, and pension. It is a threat to the value of every dollar invested in Government bonds. Many soldiers have in-

vested their earnings in Government bonds. I personally know some who are putting all of their savings into these bonds. I want my record to show that I have tried to do everything I possibly can to protect their value. Even if this program should cost the United States no more than \$1,350,000,000, because all of it would have to be produced by fiat, this would be bound to have some effect on the value of the dollar. But should the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration go the way nearly all of the other political machinery that has been set up has gone, its effect upon the value of the dollar would become exceedingly great. The Commodity Credit Corporation started with a few million dollars. It now has a capitalization of \$3,000,000,000. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation started with \$500,000,000 and now has a capitalization of \$12,000,000,000 or more. Lend-lease started with \$7,000,000,000 and within 27 months reached the figure of more than \$60,000,000,000.

I have stated the passage of this resolution would establish a dangerous precedent; that it would legally validate the action of the President in signing with the other nations for the creation of a world-wide rehabilitation program; that this would then become the basis upon which the present Executive, as well as future Executives, could promulgate other global schemes. I mentioned specifically that it could become a precedent for the establishment of the administration's proposals for a United and Associated Nations' Stabilization Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which I also stated project an initial gold liability for the United States of more than \$5,600,000,000.

Anyone who wishes to see the similarity of the pattern of these proposals to that embodied in House Joint Resolution 192 can do so by referring to the speech I made on the British scheme to secure control of United States gold stocks November 1, 1943. In that speech I described somewhat in detail the scheme for setting up the United and Associated Nations Stabilization Fund. An examination of the plan for an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development that is being promulgated by the administration shows it to be of the same design as that of the United and Associated Nations Stabilization Fund. All three of these schemes have the following in common: The United States would put up the bulk of the funds; the control would be so arranged as to place the United States in the minority; the United States would obligate itself definitely—few, if any, of the other countries would really obligate themselves definitely. The United and Associated Nations Stabilization Fund proposal is like this proposal for a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in that it vests in the international body power to alter laws enacted by the Congress. There are many other features common to all of these proposals. All three embrace the principle of an international or superstate. Indeed, the proposal contained in this



resolution cannot be understood without also understanding these other two proposals, because each is only part of a larger whole.

Now there are strong indications that the President intends to sign agreements with the other forty-odd nations for the creation of a United and Associated Nations stabilization fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and then come to the Congress for legal validation of his actions, just as he has done in the case of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Therefore if House Joint Resolution 192 passes, a powerful precedent will have been created for the Executive to drive through Congress the other two proposals mentioned. To establish a precedent for the creation of these other agencies would in my opinion be a wrong of the gravest sort, which I am sure our people would disapprove if they knew the facts.

The claim has been made that certain countries who would be recipients of relief under this proposed program would be able to pay for it. Some of the countries in western Europe have been referred to here. It is true that Belgium, The Netherlands, Norway, and perhaps France still have comparatively large gold reserves which presumably they might use to pay for relief. Certainly with respect to some of these countries they have no free gold that could be used for the purchase of relief supplies. The gold they hold is pledged against notes and demand liabilities. But suppose it were decided that those countries would nevertheless use some of their gold holdings to pay for relief supplies. Does the United States want more gold? Or would it be decided that those countries must send their gold holdings to the gold-poor countries for relief supplies? And what would happen to the economies of Belgium, Norway, France, and so forth, should they use up any great portion of their gold holdings for purchases of relief supplies? Would not their economies be greatly weakened by that sort of procedure? These are not questions that can be passed off with a wave of the hand. They are serious, very serious, questions. They go to the very root of the matter.

This whole proposal is in my opinion wrong. This measure should be defeated in toto and referred back to the Foreign Affairs Committee with instructions to write a new measure and to confine it entirely to relief in the form of food, clothing, and the absolute essentials of life, along the lines undertaken by our country in World War No. 1. Provisions should be made whereby the United States would at all times keep complete control over all of the funds the Congress appropriates. Furthermore, the bill should provide for all purchases of supplies made with our own money to be spent in the United States. We need to do this to maintain employment of our own people.

There is a growing conviction among the people throughout the country that their officials in Washington are giving their country away. Indeed, if I sense the situation correctly, they are becom-

ing depressed over this state of affairs. They want it stopped. They want their Representatives in Congress to give a little more thought to the welfare of the people of the United States and a little less to that of foreign countries.

Mr. BLOOM. I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOLGER].

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Chairman, I have been insulted only one time since I have been in Washington, and that was today. A newspaper reporter who, I thought, was very well acquainted with me, asked me how I was going to vote on this resolution. Of course, I am going to vote for it. I am going to vote for it unreservedly and without any hesitation or mental reservation at all, unamended, unless it be to make it more powerful in its implications and possibilities. We have, Mr. Chairman, the grand and noble situation of 44 nations signing and saying they are determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy, the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from suffering. We propose to go in behind these armies of occupation which have liberated these people who have been dragged through hell almost, as was described by the noble woman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] and as was actually seen and observed by that splendid gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] who just spoke to you.

I cannot see that we may be allowed to insist so strongly that our soldiers continue to fight and die for a just and lasting peace, unless we are going to pass a resolution like this.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOLGER] has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, that concludes all the requests for time to speak on the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read. The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved, etc.,* That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time to time to the President such sums, as the Congress may determine to be appropriate for participation by the United States (including contributions in funds or otherwise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and Associated Governments on November 9, 1943, reading as follows:

**"AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION**

"The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto,

"Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war,

"Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural

and industrial production and the restoration of essential services,

"Have agreed as follows:

**"ARTICLE I**

"There is hereby established the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects and purposes.

"2. Subject to the provisions of article VII, the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

"(a) To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services. The form of activities of the Administration within the territory of a member government wherein that government exercises administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed by the member government for carrying out measures planned by the Administration therein shall be determined after consultation with and with the consent of the member government.

"(b) To formulate and recommend measures for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships and other procurement activities in the period following the cessation of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and activities of the Administration with the total movement of supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distribution of available supplies. The Administration may administer such coordination measures as may be authorized by the member governments concerned.

"(c) To study, formulate and recommend for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of its experience in planning and performing the work of relief and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recommendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be referred to any or all of the member governments for individual or joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the Central Committee and by vote of the Council.

**"ARTICLE II**

**"Membership**

"The members of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be the governments or authorities signatory hereto and such other governments or authorities as may upon application for membership be admitted thereto by action of the Council. The Council may, if it desires, authorize the Central Committee to accept new members between sessions of the Council.

"Wherever the term 'member government' is used in this Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the Administration, whether a government or an authority.

**"ARTICLE III**

**"The Council**

"1. Each member government shall name one representative, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Council of the



United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which shall be the policy-making body of the Administration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one of its members to preside at the session. The Council shall determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise provided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the Council shall vote by simple majority.

"2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may be convened in special session whenever the Central Committee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within thirty days after request therefor by one-third of the members of the Council.

"3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, with the Director General presiding, without vote. Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee which shall be communicated promptly to each member government. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by the Council at any regular session or at any special session called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The Central Committee shall invite the participation of the representative of any member government at those of its meetings at which action of special interest to such government is discussed. It shall invite the participation of the representative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affecting the provision of supplies are discussed.

"4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing those member governments likely to be principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies designed to assure the provision of required supplies. The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting supplies.

"5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the European area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all the members of the Council or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The regional committees shall normally meet within their respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to the Council and the Central Com-

mittee policies with respect to relief and rehabilitation within their respective areas. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the Inter-Allied Committee on European Post-war Relief established in London on September 24, 1941, and the records of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for Europe.

"6. The Council shall establish such other standing regional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions of such committees and the method of appointing their members being identical to that provided in Article III, paragraph 5, with respect to the Committees of the Council for Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also establish such other standing committees as it considers desirable to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council, to advise the Central Committee. For such standing technical committees as may be established, in respect of particular problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, repatriation, and finance, the members may be members of the Council or alternates nominated by them because of special competence in their respective fields of work. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. Should a regional committee so desire, subcommittees of the standing technical committees shall be established by the technical committees in consultation with the regional committees, to advise the regional committees.

"7. The travel and other expenses of members of the Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by the governments which they represent.

"8. All reports and recommendations of committees of the Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 4.

#### "ARTICLE IV

##### "The Director General

"1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The Director General may be removed by the Council on recommendation by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

"2. The Director General shall have full power and authority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available resources and the broad policies determined by the Council or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office he shall in conjunction with the military and other appropriate authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations, arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary supplies and create or select the emergency organization required for this purpose. In arranging for the procurement, transportation, and distribution of supplies and services, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the Administration without the consent and unless subject to the regulation of the Director General. The powers and duties of the Director General are subject to the limitations of Article VII.

"3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the organization and direction of the functions contemplated by Article I, paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c).

"4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy Directors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General, or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General, shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities as shall be required by the Council and its committees, including the regional committees and subcommittees. Such Deputy Directors General as shall be assigned special functions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it advised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation program within the region.

"5. The Director General shall make periodic reports to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall be made public except for such portions as the Central Committee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Nations, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests of a member government in such a way as to render it questionable whether it should be published, such government shall have an opportunity of expressing its views on the question of publication. The Director General shall also arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activities of the Administration within each region and he shall transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the Council, the Central Committee and the respective regional committees.

#### "ARTICLE V

##### "Supplies and resources

"1. In so far as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall authorize, each member government will contribute to the support of the Administration in order to accomplish the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). The amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies. All such contributions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

"2. The supplies and resources made available by the member governments shall be kept in review in relation to prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall initiate action with the member governments with a view to assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be required.

"3. All purchases by any of the member governments, to be made outside their own territories during the war for relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United Nations agency.

#### "ARTICLE VI

##### "Administrative expenses

"The Director General shall submit to the Council an annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be allocated to the member governments in proportions to be determined by the Council. Each member government undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its share of the administrative expenses so determined.

#### "ARTICLE VII

"Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other



military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary. The determination that such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be made by its military commander.

"ARTICLE VIII  
"Amendment

"The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as follows:

"a. Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it;

"b. Amendments involving modification of Article III or Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the Central Committee;

"c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote.

"ARTICLE IX

"Entry into force

"This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

"ARTICLE X

"Withdrawal

"Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of six months from the entry into force of the Agreement for that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve months after the date of its communication to the Director General subject to the member government having met by that time all financial, supply or other material obligations accepted or undertaken by it."

Mr. BLOOM. I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. O'NEAL, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration House Joint Resolution 192, had come to no resolution thereon.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to revise and extend my remarks and include therein several papers that I received, to which reference was made in my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. BULWINKLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. LEA] may extend his own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

(By unanimous consent, Mr. BULWINKLE and Mr. WILLEY were granted permission to extend their own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. COMPTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a let-

ter from a constituent and also an article by the Hartford Courant of recent date.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made this afternoon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

THE NEW DEAL

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the press carried an announcement. In that announcement it was inferred that the New Deal is dead and the faithful were called upon to bury it, to which suggestion America says "Amen." I predict, however, that its stench will linger long after its interment and that its ghost will forever haunt the memory of those who gave it birth. Mr. Speaker, I feel that the demise of the New Deal can be likened to Mark Twain's answer to a false report of his own death, "It is grossly exaggerated."

My reason for this conclusion is that I was one of those millions of Americans who recently sat before a radio and was enthralled as a melodious, comforting voice unfolded before me a beautiful word picture of Utopia. A Utopia wherein is established a new bill of rights. A Utopia under which a new basis of security is established for all, regardless of station, nation, race, or creed. A Utopia first painted in word pictures by the same voice 12 years ago and subsequently retouched in each succeeding election year, and now it is brought forth in all its scintillating splendor for a fourth time.

As the speaker continued, I recalled his promises of yesteryear, their meaning identical with those of today.

"The right to a job, food, clothing, and a decent living; the right of every family to a home, good health, and a good education."

Mr. Speaker, there is not a Member of the Congress who will deny these needs; neither is there a man in this House who can deny the 10 years of futile effort spent by this administration endeavoring to establish them.

To these rights pledged individuals here at home who are now prospering under a false wartime economy has been added the ideology of the "four freedoms" and the Atlantic Charter, guaranteeing security to the entire world.

Beautiful thoughts, the thoughts of a dreamer, voiced in a world of reality where the changing classes of divided people have fought incessantly since the dawn of history and will, in my opinion, continue to fight until the end of time. Voiced in a world where nothing of any value was ever produced which was not

the result of the sweat and toil of some one's hands. Thoughts voiced in a nation that has reached the pinnacle of world domination, not through flowery promises or painted word pictures but where continuous progress has been made through three centuries because individual initiative has been encouraged and protection was given to free enterprise.

As in all other New Deal word pictures painted during the passing years, there was a surprise. The sensational was again invoked, this time in the form of a National Labor Conscription Act. In other years it was changing Thanksgiving or drowning the pigs.

I do not place the responsibility for New Deal failures upon the shoulders of true Democrats, although many have acquiesced by their silence to certain of its acts. I do not blame them, because the history of their party is long and glorious. Its record is one of loyalty and adherence to the principles of our Constitution. The history of the New Deal is brief and shadowy and its record toward our Constitution is one of abrogation and disregard.

Mr. Speaker, I charge that there is no sincerity in this request for national labor conscription. If there was it would have been made long ago. I contend that we have passed the manpower crisis. The War Manpower Commission has revised downward its figures of employment needs by hundreds of thousands. We are closing steel mills and banking blast furnaces. We are closing aluminum plants and even munitions industries. I charge that the suggestion of national labor conscription is only one segment of a carefully coordinated program, another segment being the proposed Federal-controlled soldier vote.

Recent history has proven that neither individual nor States' rights mean anything in the opinion of political schemers. Party perpetuity means everything. New Deal schemers realize that 10,000,000 soldier votes will control the elections. They also realize that bungling on the home front has caused a loss of confidence in the administration. Therefore, the soldier overseas must be impressed. Their votes must be won. How to win them was one problem. What psychology to use to win them was another. As a solution, the insincere suggestion of national labor conscription was evolved. Political schemers realize that not only the President, but each soldier, hates war. While intensely patriotic and willing to die for their flag and their country, they still remember the cozy homes where sumptuous meals were served them by loving home folks, they remember the movie on the corner where they spent many pleasant evenings, and they recall a thousand pleasures which they no longer enjoy.

The soldier resents strikes and labor bickerings and condemns them. Whether he swelters in the jungles of New Guinea, shivers on the icy slopes of Attu, or crouches in a fox hole in Italy, he lambasts those not doing their part to win this war.

In this state of mind political schemers realize that soldiers are ripe for sugges-



difficulty of ascertaining their tax liability. They want a system that is fair and a system that is simple.

There is an urgent need for a simplification of our present personal income tax system because:

First. The number of income taxpayers has increased in a decade from 2,000,000 to 50,000,000, and many of those new taxpayers do not know how to prepare their own returns.

Second. Millions of work hours that should be devoted to the war effort are now being unnecessarily wasted and lost in the preparation of income returns.

Third. To soften the impact of what now amounts to an increase of 500 percent or more in rates, tax framers have juggled with a complicated system of normal rates, surtax rates, victory tax rates, personal exemptions, earned income credits, and a multitude of special deductions of items not involved in the earning of the reported income.

Fourth. The Congress purported to give to the taxpayer a pay-as-you-go system but largely vitiated the program not only by carrying forward a portion of 1 year's liability to a succeeding year, but by failing to recognize that the average salary earner, as well as all wage earners, do their accounting on the basis of their established pay day, whether it be weekly, semimonthly, or monthly.

Fifth. With the heavy increase in rates certain deductions previously authorized in the name of fairness now become a source of unfairness and inequality since one taxpayer can take advantage of certain deductions from gross income which another taxpayer of similar gross income cannot.

To remedy this situation I propose the following program:

First. Merge the Victory tax, the normal tax and the surtax into one minimum rate to be fully collected at the source from wages and salaries through the medium of withholding by the employer.

Second. Reduce the amount of that rate, and necessarily the amount to be withheld, by computing the minimum rate against a net taxable income to be arrived at by deducting from gross income items of expense incurred in earning the income, plus exemptions and nothing more. That change of course in income credit and the complicated deductions for various items now authorized, although undoubtedly there would still have to be some deviation from the plan to take care of above-average charitable gifts, abnormal medical expenses, alimony payments and certain situations growing out of community property laws.

The result of these proposed changes would be:

First. The elimination of approximately 30,000,000 income-tax returns.

Second. The making fully current of the majority of present taxpayers who owe the basic liability only and who have income of less than \$100 from sources other than wages or salaries.

Third. The elimination of labor by the taxpayer and by the Government incommensurate with the results attained; the elimination of an important source of inequity; the distribution more evenly of

the tax burden; facilitating full collection of the tax liability while increasing difficulties of evasion.

The essence of the foregoing program I proposed on February 1, 1943, in connection with my pay-as-you-go income-tax plan, and have since on numerous occasions earnestly advocated its adoption. Naturally after a lapse of approximately a year's time, it gratifies me that the proposal has gained favor in numerous quarters. And I welcome the congressional and public support for my slogan of simplicity and certainty—simplicity in administration of the tax laws and certainty in the minds of the tax-paying public of its tax liability under those laws.

### The White House Social

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. RAYMOND S. SPRINGER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1944

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, quite a while ago we were advised from the White House that politics had been adjourned for the duration of the war. Since that assurance was given to the people, we have discovered that the rule, so announced, was largely intended to apply to the people of this country—and not to the Chief Executive, because he has continued to engage in the great game of politics, regardless of war.

The term "New Deal," which was applied to this administration by the President, has become so offensive to the people generally that a change is now sought and an attempt to apply a new name has been suggested by the author of this so-called New Deal. But a leopard does not change its spots, and regardless of the name applied to the present policy of government in this country—with the spending, bungling, domination, and centralization of power—with the theme of one-man government as an outstanding policy—it is the same kind and type of government. The change of name apparently does not change the form of government, because the same plan of regimentation continues, and the same program of playing politics throughout the war effort has not been abated.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, and to include therein an editorial which recently appeared in the Indianapolis Star, of Indianapolis, Ind., on the subject of the White House social, which is enlightening, indeed, and which is as follows:

#### WHITE HOUSE "SOCIAL"

Widespread mistakes are being committed by the Nation's press in carrying an article about a White House "social" in the news columns instead of on the society page. The President has set a glorious example by adjourning politics for the duration, or has he? Anyway, he has tried to liquidate the New Deal as something the voters should forget during the coming campaign. His latest

Budget address sounded more like a fourth-term announcement, although that impression may have been nothing more than a bit of ineptitude on the part of the ghost writers.

The coming "social," therefore, must be what its name implies. Some may be surprised that the squire of Hyde Park was acquainted with this term. The grassrooters in the Midwest are familiar with this type of neighborly rally. There are church socials and the plain variety. In either case the women talk, ice cream and cake are served, and then, probably, there is more talk. Maybe there is some knitting. Everybody has a good time.

The President has invited the southern Governors to his White House social. They happen to be gathering in Washington to high pressure a railroad freight rate demand. Mr. Roosevelt thought it would be nice to ask them over for a tidbit or something, maybe to meet the First Lady, if she is in town, and to inspect the mansion.

Once more it should be reiterated that politics is not involved. Some Dixie executives, it is true, have been threatening to rip the solid South wide open over poll taxes, absentee voting, antiracial discrimination, invasion of State rights, and other issues. But all that rancor is purely coincidental. Mr. Roosevelt loves socials and he looks forward to seeing a contented circle of Governors balancing a dish of ice cream on the knee.

### United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

#### SPEECH

OF

### HON. BARTEL J. JONKMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 21, 1944

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration House Joint Resolution 192, to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I shall support and vote for the passage of House Joint Resolution 192. In doing so I am fully conscious that our contribution of \$1,350,000,000 of the total \$2,000,000,000 to \$2,500,000,000, is a burdensome addition to our rapidly mounting and staggering national debt, which has now risen to approximately \$200,000,000,000.

It is said that this contribution is less than half the amount we contributed for relief after the last war which was in the sum of \$3,242,000,000. This organization has been referred to as a world community chest, but it must be borne in mind that we are not the wealthy unit in the family of nations that we were at the end of the last war. At the end of the last World War our national debt was less than \$26,000,000,000, representing less than one-twelfth of our national wealth and less than one-third of our national income at that time.

On the other hand, it is estimated that before we are through with this war our national debt may amount to three hundred billions of dollars, equal to our entire national wealth; equal to the entire assessed value of our real estate and all



other tangible property, and this national debt will amount to three or four times our annual national income. In this financial situation we may well pause and consider before making such a contribution even though it is for such a laudable, constructive, and humanitarian purpose. Our financial position as compared with that in the 1920's is far too precarious for such expenditures unless made only for the most necessary human needs.

However, it is my conviction that we cannot escape the responsibility of not only participation, but leadership in amelioration of the dreadful aftermath of this war in the liberated areas when the firing ceases. It has been estimated that when that firing ceases, the war will have cost our Nation, as I have said before, over \$300,000,000,000 of which some \$70,000,000,000 at least will have been contributed in the nature of lend-lease to other nations. The Relief and Rehabilitation program in the stricken countries constitutes a necessary concomitant and mopping up process of the war. Our proposed contribution is but a small fraction of that amount and represents a sum equal to the cost of carrying on the war for a period of only 5 days.

I have been heartened by the sound and conservative, and it seems to me well organized plan of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. There are those who believe that the United States should undertake this tremendous task independently and alone; that our Nation should not bind itself to the other nations of the world in this enterprise. They harbor the theory that we will lose control and can be outvoted, and so forth, and in this way be forced into a program of expenditure far beyond our means and expectation. However, it seems to me that the contrary is true; that the participation by the other nations for the relief of the stricken countries in liberated areas would prove a brake and a restraining influence on the undertaking.

To my way of thinking, the United States is the only nation in the world that has been obsessed with the spirit of playing Santa Claus. Were we to go this program alone, other nations would have no interest in whether this relief is undertaken on a sound and conservative basis, or in a display of prodigality and glorified W. P. A. They might even be the passive recipients of its bounties. Under the joint agreement, however, all the other nations take a part; it is their money that is being spent as well as ours. Knowing that excess spending will have to be borne in part by them will have a tendency to keep the program on a relief basis which after all is the only basis upon which it can attain success and accomplish the desired objective.

The fact that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has set this goal, namely, to confine its objectives to relief and this goal only, is further grounds for confidence in the administration and approval of this undertaking. Unless this program and objective is strictly adhered to, it will not only fail but may involve expenditures and waste of moneys in huge and illimitable proportion. Unless we confine re-

lief to helping people only to help themselves, any amount of funds we may pour into these areas will be of no avail, and in the second place we would be unable to raise enough money to go around as it would amount to boondoggling in certain areas and perhaps still intense suffering in others. It is, therefore, reassuring that not only the administration itself in its program of action, but the Director General, Governor Lehman, have expressed themselves forcibly as determined to keep the program of action within the confines of such relief as is necessary to the people in stricken areas to help themselves.

It is true that there is great danger of inability to mark the line of demarcation between relief and rehabilitation, and I believe that the Director General is deeply conscious of this difficulty. There will of necessity be some succor which will be overlapping from strict relief into the category of rehabilitation. Nevertheless I am impressed with the conviction that both the Director General and the Administration will make a determined effort to confine all and any rehabilitation to such as is only incident to relief and avoid substantive rehabilitation as such. As has been said, there may be cases where temporary repair of a railroad to transport relief material or rehabilitating a coal mine to obtain needed coal, and similar acts of rehabilitation may be found necessary in order to carry out the relief program. If such action is confined to those cases where it is strictly incident to relief, it would not transcend what I believe the American people wish to be done for these stricken countries. We will of necessity have to lodge certain discretion in this respect in the administration and rely on the power of appropriations to prevent abuse of this discretion.

Another restriction which recommends the program is that relief will be confined to liberated areas or countries which have been liberated from occupation except insofar as it is necessary to carry on operations in enemy or enemy territories in case of epidemics or disease or other impelling considerations. There may be and actually are other nations or areas properly the subject of relief but only very indirectly as a result of the war. These are from the very nature of the undertaking not included. The purpose of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is solely to afford relief and relief only in the war-stricken and war-ridden countries as they are liberated, and relief to any other country, however urgent or appropriate and meritorious, is not within the scope of the Administration. For instance, the famine in India, while an indirect result of the war because of inability to obtain shipping—India having sufficient exchange to purchase supplies—would have to be met by agencies other than the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Again, as has been said repeatedly, it is estimated that the stricken peoples in the liberated areas will be able to furnish their own subsistence to the extent of 90 percent, and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administra-

tion will confine itself to the 10 percent more or less which would suffer untold hardships unless they receive relief from outside sources.

Another encouraging consideration is that the authorization of \$1,350,000,000 constitutes not an initial authorization, but is on the contrary the sum estimated to do the job and to cover our entire contribution to the program. It was also estimated by the director general that the duration of the program would not exceed 2 years after the cessation of hostilities, and that it should be done in that period of time to be successful. While of course this is no guaranty that this amount will do the job in the time prescribed, I believe that the Administration is sincere in making this assertion, and it is some assurance of the scope and extent of our contribution to this inescapable task.

To these few examples might be added others on which I base my conviction that the member governments have done not only a satisfactory, but a splendid job in the organization of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at Atlantic City. They have set up a program which, considering the magnitude of the task before them, is sound, conservative, and, I believe, practical. For instance, I have heard members, and it seems to me rightfully, criticize the use of the word "rehabilitation" in the Administration's title, with the suggestion that it should be eliminated. It must be borne in mind that this was the name adopted by the Administration on November 9 last, and is therefore not subject to amendment by the Congress; and the point I wish to make is that regardless of the possibility or probability of grandiose plans on the part of the originators of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation idea, the delegates or representatives of the United Nations, in their deliberations, resolutions, and plan of action, whittled it down to a concept strictly of relief to the exclusion of reconstruction and even rehabilitation except insofar as the latter may be necessary and incidental to relief for the stricken nations.

It is true that there is much that must be left to the discretion of the Council, the Central Committee, and the Director General, but this lies in the very nature of the undertaking. It is my conviction, therefore, that the right reserved to the member governments to be the sole judge as to how far they will implement their membership with appropriations is a sufficient safeguard against any runaway abuse of this discretion and power. If the ideals and objectives as expressed in the administration's resolutions and program of action are carried out and adhered to, I believe we will meet a desperate and appalling situation with an intelligent, conservative, and workable remedy.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mr. O'HARA. We have before us this picture: That we do not know when we shall be able to furnish relief to these occupied countries so desperately in need



of assistance. In all candor, does the gentleman have any doubt that this appropriation for U. N. R. R. A. is merely the opening appropriation?

Mr. JONKMAN. My honest opinion is just to the contrary, that this \$1,350,000,000 constitutes the over-all expense of the undertaking. It must be remembered that U. N. R. R. A. will deal only through recognized governments of liberated nations, or recognized authorities in those nations, and that wherever there is exchange or even local currency those nations will be obliged to pay for their supplies in the local currency or exchange, as the case may be; in other words, U. N. R. R. A. will act only through the government authorities and only in exceptional instances directly with the people. In that way much of this will constitute a revolving fund that can be used for other U. N. R. R. A. purposes. It is true, of course, if they take in local currency they could use it only in buying supplies and sending those perhaps to some other liberated territory, but nevertheless I think there is going to be a great deal of salvage in the way of recovery for supplies furnished which will replenish the revolving fund.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. Gladly.

Mr. STEFAN. In the hearings was there developed any information as to the approximate administrative cost of this program? What percentage of this appropriation will be represented in administration and how much will be actually expended for food, clothing, medical supplies for the suffering peoples in occupied countries after they are liberated?

Mr. JONKMAN. That, if course, was made the matter of a separate contribution. The sum of \$10,000,000, it is estimated, will take care of the administrative costs and will be a special contribution made by the United Nations for the purpose of administration.

Mr. STEFAN. Then \$10,000,000 will cover all the administrative expenses? Is that an annual expense?

Mr. JONKMAN. That I am not so confident about as I am that the two and one-half billions will cover the undertaking.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. Gladly.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Can the gentleman tell us why the American Red Cross and the International Red Cross and such other established relief agencies were excluded from participating in this program?

Mr. JONKMAN. When that query was first broached early in the summer of last year, the idea occurred to me that this could be done by the American Red Cross, but, after giving it some thought, I came to the conclusion that, after all, the American Red Cross and the International Red Cross are incorporated under certain perpetual principles. For instance, it is obliged to give succor to the enemy, if you want to take it that way, as well as to the Allies. There would, in the first place, be that difference. The Red Cross, of course, is supported by individual contributions to a large extent.

In addition to that, during the hearings we were officially—or, if not officially, then semiofficially—apprised of the fact that the Red Cross felt that it could not handle this and should not handle this. Whether that is official—I said semiofficial—it was at least brought to our attention in the committee hearings in such way that I accepted it as an answer.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. If the American Red Cross cannot, what about the International Red Cross?

Mr. JONKMAN. The International Red Cross too is pledged to help friend and foe alike. U. N. R. R. A. is confined to the occupied territories of the allied nations.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Could this amount we are asked to appropriate be supplemented by individual contributions? For instance if I had a hundred dollars I wanted to spend in one of these countries for the relief of the hungry and suffering, if this bill is passed that would be impossible, would it?

Mr. JONKMAN. My understanding is that you can. In contributing and cooperating you can even define as to what it shall be used for. For instance, if you want to give to Greece or Yugoslavia, that would be considered, but if you were to put too many conditions on it, for instance, that it should be given only to those under 12 years old, that might be considered a restriction too minute and you would have to waive it, but you could make contributions.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. How about the Red Cross supplementing U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. JONKMAN. I think U. N. R. R. A. will cooperate with the Red Cross. It seems to me there was some discussion about that in the hearings.

Mr. CURTIS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. This bill does not propose to give any relief to the civilians of enemy countries after the war, does it?

Mr. JONKMAN. Except insofar as might be necessary in adjacent territories where, for instance, there were epidemics or disease of some kind and it became necessary to overlap. It is my understanding this is confined to liberated territories.

Mr. CURTIS. You would not include Finland, for instance, in the category of liberated countries?

Mr. JONKMAN. Finland has not been invaded in this war, if my memory serves me well. In other words, this is confined to war-stricken territories as they will be liberated from occupation by the enemy.

Mr. CURTIS. I would like to ask the gentleman as a member of the committee to tell me what is meant by the words "any area" found in line 12, page 10? Does "area" mean any country and if it does not, what does it mean?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. JONKMAN. I think that is put in there merely to prevent overlapping. For instance, there may be activities by, we will say, a country such as France in

a territory, that is area, covered by U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. CURTIS. Is "area" synonymous with "country"?

Mr. JONKMAN. Not necessarily.

Mr. CURTIS. What does it mean?

Mr. JONKMAN. The words explain themselves. When U. N. R. R. A. is working in any area it shall be the exclusive agency within that area in order to prevent duplication.

Mr. CURTIS. Would "area" include several countries?

Mr. JONKMAN. It might. If they were working in several countries they would be excluded from there.

Mr. CURTIS. Then I would like to have the gentleman state whether "area" would include part of enemy territory?

Mr. JONKMAN. I do not suppose we would have absolute jurisdiction over that. Of course, it must be remembered that U. N. R. R. A. works only in conjunction with the military authorities as they evacuate areas and especially if they are still covering certain territory.

Mr. CURTIS. Could Europe be considered as one area?

Mr. JONKMAN. I think the gentleman is carrying his question to an absurdity.

Mr. CURTIS. No; I am not carrying it any place. I want to know what the committee's idea is.

Mr. JONKMAN. I do not think the language of the bill or the agreement had that in mind. It was provided that in certain areas where U. N. R. R. A. was working no other agency should work. At least unless it cooperated with U. N. R. R. A. I do not know that we could prevent that from other nations, and the term area must be applied as the occasion arises.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. On page 296 of the hearings, Resolution No. 1 of the first session of the council will be found in which there is a description of the areas in which the administration will operate. There is a very full description of what those areas are and I commend that to the gentleman's study.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. One thing has bothered me from the very first time this bill was brought to my attention. On this Council of members of U. N. R. R. A., is it not a fact that Britain will have six votes? That is, the British Empire will have six votes and the United States will have only one vote?

Mr. JONKMAN. In effect, I think the record discloses that situation.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Any amendment, according to the definition in the bill, may be agreed to by a simple majority, and if I remember correctly, in certain cases by a two-thirds majority?

Mr. JONKMAN. By a two-thirds majority, but such vote is not binding on any member government without its acceptance.



Mr. COLE of Missouri. And the United States would have only one vote?

Mr. JONKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Therefore, if the Council of U. N. R. R. A. decided to amend this whole set-up, the United States would have only one vote, and although that one vote was cast against it the law that we are passing today could, in effect be amended. Is that correct?

Mr. JONKMAN. The gentleman must recall what the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] said. That is, by this whole thing we are doing nothing until we make appropriations and we are doing practically nothing except by making appropriations. We are not bound to any further extent than the appropriations actually made.

Mr. STEFAN. Not in this bill. In this bill you are merely making an authorization.

Mr. JONKMAN. I mean that in the United Nations agreement, we make no commitment whatsoever, nor in this authorization. It is only when an appropriation is made that we are bound to the amount of the appropriation and nothing more than that.

Mr. STEFAN. If the gentleman will permit me to interrupt, should some member on that commission have six votes to our one, after all, this resolution would have to be supplemented by money or goods and certainly we could withhold appropriations, could we not?

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes.

Mr. O'HARA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. O'HARA. In response to the question of the gentleman from Missouri, the gentleman has admitted that by entering this U. N. R. R. A. set-up, they can change the law of the Congress upon this subject?

Mr. JONKMAN. Not necessarily. We must remember that the United Nations relief and rehabilitation agreement was made without the consent or concurrence of Congress because, as we heard this afternoon, it was considered to be in the category of an Executive agreement that could be so made.

Mr. O'HARA. As I understood the gentleman's answer to the question asked by the gentleman from Missouri, the gentleman stated that U. N. R. R. A. could change the agreement which we enter into by passing this law?

Mr. JONKMAN. With the President's concurrence. I think that modification should go in. But just as the agreement per se does not commit us in any way, this would be true of an amendment until implemented by an appropriation. In other words, the U. N. R. R. A. agreement, any amendments, and this bill amount to nothing until an appropriation is made an even then we are committed only for the expenditure of that appropriation, nothing more.

Mr. O'HARA. But that is the situation; is it not?

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

### CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b, SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS; MAPS; DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all roll calls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m., in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the

RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequent to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

10. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

11. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

12. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

13. *Appendix to permanent Record.*—The Public Printer shall publish an Appendix to the permanent RECORD, which shall contain all extraneous matter not germane to the proceedings.







DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
(Issued January 25, 1944, for actions of Monday, January 24, 1944)

(For staff of the Department only)

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SENATE

1. COMMODITY CREDIT; SUBSIDIES. Rejected, 33-38, Sen. Taft's (Ohio) motion to consider, H.R. 3477, the CCC bill, before the soldier-vote bill (pp. 609-10).  
Sen. Butler, Mebr., submitted an amendment which he intends to propose to this bill. (p. 603).  
Sen. Capper, Kans., criticized subsidies and inserted a Bellview (Kans.) Grange resolution opposing "subsidies and special crop parity payments for agriculture" (pp. 602-3).  
At the request of Sen. Barkley, Ky., passed over, S. 1088, to amend the AAA Act of 1938 to restrict the sale of cotton hold by or on behalf of the U.S.
2. A.A.A.; GRANTS-IN-AID. At the request of Sen. Barkley, Ky., passed over S. 1421, providing for State inspection of fertilizers and nursery stock or seeds that may be distributed by U.S. agencies (p. 607).
3. SURPLUS PROPERTY. At the request of Sen. Barkley, Ky., passed over S. Res. 195, requesting an investigation concerning Government property and materials no longer needed for war purposes (p. 606).
4. PAYMENTS IN LIEU OF TAXES. At the request of Sen. Barkley, Ky., passed over, S. 249, providing for taxation by the States and political subdivisions of real property acquired for military purposes (p. 606).
5. RECLAMATION. At the request of Sen. Barkley, Ky., passed over S. 1257, authorizing wartime construction and operation of reclamation projects (p. 606).
6. SOLDIER-VOTE BILL. Began debate on this bill, S. 1612 (pp. 610-38).
7. PERSONNEL. At the request of Sen. Barkley, Ky., passed over S. 865, suspending for the duration of the war the limitations upon the compensation of retired



personnel employed by the Government (p. 606).

8. CLAIMS; INSECT CONTROL. At the request of Sen. Vandenberg, Mich., passed over S. 403, for the relief of claimants who suffered losses and sustained damages as the result of the Mediterranean-fruitfly campaign in Fla. (p. 605).
9. DAIRY INDUSTRY. At the request of Sen. Barkley, Ky., passed over H.R. 149, to change the definition and standard of identity of certain dry milk solids (p. 608).
10. FOOD FOR EUROPE. Discussed and, at the request of Sen. Barkley, Ky., passed over S. Res. 100, favoring action looking to relief for starving peoples of Europe (p. 608).
11. PUBLIC LANDS. At the request of Sen. Barkley, Ky., passed over S. 1046 repealing 16 U.S.C. 431, which authorizes the President to proclaim U.S. lands as national monuments (p. 606).
12. SELECTIVE SERVICE. At the request of Sen. Barkley, Ky., passed over S. 675, to amend the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 so as to extend the benefits of the Employees' Compensation Act to conscientious objectors (p. 605).
13. LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS. Sen. Maloney, Conn., inserted a Washington Post editorial favoring his S. Con. Res. 23, to establish a Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress (p. 602).
14. FARM SITUATION. Sen. Capper, Kans., inserted a constituent's letter stating that farmers resent strikes and "complicated" income-tax forms (p. 603).

#### HOUSE

15. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on H.J. Res. 192, to enable the U.S. to participate in the work of UNRRA (pp. 646-68).  
Rejected, 78-135, Rep. Fish's (N.Y.) amendment to provide that 90% of the money authorized in the bill be spent for the purchase of farm products and other supplies in the U.S. (pp. 647-57) after agreeing to Rep. Crawford's (Mich.) amendment to the above amendment (p. 656).  
During the debate, Rep. Taber, N.Y., discussing the method of feeding people in distressed countries, stated that it should be done in a "very careful way..." We should not make the messes that the Board of Economic Warfare made and that the War Food Administration has made with reference to some of its "stockpiles" (p. 653).
16. SURPLUS COMMODITIES. Received from the War Food Administrator the annual report of the FSCC for the fiscal year 1943. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 672.)
17. TAXATION. Conferees were appointed on H.R. 3687, the tax bill (p. 645). Senate conferees were appointed Jan. 21 (p. 598).  
Rep. Carlson, Kans., spoke favoring his H.J. Res. 211, for the establishment of a Federal Tax Commission to streamline and simplify the entire Federal tax structure (p. 669).
18. PENALTY MAIL. Post Office and Post Roads Committee reported without amendment H.R. 4033, which requires (effective July 1, 1944) that all penalty envelopes and other mailing materials be procured or accounted for through the Post Office Department; that the Post Office Department report periodically to Congress and the Budget Bureau the number of such materials; that Government agencies include in their Budget estimates anticipated Post Office costs of handling penalty mail; that, beginning Aug. 1, 1944, no penalty mail weighing more than 4 pounds



Jefferson Bicentenary Committee the following Members of the House: Messrs. FLANNAGAN, KLEBERG, COFFEE, HOPE, and GILCHRIST.

#### REVENUE BILL

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 3687) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER appointed the following conferees: Messrs. DOUGHTON, CULLEN, COOPER, DISNEY, KNUTSON, REED of New York, and WOODRUFF of Michigan.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a copy of the program of the ceremonies attendant upon the dedication of the J. William Ditter Memorial Chapel at the Naval Air Station, Willow Grove, Pa., on yesterday, January 23, and of the addresses made by myself and my distinguished colleague, Hon. CHARLES A. PLUMLEY, of Vermont, at those ceremonies.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. MANASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an address I delivered at the mayors' conference at Chicago on the 21st of January, and further to extend my own remarks and include therein an address delivered by Under Secretary of War Robert Patterson at that conference.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an editorial from the Washington Post of today, and further to extend my own remarks and include therein a resolution from the Constitutional Convention of Missouri, now in session at Jefferson City, urging giving our soldiers the right to vote.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. POULSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own

remarks in the RECORD and include therein two editorials.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an address delivered by my colleague, the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. MERROW].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an article from the Soo Evening News about the remarkable record achieved at the Soo locks last year.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### CORRECTION OF ROLL CALL

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on roll call No. 6 I am recorded as not answering to my name. I was present and did answer. I ask unanimous consent that the RECORD and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes on the subject of the new rationing tokens.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. JARMAN, Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. VURSELL, and Mr. ARENDS asked and were given permission to extend their own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD two articles from the Philadelphia Record, one by Samuel Grafton and one by Charles Fisher, and I further ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include therein an editorial, together with the masthead that appeared in the Manzanar Free Press on January 1, 1944.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. COFFEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and also to extend my own remarks and include therein a copy of a speech by the Honorable M. J. Coldwell, member of the Canadian Parliament.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a timely article on Poland by Raymond Leslie Buell, which appeared in the New York Times on January 21, 1944.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made today, and also to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein two short articles from a newspaper and one editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a very interesting and instructive article by the majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK], which appeared in the Postmasters Gazette, and further to extend my remarks and include therein a resolution adopted by the Department of Massachusetts, Disabled American War Veterans.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. LARCADE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD with respect to the soldiers' mustering-out pay bill vote, and further to extend my remarks and include therein an editorial from the Washington Post.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]



Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a letter from ex-Senator Owen to the Secretary of State.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein some resolutions recently adopted by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on two subjects and include therein newspaper articles.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on two occasions, and in one to include an editorial and in the other an article from a newspaper.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a telegram from the Minnesota United Nations Committee in favor of U. N. R. R. A.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. McLEAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the

Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for further consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization.

The motion was agreed to.

According to the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of House Joint Resolution 192, with Mr. O'NEAL in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee rose on Friday last, the first section of the joint resolution had been read. The Clerk will report the first committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: On page 1, line 3, strike out the words "from time to time."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: On page 1, line 4, after the word "sums", insert "not to exceed \$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. COURTNEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. COURTNEY. Mr. Chairman, I had expected to discuss some features of the resolution now under consideration last week. If my colleagues will forgive me for injecting here a very intimate matter, any duty assigned to me in recent days has been difficult of performance. I have been grievously laboring under recent advice that a favorite nephew of ours, to whom I was deeply devoted, a first lieutenant in the Air Force, Troop Transport Command, in the South Pacific area, was dead of burns received in line of duty. Yesterday, at his former home in Chicago, memorial exercises were held so that his parents and other kin might say farewell to him with some degree of finality. That was all they could do. They did not have and will not have his body, to lower into a grave with the customary appropriate exercises. It will remain forever in some spot, perhaps unmarked, far across the waves of the wide Pacific. Just a few sacred hymns, a few prayers, and the book of his life was closed to family and friends alike. Gone in his early twenties, just out of college, with so little of life behind him and so much of life to live. We had him with us in our home here in Washington just a few short months ago. We took him to places of interest about the city, to the massive buildings that serve the various departments of our Government. He had a camera with him, and I remember with what interest he took pictures of buildings here and there, and sent them home to be put in a scrap-book, to see and see again in the years to come. We did not dream

that in those very hours the moving finger was writing already that he was not destined to see his pictures again, but that he was to die that the very permanency of those institutions, housed within and typified by these edifices, might remain.

On reflection over the week end, however, I came to the conclusion that I cannot let our proceedings under the resolution now being considered to be closed and sealed without some notation of my ideas upon the same being recorded, because to my mind the resolution under consideration has a direct relation to this boy's death and to that of the thousands of others of our boys who, like him, will not return to us when these days of tragic emergency are passed and the lights come on again all over the world.

They will die to reclaim the countries of the world from the tyranny of the arrogant conquerors, Japanese and Nazi alike. These conquerors created in these invaded lands a situation vividly expressed on Thursday last by the distinguished gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON]:

A situation such as the world has never seen, of starvation and destitution and horror; of indecency and violence; little children wandering from one place to another, in rags, always cold and wet, or scorched with the sun; children banded together for protection, like animals, suspicious and at the mercy of any passing horror. Our widest imagining does not give us the sense of what these people have been suffering and are suffering today.

Yes. In truth, the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse are riding furiously through Europe and Asia today.

These boys of ours are dying in driving the conquerors out. This bill is to enable us to give aid and succor to the helpless people as they are liberated, give them a chance to regain their way of life again. In short, to effectuate the very purpose for which the blood of our blood is being spilled, and the flesh of our flesh is going to premature graves.

I know that as this bill is being offered, millions in China, in Europe's ghettos, concentration camps, and Gestapo prisons, and in all the vast underground of the conquered areas, having known for years only the tread of enemy's boots, will be overjoyed to see the sure and certain signs of a great international army of relief following on the heels of the fleeing persecutors.

The word "UNRRRA" that we have heard so often on the floor of the House in the last few days, as has been aptly said, "is a strange new word in the world's vocabulary, but one full of hope to the world."

A great deal has been said on the floor of the House about the fact that India is not included in the scope of the proposed program. India is a vast and mysterious country, of which we know little, with problems and perplexities with which we are not acquainted. There is hunger and suffering there, of course, but so there is in Cuba perhaps, in the South American countries, and in countries all over the globe, not directly caused by the war. To include suffering humanity every-



where, in this program, would so dissipate its resources as to destroy the objective for which U. N. R. R. A. was conceived, namely to bring aid to liberated countries. All this is fully explained in the published hearings. In a letter written by the Honorable Dean Acheson to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] set out on page 276 of the document, there is this language:

I wish to assure you at the outset that I fully share the sympathy which you and your colleagues in the House of Representatives have expressed for the victims of the terrible starvation conditions in Bengal and other areas in India. In drafting the agreement for U. N. R. R. A., the purpose was \* \* \* to confront a problem unprecedented in the history of the world in its magnitude and tragedy, namely, that of dealing with the appalling barbarities which have been inflicted upon the oppressed peoples of the occupied countries of Europe and Asia by the efficient ruthlessness of the Nazi and Japanese military machines. \* \* \* To prepare effectively it was necessary to define the objectives. To make U. N. R. R. A. responsible to relieve all suffering everywhere, traceable to the war, would lead to the depletion of its resources and purposes quite beyond those which it was organized to perform, without hope of achieving the fundamental objections. (Hon. Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, who presided over the first session of the U. N. R. R. A. Council at Atlantic City.)

This matter was all threshed out at the meeting of the Council in Atlantic City, and the member of the Council from India evidently understood and appreciated that it was not feasible for relief to India to be included in this program. The session concluded with this statement from him just prior to adjournment:

Mr. Chairman, I shall crave your indulgence for one brief moment to thank you for reference to my country and to wish U. N. R. R. A. the fullest success in its beneficent and pressing task of carrying succor to those whose heroic and steadfast resistance has lent to the concept of liberty a new glory and to the spirit of liberty a new meaning.

Mr. Chairman, the history of this proposed legislation, the cost of same to our country, the details of its administration, and the extent and limits to which it proposes to go have been discussed fully by many members of our committee and are set out fully in the committee report. It is not necessary for me to repeat that our country's contribution to the cost of the program amounts to \$1,350,000,000—1 percent of our national income for last year, an amount that equals the cost of the prosecution of the war for 5 days only, a total insignificant in comparison to the ends to be achieved. After the last war, in aid to Belgium and other countries, our country subscribed twice this amount, or 4 percent of its national income for the year 1919. The 44 nations participating in this program, each of which pledges its proportionate part of the expense in what, in the last analysis, is an international community chest, do not surrender their sovereignty, but merely agree to work together for the benefit of the millions who have suffered most in the war. So that, without going again into these details, I would prefer to make these general observations: I have been a rather obscure

member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs for nearly 5 years, and claim no credit for the recent accomplishments of the committee. I am, however, deeply proud of my association with it because I believe that it is, somewhat slowly perhaps, but surely and certainly, aiding Congress in forging for this country a real and well-defined foreign policy. In March 1941 this committee brought to the House the lend-lease bill, a development in our foreign policy through which the United Nations pooled their economic resources for winning victory at a time when the day seemed dark indeed and the course long and hard. As has been aptly said, "the battle which took place in this arena during the first months of 1941 was one of the decisive battles of this war." Lend-lease provided not only an essential pattern for victory; it provided also the pattern by which victory was to be achieved, the pattern of the United Nations.

Last year this committee brought to the House the Fulbright resolution, in form and language perhaps one of the simplest resolutions ever to be submitted to this body, but in purpose and effect as important and far reaching as any ever to be considered. While in somewhat different language, the same idea went into legislation in the Senate, and our country is on record as favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery, with power adequate, to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and as favoring the participation of the United States therein.

Under the theory of the legislation based upon that idea, there is presented a pattern for peace, a pattern that will lead us away from the selfish isolationism that followed the last war and will insure that our dead in this war will not have died in vain.

The resolution that the committee brings you at this time is to supplement and strengthen that pattern for peace and give our Nation, with 43 others, the right and privilege of answering in the affirmative that age-old question: "Am I my brother's keeper?" But, after all, in helping others, we help ourselves. It was well said at the meeting of the council in Atlantic City that the moral and spiritual foundation of this legislation can be best expressed in the poet's words:

Any man's death diminishes me  
Because I am involved in mankind  
And therefore never send to know  
For whom the bell tolls.  
It tolls for thee.

Mr. Chairman, it has been well said that there are no atheists in fox holes, and as truly said that the most religiously inclined of our servicemen are those stout and valiant men of the air, who soar into the blue, venturing death each moment. And as Members of Congress deliberate and legislate in these trying and heartbreaking days, I do not believe that there are atheists here.

In contemplating this legislation that will help save from further suffering and starvation the people of 35 nations and hundreds of islands overrun by the Axis powers these 6 years past, in which were

living over five hundred million people, these verses from the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew came to my mind:

I was enhungered and ye gave Me meat;  
I was thirsty and ye gave Me drink; I was a stranger and ye took Me in; naked and ye clothed Me; I was in prison and ye came unto Me.

Then shall the righteous answer saying: Lord, whence saw we Thee hungered and fed Thee, or thirsty and gave Ye drink? When saw we Thee a stranger and took Ye in, or naked and clothed Thee? Or when saw we Thee sick or in prison and came unto Thee?

And the King shall answer and say unto them: Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment to the committee amendment.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the committee amendment has already been agreed to and the gentleman's amendment comes too late. There are two committee amendments.

The committee amendment to section 1 on line 3 has been read and agreed to, and the committee amendment on page 1, line 4, inserting the words "not to exceed \$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate" has already been agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM] is correct. The amendment has been read and agreed to and is not subject to amendment. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: On page 1, line 6, after the word "determine", insert the words "from time to time."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. FISH: On page 1, line 5, after the figures and words, \$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate" insert "of which 90 percent shall be spent for the purchase of farm products and other supplies in the United States."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH] is recognized for 5 minutes:

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, the amendment that I have offered is a very simple amendment. It has one main purpose, and that is that 90 percent of this huge sum of money that we are authorizing in this bill, to the amount of \$1,350,000,000, shall be spent for agricultural products and other supplies in the United States. This is nothing new to the proposal. When the Congress passed the Red Cross bill and provided for an authorization of \$85,000,000, it likewise provided that the entire \$85,000,000 should be spent exclusively in the United States. This is not temporary legislation going over a few months, but it may continue for a few years. It is the American taxpayers' money that is being spent, and I do not think that people from the Farm Belt want to go back home and say they have voted \$1,350,000,000 for relief in



foreign lands and have not protected American interests to the extent at least that our own money be spent in America to buy supplies here, whether they are agricultural, medicinal, clothing, fuel, or other needed supplies. The amendment has no partisan significance whatever. It is a pure American amendment, consistent with precedents of the past.

I recall to the House that we are now struggling to provide additional taxes. The President asked for \$10,000,000,000, and Congress could find only two billion and a quarter dollars, and yet we are about to appropriate \$1,350,000,000 for relief in foreign countries. I am merely proposing that 90 percent of this money be spent to purchase supplies in our own country. Some of our own people are asking for consumers' benefits and subsidies to the amount of \$1,500,000,000. So far, that has been turned down. Yet there are those in the House who would authorize the appropriation of this vast sum with no limitation whatever as to where the money will be spent or even confining it to food, clothing, fuel, and medicinal supplies and not for rehabilitation and reconstruction.

I call attention to the fact that now we have a debt of approximately \$200,000,000,000. Probably if the war continues for another year, we will have a national debt of \$300,000,000,000, with interest charges of about \$6,000,000,000 a year, fixed charges, and with \$2,000,000,000 more for veterans that will make a fixed interest indebtedness of \$8,000,000,000 a year. And we are coming here and asking the Congress to authorize an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000. All I am trying to do in this particular amendment is to provide that at least 90 percent of the money be spent in this country for the benefit of our own wage earners in industries and on the farms and in the mines. If this were to be spent within the next month probably it would not be necessary, but nobody can tell when these countries will be liberated. It may go over 6 months or a year. We may have ample supplies when the war is won in Europe. We have already reached the peak of production here, or will in a few months' time, and after that we may again be confronted with unemployment in the United States, and we may have millions of soldiers coming home to join the army of unemployed as well as our factory workers, who may then be out of work and yet you oppose my amendment that this money shall be spent in America for American products and to provide employment for our own people.

No one can say that we will not have 20,000,000 unemployed by the end of 1945.

I am in favor of substantial appropriations to feed the starving and to clothe the destitute in war-torn Europe and to furnish them with medicinal supplies, fuel, and the necessities of life but not one dollar for rehabilitation or reconstruction. We did not start this European war and although I am glad for humanitarian reasons to vote for hundreds of millions to provide bread, fats, and milk for the starving people, particularly the women and children, I

see no reason to build or rehabilitate textile factories or any other factories in Europe when we are facing national bankruptcy in America.

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield.

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. I am interested in agriculture as much as anybody in this House. I would like to ask the distinguished gentleman from New York this question. You do not think that the Committee on Appropriations that will deal with these appropriations from year to year will have the opportunity, and that they will be the proper committee to place a limitation on any sum of money that is appropriated from year to year or from time to time to carry out the purposes of this bill?

Mr. FISH. I will say to the gentleman, the Committee on Appropriations will have no authority under the law whatever to limit these appropriations. All it can do is make appropriations. It cannot say that a dollar shall be spent in America or how it shall be spent—that is the function of the legislative committees of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has been recognized. Does the gentleman from Texas yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Not right now.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment ought not to be adopted. I believe that if the gentleman who offered the amendment had been a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs that considered this legislation for the weeks and months that we have considered it, and if he knew all the conditions and methods of operation, he would not have offered the amendment. The purchase of supplies in this country and what this country will furnish will be determined not by U. N. R. R. A., but by officials of our Government. There will be no disposition to not furnish anything that our part consists of where it can be had in this country without jeopardizing our stock supplies of what we need in this country.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, when U. N. R. R. A. makes a call upon the United States for a contribution either in money, funds, or in goods, that request has to clear through the agencies of the United States Government to determine whether or not we can, without jeopardizing or hurting our own stock supplies, furnish the materials, and if we cannot do it, it will not be furnished. It is contemplated that a large percentage of what the United States contributes either in goods or in money will be purchased in this country. But it would be foolish to put in a strait jacket such as this amendment would do, the ques-

tion of how and what percentage should be purchased in this country.

Mr. Chairman, the amendment should be defeated.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HERTER rose.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Massachusetts rise?

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, it so happens that the gentleman who is now about to address us is the only Member of this House who has had long and varied experience in relief work after the First World War, since he was a high official in all the work that this Nation did. Therefore I ask unanimous consent that at this point he may have an additional 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object—

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I say, reserving the right to object.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair waited a sufficient time and did not hear any objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Well, I was on my feet, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I wonder if—

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts has been recognized. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts yield to the gentleman from Idaho?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. I will ask my question at the proper time.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, the only reason I am rising in opposition to this amendment is that I think the gentleman who offered the amendment has a misconception as to the actual nature of a relief operation as provided for under the U. N. R. R. A. agreement, and as is required by the circumstances which I think we have to visualize, both on the continent of Europe and possibly in parts of Asia in the event of the cessation of hostilities.

We are still unclear as to the nature of progress in the Pacific war. But insofar as Europe is concerned, we face two possibilities. The first is that we shall liberate these countries, piece by piece, and U. N. R. R. A. will be called on to come in only when the military says the time is ripe for a civilian organization to administer relief behind the lines. If that particular situation should exist, I suspect that the sum of money that is provided for in this bill will never be utilized to the full, or nearly to the full, by U. N. R. R. A., because the major portion



of this bit-by-bit relief operation will have to be done as a matter of military necessity by our military forces.

The second possibility, the one which I think we all hope for, is that there will come a sudden defeat of Germany and a collapse of the Central Powers, in which event there will be a sudden and very great over-all relief problem, a problem that will be directly connected with universal chaos on most of the continent of Europe. Should that happen, and at the moment it seems a most likely thing to happen, what are the actual processes of relief? What has to be done? Obviously No. 1 is to have supplies readily at hand and accessible. The second is to have transportation to get them where they are needed. In the sum of money that is provided for in this bill, which is merely a maximum amount to which specific limitations can be considered at the time the actual appropriation comes before the House, it is provided that all gifts in kind shall be credited against that amount which represents the maximum liability of this country. Now, if we actually got into a sudden large relief operation, which would be essential in the event of the collapse, just as important as foodstuffs would be the question of transportation. In fact, without adequate transportation, all the food we could ship into central Europe or eastern Europe would be worth absolutely nothing. The transportation problem is going to be the most crucial and most vital, because, as I think every Member of this House knows, transportation facilities have already deteriorated terrifically. In the event of a collapse there is likely to happen exactly what happened in the last war. The entire transportation system will go to pieces. What then would be the major contribution that this country would be called upon to make from the point of view of this emergency relief? It would be to furnish transportation. It would be the obvious thing for the U. N. R. R. A. to call on the United States Army to release to it as quickly as possible the maximum number of trucks that could be made available to distribute foodstuffs throughout the chaotic regions. Every truck so turned over would be credited against this maximum commitment which the United States is being called on to make in this bill. The same is true of every pair of shoes that would be provided. It is true of every bit of cloth or material and of uniforms and of field kitchens and of medicines.

The material which the Army is collecting in north Africa and elsewhere for military purposes will, at the time of the collapse, represent surplus goods which this country will not want to bring back to the United States in ships. We will want to use those ships to bring the boys back. The surplus material will no longer be required for carrying out the war. I do not think anybody in this Chamber would want to see us use shipping to bring second-hand trucks, second-hand field kitchens, or surplus shoes, clothing, medicines, and things like that back to this country. The greatest utility for this material

would be to finish the job that the military boys have done, namely, make the liberation of those people a reality, so that they do not die of starvation, do not die of disease, after they have been liberated. This military equipment can be used for that purpose, and every bit of it so turned over would be credited against the maximum figure that is specified in this agreement.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I am glad to have the gentleman's explanation and to get the gentleman's point of view. Would the gentleman point out where there is anything in the agreement that provides for a credit against the appropriation of these items the gentleman has mentioned?

Mr. HERTER. I would be glad to give my understanding of the answer to that question and I am sure a member of the committee would be glad to confirm it, namely, that all gifts in kind are to be credited against the quota of any nation, and to be credited at such a valuation or figure as that nation itself puts on the particular article that is turned over.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. WRIGHT. An explanation of your experience with the transportation problem after the last war might be interesting, your experience of being forced to operate a railroad in relief after the last war, in order to get food and provisions to the starving people of Europe.

Mr. HERTER. I think what the gentleman is referring to is two separate things. Immediately after the armistice in the last war, the American Relief Administration, which was then by unanimous consent the organization charged with the primary responsibility of trying to maintain some order in central Europe, borrowed from the United States Army, 1,100 Army officers. They immediately proceeded to almost every vital center in central and eastern Europe, with the primary purpose of trying to keep transportation moving. Later, in 1922, when the American Relief Administration and the European Relief Council went into Russia, the primary problem again was transportation. Some 200 American boys were in there and there were 750,000 Russians working under them. Their problem was to keep a completely disorganized railroad system moving, a job which they did, considering their experience and the untold difficulties, with remarkable skill.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. The gentleman is also on the Republican Food Committee and has given great study to that subject. Is it not true that in general we have more foreign exchange than we have surplus food, and there might arise instances where we would rather spend more than 10 percent of our money buying food from Argentina to ship abroad

rather than to continue under rationing for a longer period in this country, so that we could send our own food abroad?

Mr. HERTER. I agree entirely with the gentleman, that to put ourselves in a strait jacket so that we had to supply a great bulk of food for this relief operation would be very foolish on our own part. We do not know whether we are going to face a crop failure in the United States next year or not. We do not know whether Argentina will produce a large crop. We do not know what the situation will be in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, or other places.

Mr. ROLPH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. ROLPH. The gentleman has made a very interesting statement of his position with reference to this amendment. Would the gentleman favor rephrasing those words to say, "or American-produced goods"?

Mr. CRAWFORD. That is in there already.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I have a preferential motion which is at the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] offers a preferential motion, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. HOFFMAN moves that the Committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House with the recommendation that the enacting clause be stricken out.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, this method of gaining the floor to speak on this bill is employed because no other was available.

Without in any way criticizing the discretion of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON], who is the ranking minority member of the committee and who had control of the time during 2 days of general debate, the opponents of it could not, except in a few instances, get time except to extend their remarks in the RECORD. The next time that procedure is followed by the ranking minority member, it will be my purpose to claim a question of personal privilege and take 1 hour, so we might just as well know that there should be a fair division of the time hereafter or Members will be forced to protect themselves by every available procedure.

STILL HYPNOTIZED

Although the voters at the 1942 elections repudiated the New Deal—lock, stock, and barrel—and although the voters in a Democratic Pennsylvania district cast 57 percent of their votes in



repudiation of the New Deal, and in another, a Republican district in the same State, by 83 percent of the votes cast said they wanted none of it, some Democrats for political reasons, and some Republicans because they have been intimidated by the Winchells of the administration and because they may be afraid of accusations of disloyalty, still, when it comes to foreign policy, continue to be led around by the nose by the New Deal foreign policy.

The President realizes the people are sick of the New Deal, and this was conclusively shown when he indicated not so long ago that he wanted a new slogan for the pending campaign. He served notice that during the pending campaign he was burying the slogan, "The New Deal", adopting the one of "Win the War."

That has been the slogan of the American people ever since the 7th day of December 1941, and even Franklin Delano Roosevelt cannot monopolize it.

That the New Dealers merely wish to have the term forgotten for the duration of the campaign is shown by the statement of Vice President WALLACE last Saturday night when he said:

Roosevelt, God willing, will in the future give the New Deal a firmer foundation than it has ever had before. So, on with the New Deal.

In view of the election returns, just why Republicans, or Democrats, for that matter, should be afraid of another smear campaign is beyond my comprehension. The Communists, the New Dealers, the smear artists; certain publications, among which we found the New Republic, the Daily Worker, the Chicago Sun, New Masses, and a host of pamphlets and books, and a few radio scandal-mongers like Winchell, ever since before the November elections of 1942 right down to the present moment, have been engaged—and they will continue to be engaged—in a vicious, lying campaign, charging a lack of patriotism and loyalty to all those who vigorously and effectively oppose the New Deal, the overthrow of our Government, either by force or by subterfuge; who believe in America, and who insist that we, as do Stalin and Churchill, think and act first in the interests of our own country.

After the last war this country spent some \$2,000,000,000 in relieving the unfortunate people of Europe in war-stricken areas. That money was spent without criticism by one of the outstanding statesmen of that day and of today, Herbert Hoover. It was spent so efficiently, so effectively that no one criticized.

A similar situation confronts us today. Herbert Hoover is still alive; still ready and willing, we may all assume, to repeat his magnificent work in feeding the hungry of the world. But this administration will have none of it. Fearful that Hoover might do the job efficiently and so earn some measure of credit for himself and incidentally for the political party to which he belongs, the President will not avail himself of Hoover's acknowledged talents. Nor will he entrust the expenditure of this billion, three hundred and fifty million dollars, for which

he is asking, to a commission made up of American citizens intent upon American interests.

With the idea of a super United States of the world, a super world government, in the back of the minds of the New Dealers, they are determined that every possible use shall be made of every situation to further union now or some similar plan.

Until our Constitution has been superseded by a world agreement; until our flag has been hauled down and some international rag run up in its place, those who would, as they said, remake America, will never be satisfied, will never cease to charge all who oppose them with disloyalty.

The Republican Party having announced that it would collaborate with other nations in restoring and maintaining peace, the New Dealers and the internationalists brazenly assume that collaboration means, so far as we are concerned, follow along. They have as their motto the words of the old song, "Where He leads me, I will follow," and they damn all who do not choose to follow the broad and easy way which leads to destruction.

This pending measure is entirely unnecessary. It is the opening wedge which will let through for years to come a stream of gold collected from the already overburdened taxpayer. It is another step toward the surrender of a portion of our sovereignty; toward the subordination of our interests to the plans and the purposes of a group of foreign power politicians.

So far as I know, no one objects to the giving of any reasonable aid to those who are in need of food or clothing. There is no reason, however, why we should spend money which may be needed, which will be needed, to care for, to hospitalize, to rehabilitate, our returning veterans—use that money to rehabilitate people in other countries.

What we are asked by this bill is not to appropriate the \$1,350,000,000 to be spent under the supervision of Americans for relief, but to appropriate that sum to be spent by an international organization in which sit 44 representatives of 44 nations, and where we shall have one of 45 votes.

That money is to be used not only for relief, but, under the terms of the bill, it is to be used for rehabilitation—rehabilitation of people and of nations.

Just why we should continue to place the interests of the people of other lands before the welfare of our own is a question which is puzzling many of our citizens. Many of our citizens have had their businesses, their means of livelihood, destroyed by this war. They have taken their losses uncomplainingly and they cannot understand why the businesses, the cities, the nations, across the sea should be restored, rehabilitated, by funds to which they have contributed by their tax payments.

In my humble judgment the money which we appropriate to feed and to clothe people whose countries have been overrun and are now occupied by Hitler or by Japan should be spent by and under

the direction of an American or an American commission.

I shall not vote to give billions of dollars to any group of foreigners to spend as they may wish; to spend so that the recipients of those funds can come in competition with the American wage earner or the American businessman.

When this administration asks for money to be used where needed to relieve suffering and to be spent under American supervision, my vote shall be cast in favor of the needed appropriation.

That the people know what is going on here in Washington and that they are resentful of the fact that still, on occasion, like sheep we follow the New Deal leadership, is evident from the attached editorial from the Westmoreland Observer of January 13, 1944, published at Greensburg, Pa. That editorial reads:

#### IT DOES MAKE YOU LAUGH

A New Dealer sees a Republican stick his head out of his storm cellar to sniff the political wind, and shouts "isolationist." The Republican quickly ducks back in his hole. This illustrates the gutless state of mind of the Republican Party.

In conceding a half-hearted endorsement of the Roosevelt-New Deal foreign policy, and trying to fit it, as a plank, into the Republican party, only reveals to American voters the utter decadence of the party and disgusts millions of citizens who would like a chance to vote on this issue.

Why is it that the Republicans cannot, or will not, take a stand on this issue in opposition to the New Deal? Why do Republicans take the charge laying down, that they are responsible for this war by their "isolationist" policies when there is not a particle of truth in the charge?

Did not the Republican Party do everything it was reasonably possible to do in the way of international pacts and agreements to insure world peace? Do present-day Republicans not know the history of their party in foreign affairs when it was in power after the last war? What was "isolationist" about their foreign policy?

What did the New Deal do from 1933 to the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 to preserve world peace? Certainly the policy of the Dealers didn't keep us out of war. Did they not promise that their policy, and only their policy, would keep our boys from again being sent to die on foreign soil. Did it? The New Dealers had their own way right down to Pearl Harbor.

Now, why was the fleet tied up at Pearl Harbor, a perfect target for an attack? Was it the Republicans who kept it tied up there, and the air force stationed there asleep? Would the Japs have attacked Pearl Harbor if the fleet had been out in deep water, stripped for action? And why have the commanders of the Army and Navy in charge at Pearl Harbor not been brought to court martial, and all those responsible for that major tragedy exposed?

Well, by the way they are acting, you'd think it was they.

And finally, the New Dealers, feeling that they have the Republicans on the run on foreign policy, are heaping it on. They are promising the people everlasting peace; they say they know how—but they are not telling—and of course, the Republicans are too mealy-mouthed to ask them. But the American people know about the pledges and promises made by the New Dealers. And everybody in America knows—except, of course, the Republican leaders—that Mr. Stalin and Mr. Churchill are going to have something to say about the kind of peace that will be established after the war is won.



And there are plenty of signs that it is not going to be anything like what the New Dealers are attempting to tell the American people it will be. But the Republicans—oh, what's the use—they need an undertaker, not a Presidential candidate.

I cannot agree with the Westmoreland Observer that the Republicans need an undertaker, unless, by that statement, the editor means that the Republicans intend to bury the New Deal and need one for that purpose. However, in my opinion, the New Deal will bury itself.

Nor should the Republican leaders be criticized too much because they have not been more actively opposed to the New Deal. Some of us have fought the New Deal from the beginning right down to the present moment and look at what we got—abuse all the time, charged with disloyalty most of the time, and the people, until November 1942 on every occasion expressing their approval of the New Deal.

Leaders have been a little slow to catch up with some of the opposition to the New Deal. But the people themselves—editors especially—have been somewhat lukewarm; not overly aggressive in criticizing this administration and its policies. Perhaps that was due to a large extent to the fact that we are at war and all wish to proceed cautiously.

Let us hope that, once more and soon, all will be devoted to the defeat of our enemies; the reestablishment of a constitutional form of government here at home.

The Government has men in the armed forces who have been especially trained for administrative duties in conquered lands and those men rather than a group like U. N. R. R. A. should be charged with the expenditure of any funds appropriated by Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. I do not know whether the gentleman from Michigan desires to withdraw his motion or not. If not, I want to oppose him at the proper time.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York seek recognition on the motion at this time?

Mr. BLOOM. Not at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. REED] is recognized.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. REED of New York was granted permission to revise and extend his own remarks.)

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, this proposed U. N. R. R. A. is an anti-Christian approach to a traditional Christian problem. I am sure that the overwhelming sentiment of the American people, true to a long and honorable tradition, is favorable to rendering aid to the sick, hungry, and suffering men, women, and children of Europe and Asia. I dare say that of the 2,000,000,000 people in this world, that of this number the 700,000,000 adherents of the Christian faith wish to give concrete expression to that faith by rendering aid and mercy to the suffering, hungry victims of this devastating war. Believing, as I do, that such is the sentiment of the Christian people everywhere, I stand ready at any and all times to vote the necessary funds

to the extent that reasonable assurance can be given that such funds will be used for the high and noble humanitarian purpose which our traditionally generous people have in mind.

I do not intend to permit myself, under the pressure of the hysteria of the moment, to give support to legislation clothed in the habiliment of human sympathy as a means of obscuring from public view the world political power Frankenstein concealed within.

It is not the amount of money involved in this bill that is important just now because it is a matter of recorded history that as a nation drifts and finally faces insolvency the most plentiful and cheapest product of that nation at such a time is money. This Nation is surfeited with money, borrowed money. In every step taken by the New Deal in its all-inclusive program of enforced scarcity, money is the one thing that has become increasingly and dangerously plentiful.

Is it necessary to set up this U. N. R. R. A. machinery for becoming entangled in a new world order of power politics to effectively distribute \$1,350,000,000 to starving men, women, and children throughout Europe and Asia? Are there no existing Christian organizations with long and honorable records of humanitarian achievement, fully equipped in every way to administer the desired relief? Of course there are such organizations, ready and prepared to act. They are now operating in the field. What is wrong with the National Red Cross, the Society of Friends, and others? Who objects to utilizing the facilities and personnel of these great agencies of mercy?

I will tell you who they are: They are the alien-minded power politicians who seek to build a new world order, who see in this fund of \$1,300,000,000 and other billions to follow the very elements of political domination of starving populations. No tears will be shed over the ghastly victims of starvation by those who will control the organization set up by this legislation. The alien-minded manipulators of our declarations of policy do not favor, but instead desperately fear, the adoption of a plan by which distribution of food and clothing will be made by Christian agencies. What has been the excuse given by some of our allies in justification of letting little innocent, starving, pot-bellied, moaning babies starve? Why, they say: "What if the Nazis should steal it and thus prolong the war?" But does the evidence show that this danger exists? Dr. Howard E. Kershner, director of relief in Europe from 1939 to 1942 for the American Friends Service Committee, stated that not a mouthful of food sent to the people in other occupied countries ever reached the mouths of the enemy. Does not our State Department bear witness to the fact that the enemy forces or populations have never had access to the 19,000 tons of food going to Greece each month?

This piece of legislation, like so many New Deal proposals, has set forth in it a worthy objective, but concealed within its provisions are commitments to fur-

ther alien intrigues in the field of world power politics.

The printed pages of the hearings on this resolution (H. J. Res. 192) are as barren of facts pertinent to the real issues involved as the Sahara Desert is destitute of fertile soil and moisture to produce food.

It was not until pressure was applied to Russia that she let her people know that help was being furnished to her by the United States. If the United States is to raise the morale of Europe and Asia through benefactions, then let it be distributed through the channels of charitable agencies already organized and equipped to render such a service and do it free from political manipulation on the part of any one or all of our allies. I am not in favor of voting \$1,300,000,000 under the alien terms of this resolution to enable any part of the fund to be used to undermine the Christian concept of religion. I do not believe it will be sacrilegious or unpatriotic to show some concern now and then for the welfare and protection of our own people, especially when passing on these potential post-war hand-out proposals.

With an estimated future debt of from \$300,000,000,000 to \$500,000,000,000, and a post-war peacetime Budget of from \$20,000,000,000 to \$30,000,000,000, our appropriations for world-wide charity must have some limit if this Republic is to survive the drain that will be made upon it.

I want to say further that this war will not end famine, pestilence, revolutions, nor war. There will still be the menace to this Republic from within and from without from the impact of fascism, communism, or collectivism in one form or another. There will be unemployment here and abroad and political master minds will be on hand to play upon the discontented and the revolutionaries. The witches' kettle of class hatred will be well stirred as a means to political power.

Let us not by this unwise, un-American legislation arm the international political manipulators with an instrumentality of power with which they can exercise control of life and death over the starving victims of war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

All time on the preferential motion has expired.

The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Michigan.

The motion was rejected.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment proposed by the gentleman from New York.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I would not take this time except for two reasons: First, the statement of the gentleman from Michigan that I have 7 sons. I greatly regret I have but 1. I have 7 of my family in this World War. One nephew was killed bombing over Germany; another, bombing over Holland, was shot down and is now a prisoner in a German camp; I have 1 grandson in



Italy this minute on the firing line; I have another grandson in the marines, and the others are scattered in the Pacific and on various fronts. I wish to God I had 25 of them instead of 7. I wish I were young enough to go myself, but there seems to be plenty of fighting right here.

Second, I had no idea that I was so absolutely unfair until the gentleman drew my portrait as being unfair in the allocation of time in the debate on this bill. I gave out the time on one principle only, the famous principle of seniority. As fast as gentlemen asked me for time I put their names down and called them in that order. If those who were opposed were slow getting in their requests for time, that is not my fault, but I humbly apologize because were I able, I would gladly have impinged upon eternity to give everybody a chance to "blow off."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to say one word about these amendments and I ask you to listen to me. We stand at this moment in the most fateful hour in human history. For the first time in history, 44 nations of the world are clinging together to save freedom for mankind. When this war is over we shall have a shattered world and it will be absolutely necessary to rebuild a civilization on a world basis. This bill is the first attempt on the part of 44 nations to unite in some world program of cooperation and collaboration for the relief of distress and anguish, and for that reason I am in favor of it. We will make mistakes, there will be wastage, there will be stupidity, there will be selfishness, there will be failures due to human frailty, but it is our first attempt to meet the challenge of the new age and I hope and pray that the Members of this great body will not hamstring this legislation by a lot of useless amendments. Rather, let us face the fact that this is primarily an attempt, as suggested by the gentleman from South Dakota on Friday last, to achieve in some real degree cooperation and collaboration among the nations of the world. Personally, I hope with all my heart that with this beginning we may finally evolve a world civilization based upon freedom, justice, and humane good will.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, I was rather sorry to hear my good friend the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED], for the first time since I have been a Member, use Christianity as a reason for not voting for a bill. It happens that I am a communicant of the Catholic Church and a Christian. I had an idea that if Christianity were going to be injected into this debate it might be as an argument for the proposal certainly not as an argument against it. In any event, it is the first time I have ever heard any Member go so far as to inject the great truths and influences of Christianity and of all the creeds that constitute Christianity as a reason for voting against any legislation.

We should not fail to grasp the requirements of our present or future position or to comprehend the probable current of international affairs.

The United States has played a unique and vastly important part in its lifetime in the history of nations.

We have territory, natural wealth which we have developed, and we have liberty. Today we are the greatest Nation in the world, with the opportunity of leadership and with the world looking to us for right leadership.

The rest of the world realizes that our greatness and wealth are not the result of aggression, conquest, or spoliation. We do not possess our strength and our greatness in consequence of a series of aggressive conquests against our weaker neighbors. And the world knows that. That is a prominent reason why the United States in addition to its power, strength, and greatness, will exercise powerful influence among the other nations of the world, if we exercise our leadership for future world order to prevent the probability of another world disorder in the not too remote future.

There is no question but what the great majority of our people want our Government to act in accordance with the highest ethical motives upon which national actions can be based. Our people realize we have the opportunity and responsibility, consistent with our national and individual interests, to assume a leadership that will engrave our national name foremost on history's roll.

The passage of this bill will be a marked contribution toward that end.

This bill is a war measure.

This bill is also a humane measure.

It is for our national interest to enact this bill into law.

This bill is not only consistent with our national interest, but its passage will constitute a nobility of action on our part that the people in conquered lands and elsewhere will appreciate and which—while we do not intend it as such—will pay us big dividends later on.

If I know the sentiments and the soul of the American people at all, there is one thing I do know and that is that the American people prefer a generous part devoid of gain and even entailing loss, as one able writer said some years ago "to one which they know beforehand spells selfish aggression or selfish conservation."

In conclusion, may I say that the amendment offered by the distinguished gentleman from New York, if adopted, will not be for the best interests of our country. Certainly it is sending a message to the other countries of the world that instead of this great Nation, based upon its national interest, doing things from an unselfish angle, under the guise of assuming our proper leadership, if we adopt this amendment we are sending a message to the other nations of the world that the greatest nation in the world is thinking of selfish rather than an unselfish leadership.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to offer a motion to recommit this U. N. R. R. A. measure.

Our ally, Stalin, is waging war valiantly, but his way of governing people is

neither Christian, nor American, nor just. This measure offers him and his European political machine the chance to sin all the sins ever committed in the name of charity.

It is urged that unless you vote for this camouflaged weapon of destruction you will be taken for an isolationist and thereby hurt yourself or your party in the next election. Of all the sniveling, hypocritical, and fallacious arguments, that one is the ultimate. It is not even smart leadership.

Surely millions of dollars have been spent for propaganda to make the word "isolationist" hated by Americans. That money has been wasted. In 1940—until after the election—who was the loudest isolationist in America? The candidate for President who got elected. He said it—"again and again." Remember?

Who will be elected President in 1944? The candidate who seems less likely to give the country away. The isolationist. It's in the air. You can feel it in your bones.

If you adhere sternly to our sterling American principle, what do you care what they label you? To the extent that isolationism means following the tradition principles of foreign policy laid down by our first and greater President, George Washington, every American worth the name should today be a fighting isolationist. To those principles, followed more or less faithfully for over a century, we Americans owe all that we have and all that we hope to have—all the spiritual and temporal power which have made America a legend of godlike stature throughout the world.

What are those traditional principles? Expressed in Washington's Farewell Address, they all boil down to one word—"justice"—justice to all at home and abroad. It is justice which says, as Washington did, that we should defend America. That we should be friendly to all nations, but that we should not involve America in international alliances, hates, or partialities which may lead to wars not necessary to the defense of America.

It was not merely because of American power but also because they expected us to adhere to American principles that Europeans urged America to rescue them from Hitler. Why is it, then, that people all over Europe today are asking, "If you didn't come to rescue us from dictatorship, what are you fighting for?"

The growing resentment is not due to so-called isolationism, but to the way we have forsaken the primary American principle of justice, oft called isolationism. No believer in traditional principles—no isolationist—has been permitted to control or influence our policies. If traditional American principles had been followed, punishment of the Japs who attacked us would have been swift and certain. The British Admiral Mountbatten would not have been given the American men and supplies which our greatest American military genius, General MacArthur, says he needs to defeat the Japanese.

If the traditional American principles had been followed at Moscow, Moscow would not have been another Munich.



Stalin helped Hitler start this war. The war he helped start boomeranged and he himself was attacked. We owe him nothing except respect for not folding up and for fighting magnificently instead in self-preservation. While owing him no more than respect, America gave lavishly of supplies and men and donated a second front which fought his enemy, Hitler, all the way across Africa up to Rome.

At Moscow, however, Stalin demanded more than he had the right to ask or America had the right to give. We had no right to give him Poland or any other countries in Europe. In addition, we promised him another second front consisting mostly of Americans because the British still have some sense left. His gratitude, we are told, was charming, but how will he feel when, after building him up as successor to Hitler, the same people urge America to go to war for the same reasons for which they urged us to fight Hitler? Does Stalin today have the same respect for our country as he would have if at Moscow and Tehran we had adhered religiously to our American principles and kept our self-respect?

It is not yet too late to remedy our colossal blunder. It has been revealed by a competent Washington reporter that in England there is such opposition to the Moscow appeasement that Mr. Churchill has urged reconsideration for the agreements and unless he succeeds his ministry may fall. But what is America doing about it? Our State Department minces. Our Congress considers this U. N. R. R. A. bill, which would make us accessory after the fact to the unjust Moscow concessions. Shall we boast of relieving European victims of cruel dictatorship and pass a measure which will help give Europe another cruel dictator?

International cooperation, good fellowship, charity. Those are traditional American principles, but without justice what do they amount to? It is not isolationism, but the weird, opportunistic, unjust blunders of internationalists which are turning the age-old dream of universal lasting peace into a nightmare, a tower of Babel, a confusion of empty words and promises. The first step toward universal brotherhood and peace is justice—traditional American justice. If and when America begins once more to stand for justice at home and abroad we can resume our march of progress toward a higher stage of civilization.

Mr. IZAC. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, I am glad of the opportunity this legislation provides for the Congress to embark on a policy of collaboration and cooperation with all of our brethren in the family of nations. The idea of our shutting ourselves up in a shell, of trying to ring the United States in a shield of steel, and thus maintaining our peace and prosperity and security, is an exploded theory. We tried the noble experiment of neutrality but it just would not work because other nations were not of the same mind. And it must be evident to everyone today that our country cannot exist a virile

and prosperous land with all the rest of the world in turmoil and the peoples in distress.

Somewhere in this debate it has been argued that the Constitution does not permit us to function in the way this legislation provides: that this is a treaty and therefore the House of Representatives can have no part in these proceedings; that it is the function of the Senate alone to ratify such a step.

It may be true that the framers of the Constitution did not specifically countenance such international collaboration, and it is true that George Washington warned against entangling alliances. But was not that due principally to the fact that they could not have foreseen the advances that were to be made in reducing the effects of time and space on this terrestrial globe? I am inclined to believe so. With the development of radio, of the airplane, of moving pictures, and of so many other inventions time and space have almost been annihilated. And the result has been to bring us daily into close and intimate contact with all the people of the world. It has lessened the effect on our national existence of the presence of the two broad oceans that bathe our shores. And so whether we like it or not we must face the realities that these changes have brought. Unless we do, we encourage and perpetuate the discords that once again may bring to our children all the horrors of an all-out war. Surely after the experiences of the past few decades we can see the dangers inherent in a rejection of the idea of collaboration.

Why, therefore, cannot this Congress, acting as the legislative body of a sovereign state, enunciate and inaugurate a policy that can only redound to our credit, that can only result in good to all mankind and that without which the sorely stricken people of other lands may be held interminably in the misery and despair in which they are now plunged? What is unconstitutional about that?

There are some who say, "Let us measure this legislation by the yardstick of what is best for America." Here is my answer. The effort to eliminate future wars is the finest service we of the Congress can perform for the benefit of the people we represent. I know of no better way to start on the road toward that goal than by the adoption of a policy of friendly cooperation with our neighbors. I believe I speak the sentiments of the people of my district when I say that to help rehabilitate stricken regions, to feed the starving, to clothe and assist the despairing mothers and children and old men, to help heal the wounds of war—and to do all this in unity of thought, of purpose, and of action with all the friendly nations of the earth should be our first step toward the goal of enduring peace for which we strive.

This bill is that first step and so I support it with hearty approval and urge its passage without delay.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I have felt for a long time that when and if we moved into occupied territory it was up to the United States to meet its fair share of the re-

sponsibilities of temporarily feeding those people who are distressed as a result of the German occupation, but I have felt that we should do that in a very careful way. We should not do such things as to create enormous stock piles at the present time which will upset our supply of goods and our market for goods. We should not do it in such a way that it will interfere with our prosecution of the war. We should do it in some way so that it may be coordinated. We should not make the messes that the Board of Economic Warfare made and that the War Food Administration has made with reference to some of its stock piles, nor should we do it in the way that some of the lease-lend operations have been conducted along that line.

Before anyone starts on this kind of a job it will be necessary and it should be necessary for them to come before the Committee on Appropriations and disclose the entire picture, showing where they expect to get their supplies, how much they expect to need, and how much they intend to operate, so that the whole of these operations can be coordinated and we can control them. Unless we do that we shall have a lot of trouble.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. The words uttered by the gentleman I think are wise ones. It is the purpose of U. N. R. R. A. to do that very thing in the very way the gentleman states. In other words, when a request is made of our Government for any material or food or money, it will first have to clear agencies here and then go before the Committee on Appropriations, which will get the entire picture as to the amount, the set-up, and how it will affect us, before we give them anything.

Mr. TABER. I understand that that is the set-up here, and I understand that these people would be expected to come and justify what they were going to do, and that it would not be necessary to give them more funds than they could operate with for a convenient length of time, whatever seemed in the judgment of the Congress at the time to be a fair amount and a fair provision.

This bill as it comes before us suggests an authorization for contributions by the United States. We must remember that. Under this resolution and in this resolution and in the appropriations that we make, we can control nothing whatever in any way except just the part that the United States contributes. In other words, the constitution of U. N. R. R. A. is so set up that we are not passing on that constitution at this time but we are simply authorizing an appropriation for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of that constitution of U. N. R. R. A. If we place a limitation on what shall be done here with the money that we contribute, that limitation does not apply to contributions from other sources, and while those other sources may be of a small nature, compared to ours, a good many of them, nevertheless a great many of the operations that perhaps we might have in mind in the limitation, can be



covered by the funds contributed from other sources, without any restraint from us, and we must remember that.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Is it not true that the military is doing a very good job in areas today that they have gone into? They are absolutely fair, they are giving great satisfaction I understand in the country where they are.

Mr. TABER. I expect that that is so. However, I understand that the Army does not want to have charge of that operation beyond the scale that is necessary for control of those regions from a military standpoint.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. We had no testimony to that effect before our committee. I asked the last day that more witnesses be called to testify. I wanted the Army and the Navy, and the Department of Agriculture and others to appear before us, but the motion was voted down. I would like to have a report and some testimony from them before us.

Mr. TABER. I asked the Army themselves about that, and that is the answer that I received.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. In the first place does the gentleman understand that the Appropriations Committee will appropriate the entire amount called for in this resolution at one time?

Mr. TABER. I would not think so, I would not expect so. There is no reason why we should do that.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. BLOOM. It was contemplated in the hearings that the first appropriation to be asked for up to the end of this fiscal year would be \$500,000,000.

Mr. TABER. That sounds like a rather liberal amount for the amount of time available between the passage of this bill and the end of the fiscal year, but it would be up to the Congress to consider, when we come to that stage.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. We recognize that within a few months the gentleman from New York will be the new chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and with his statement to me that they are going to examine carefully every item provided for the appropriation, I am convinced that the gentleman and his committee will do a good job and see to it that the money is not wasted.

Mr. TABER. The Congress can be assured that the investigation as to each request for an appropriation will be most carefully and thoroughly noted. I recognize the obligation that is on the United States. On the other hand, I recognize the obligation that the Congress owes to the American people to see

that we do not overstep. I may say this, that as to any item that is under consideration at any time, under the rules of the House, an amendment would be in order that would prevent the use of any of our funds that might be under consideration for appropriation at any time, for any particular purpose. On the other hand, we may as well face the facts. A limitation on what can be done with our contribution will not limit what can be done with contributions that are made from other sources than the United States.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I think that is a correct and wise statement. In other words, if we do not have that limitation, then this international organization might tell us what we have to do. We want to leave it to each country to say what they would do, and our Appropriations Committee will be our clearing house which will determine what we must contribute.

Mr. TABER. And what attitude we shall take with reference to the funds we contribute.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. In the hearings Mr. Lehman said that he was the creature of U. N. R. R. A. and he would have to do whatever U. N. R. R. A. told him to do.

Mr. TABER. If we appropriate funds with restrictions on them, he would have to respect that limitation, insofar as it related to those particular funds.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last four words. In principle I am for this legislation. I think it is the duty of this country to assume its proportionate share of the burdens of trying to take care of those in difficulty and distress.

I want to state at the outset that I am not opposed to the feeding and clothing of genuinely needy people of the various foreign countries, but I maintain that such a program should be consistent with our ability to do so. And for that reason I feel that the \$1,350,000,000 which this bill calls for, as our share in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, is altogether too much.

We have been accustomed here of late to thinking in terms of billions. We had better start thinking in terms of what we can do. The gentleman from South Dakota, Congressman MUNDT, in general debate on this bill, made a very significant statement when he said the amount mentioned in this bill is only equal to the most this Government has ever been able to save in 1 year at any time before we got into this war.

As I understand it, the national income was the basis for each country's share of the total amount. Well now it is certainly unfair to take our national income now as the basis for our share. Our national income now is nearly 100 percent above normal. Yes; but you say,

"Is that not also true of our allies who will be contributing on that basis?"

The answer is, "Absolutely not." Our volume of production is far greater than any of our allies. In other words we are contributing more in materials to the war effort than any other nation. Therefore, our national income is greater. I, therefore, think that this amount should be materially reduced, say to about \$250,000,000, and I am so offering that as an amendment. Congress will be in session and if more is actually needed let it be the duty and responsibility of a future Congress to decide how much more shall be authorized and appropriated. Then, too, there are other aspects of this manifest policy of assuming the lion's share of the burden.

There is a grave danger in such a proposal that for the most part has, I think, been overlooked. You all remember, I am sure, with what scorn and condemnation this Nation was looked upon after the last war when it became apparent that Uncle Sam was not Uncle Santa and that we were going to expect compensation for goods purchased by foreign nations during the war. Well, I maintain that just that is going to happen again—history repeats itself surprisingly.

In the first place, I am sure you have all heard the expression, "The quickest way to lose a friend is to lend him money." You also know it to be a truism that once you start giving something to somebody for nothing and then discontinue the practice you have made an enemy. Well, that is what is going to happen to us. The day we stop loaning, lending, and giving we are once again going to become the second most hated Nation on this earth.

Another thing we should not overlook is the fact that it is unwise for our own security and our own welfare to commit this country to any definite financial outlay for the benefit of Europe, while not knowing the demands that are going to be made upon the United States Treasury for relief, unemployment, rehabilitation, and so forth, at the close of this war. There are hundreds of thousands of soldiers who will return incapacitated in mind or body, or both, who will be unable to care for themselves and who will have to be cared for. Think of the additional hospitals required to provide for these men.

We must not lose our senses. If we consult our heart we would help everyone but somewhere along the line we must consult our mind. We are the representatives of the people and as our leader, the lovable and able gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack] has frequently said, "our position is one of trust." We must stand between the people and disaster or else we are not fulfilling our duty. I am willing to help any nation when I can see that we are in a position to help, which at the moment seems to me a long way off. The war is not over. The end cannot be seen, or even predicted with any degree of certainty.

We have a normal earning power in the United States of around \$76,000,000,000, although this is now up to \$142,000,-



000,000 in 1943—the national debt is now one hundred and seventy and eight-tenth billion dollars. While our national income was around \$76,000,000,000 our taxes were around \$3,000,000,000 and are now \$18,000,000,000 as against the \$142,000,000,000 income. President Roosevelt this week submitted to Congress a budget calling for an expenditure during the next fiscal year of just about one hundred billions. That brought the total of actual or contemplated spending under his administration to three hundred and seventy-eight billions. Of next year's appropriations, more than ninety billions will be for war, bringing the total for that purpose to two hundred and ninety-two billions. The public debt by the end of the fiscal year is expected to be two hundred and eighty-five billions, or \$1,984.62 for every man, woman, and child in the country. The carrying charge of the debt would be about five billions annually, or about \$38.46 annually for every person. So that you can see that we have not only saddled ourselves but unborn generations with an enormous debt.

There will be a terrific let-down here in our own country after this war and at the rate we have been and are pouring out our own wealth and resources to the other nations of the world we may find that, like a too generous blood donor, we have ended up with so much of our wealth and natural resources gone that a serious set-back will follow.

I think, like a prudent housewife, that we should first decide what we can further spare, what other nations are supplying as their share, and then decide how far we can go along the lines we are now pursuing without bringing our own house down upon us.

Mr. FISH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield.

Mr. FISH. The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. SCHIFFLER], a member of the committee, I think had intended to offer an amendment to reduce the amount by half, namely, to \$675,000,000. I do not see him on the floor. But I do not see why the gentleman from Montana does not offer that amendment.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I am going to offer such an amendment.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. The amount authorized in this bill is based on 1 percent of the national income made in a war year largely as a result of Government expenditures.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Absolutely.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. It seems to me that they should take a normal year to find out what the national income was then.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Exactly. The gentleman was never sounder in his life, and he is usually pretty sound except when it comes to politics. He is sound enough to be on this side of the aisle.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I wish to offer my sincere congratulations and praise to the President and to the State Department for their announced setting up of a War Refugee Board to take action for the immediate rescue from the Nazis of as many as possible of the persecuted minorities of Europe. This War Refugee Board comprised of Secretaries of State, War, and Treasury, has been asked by the President to cooperate fully with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The President stresses, says the White House statement, "that it was urgent that action be taken at once to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe." We had at Evian a conference back in 1938, for the rescue of refugees. We had a Bermuda conference last year. Unfortunately those two conferences involved blueprints, surveys, plans, explorations, but no action. Whatever relief there was you could have put into a very tiny capsule. Now there will be a repetition of those two failures unless the President and the State, War, and Treasury Departments appoint to the War Refugee Board a personnel and aides who are liberal and courageous in their outlook and who are generous-hearted, and who are saturated with the knowledge of oppressed peoples and who, above all, recognize "the soft, sad music of humanity." One of the reasons why unfortunately those two prior conferences did not emerge successfully was due to a certain unfortunate attitude on the part of some of the men in the State Department, who guided more or less the views of one delegate. Luckily the man particularly who is in charge of refugees and visas in the State Department, and who directed the Bermuda policies is on his way out. It augurs well, therefore, that this new Refugee Board will be unaffected and not influenced by this particular gentleman. Eight valuable years have been lost since Evian. In the meanwhile over 3,000,000 Jews have been slaughtered in "festung Europa," but only after they have gone through the most excruciating pain and torture. For these 8 years we have been repeatedly told only through victory can we achieve rescue of refugees. Meanwhile millions are dead and dying. The dead need no rescue. The disembodied spirits need no passports. Just think what could have happened during those 8 years if those conferences had been successful, if there had been a real desire and intention and will to help, to rescue.

Now for 10 years the Jews have been singled out as a special target of Nazi ruthlessness and brutality. Hitler has vowed to make Europe Judenrein—free of the Jews—a people selected for annihilation and torture only because they were born of the race of the prophets. While we in the United States adhere to the tradition of equality, it is no act of discrimination to point out the urgency of the problem of the Jewish people in Nazi-controlled Europe. While we have not wished to view Jewish refugees and

potential refugees as different from others, that difference has been thrust upon us. The lot of other persecuted minorities is not comparable in horror, ferocity, and destruction, to that of the people of the race of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

The Dutch merchant, the Belgian peasant, the Norwegian farmer, all have the opportunity of life and labor, brutal as it may have been. When liberation with Allied victory comes, all others will savor the lifting of oppression, the freedom to return to life and liberty, save the Jews. Others have at least a shred of hope of survival, but the Jews are in a death chamber.

The statement of the President setting up the new War Refugee Board happily recognized the especially tragic plight of the Jew. The President appreciates that extraordinary efforts may be required in order to aid and help Jews now in the Nazi charnel house.

The War Refugee Board is presided over by the Secretaries of War, Treasury, and State. These men cannot do the real work, the spade work, required. They can initiate broad policies. Thus the laboring oar must be held by an executive director and a staff of assistants. Such personnel must be carefully selected. They must be impressed with the fiascos of Evian and Bermuda so that there shall be no repetition thereof. Otherwise we shall merely have a mere rearrangement of old desks and chairs in the same office. To vary the simile, we would have the same ineffectual medicine in the old bottle with a new label.

At Bermuda, Palestine was eliminated from the agenda as a possible haven for the oppressed Jews. Our representatives at Bermuda slavishly followed the dictates of our State Department which in turn swallowed hook, line, and sinker the policy laid down by the British Foreign Office. I hope and pray the new set-up will not, as did our Bermuda delegates, shy away from Palestine like frightened horses. If it does it is doomed to failure from the very start. The War Refugee Board must demand the abrogation of the nefarious White Paper of 1938 which would preclude Jewish immigration into Palestine after March 1944. Palestine, frankly, is the only country where the Jews are not unwanted. It would be catastrophic if the door were to be closed and Palestine liquidated as a national homeland for the Jews.

If the War Refugee Board has the will to achieve, it will afford rescue and set up havens, including Palestine, so that the hapless and hopeless Jews may be spirited out of the Festung Europa and placed in camps in Palestine and in neutral lands. It can set up an underground railway, as was done prior to and during the Civil War when Negroes were borne from the South to the North.

It can issue a solemn warning to Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Petain's Vichy France that they will be held accountable and strictly responsible for each and every potential refugee deported from their lands into enforced slavery and death in nazidom. Such a warning



should have a desirable effect. It may cause the saving of thousands of Jews by prevention of deportation into Poland and other hell holes.

The short-wave radio can be used to sound these warnings. The O. W. I., the Vatican, the International Red Cross—all will cooperate.

Concentration camps of mercy and salvation could be established under United Nations auspices in Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey, and other neutral countries, as well as in north Africa. Many refugees are already in these lands but more could be made to come and thus end their misery and suffering from Nazi jackals. These reservations or camps of mercy would become temporary havens for these unfortunate victims of Nazi terror, until permanent homes through repatriation, immigration, and transfers to friendly countries can be effected. As the older refugees are taken and evacuated from these reservations, room would be made for the rescue of newcomers from the Nazi charnel house.

If Palestine is made available—not by will of an Arab majority, but as matter of right, in accordance with the Balfour declaration which was approved and accepted by our own country—thousands upon thousands will manage to escape to it. No matter where the Nazis happen to hold the Jews, they will sever the bonds and destroy the locks that hold them, if they realize that Palestine will receive them. They will make an anabiosis to Palestine from anywhere in Festung Europa. Be the trek ever so long and arduous, they will make it. The psychological pull or tug upon their hearts will encourage them to bear and sustain all hardships on the way and they will come "singing in Zion." All this and more the members and personnel of the War Refugee Board must be made to understand and appreciate. The spiritual values of Palestine as a haven cannot be underestimated.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment of the gentleman from New York.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CRAWFORD: After the word "supplies", insert the word "produced."

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, I accept the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York, which the gentleman from New York accepts.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I wish to speak now in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] as it has been amended. This amendment would provide that 90 percent of the \$1,350,000,000 would be spent for agricultural goods or other products produced within the United States. If I understood the gen-

tleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorrs], he made the statement a while ago to the effect that we are long on exchange and short on goods.

If that is true, I wish the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorrs] would explain to us why the gold stocks of the Treasury have declined about three-quarters of a billion, say, in the last 12 months if it was not because we were unable to supply offsetting exchange.

I think it is evident to anybody who wants to think for 2½ minutes, that we are not long on foreign exchange today. We are buying the goods of the non-warring world. As an illustration, the other day we purchased 4,000,000 tons of the 1944 crop of sugar from Cuba. We are purchasing agricultural and pastoral products in Cuba and other Latin-American countries by millions of tons in our effort to keep their economy balanced. What we are going to do with these agricultural goods that we are piling up, I do not know, unless we use them in this country, and take our goods to send away as exports so as to make an opening for the imports here in the United States.

I cannot figure out what you are going to do with American agriculture in the post-war period with all the reserve stocks of imported goods plus our increased production. So, I favor the Fish amendment. If we could get the Fish amendment incorporated in this bill I could support the bill. But otherwise, I do not now see how I could support it.

Another point is this: Take the hundreds of millions of pounds of wool that we have stacked up in this country, which we have purchased from other countries. What are you going to do with that wool unless we ship our wool out to take care of this situation by making room for the imported wool? You have from forty to sixty billion dollars' worth of surplus war material which you will have to deal with at the end of this war. There will probably be in that inventory two or three billion dollars worth of foodstuffs produced in this country. What are you going to do with those stocks of foodstuffs? Give it away in addition to this \$1,350,000,000 or will part of that money—the \$1,350,000,000—be used to purchase from the Treasury Department, or some other department, some of that war reserve foodstuff produced in this country, and send it away? Just what are you going to do with the enormous local and foreign stocks of foodstuffs we are building up as reserve supplies along with our post-war excess production?

Here is the State Department putting on a program every Saturday night, selling ideas to the people of this country. To my amazement, this last Saturday night, they proposed to the people of this country that we are unwilling to accept payment for the goods and credits which we extend to other countries, the State Department thereby building up an argument to reduce tariffs, and thus tear down the protection for American labor and agriculture. But now, unless you adopt the Fish amendment, you even go so far as to say that you cannot, through U. N. R. R. A., give away your own goods;

that you have got to furnish the money to buy the goods from some other country, so that you can give that away instead of giving away your own goods. Have we reached the point where it is utterly impossible for us to think in terms of the interests of the people of the United States? I think it is time for us to ask questions like that. People in my district are asking me questions like that. Yesterday afternoon I had the pleasure of spending most of the afternoon with six or seven members of the armed forces of this country, men and women. I wish you could have heard some of the questions they asked me about what they called the silly things that Congress is doing. This bill in its present form is one of them. I can mention one or two others that we will have to deal with in a few days.

So, I am ready to vote now emphatically, on a roll call, or otherwise, to support the Fish amendment, so that we can in some way control how some of this money embraced in the \$1,350,000,000 is to be spent. When we can spend it for some of the goods which our increased labor supply and our increased mechanical equipment, and increased application of fertilizer applied to our farms, so as to give our people some jobs in the post-war period—if we can use some of that money for that purpose, what sin is there in doing that?

Mr. Chairman, the proponents of this bill and the bill itself—considering the manner in which it has been presented together with its wording and general background—to me present an enigma. I simply refer to the debate of the members of the committee and the amendments which they are offering and the remarks they are making about the bill on and off the floor. Just why all the obscurity and ambiguousness in the bill, the hearings, and the debate. Look at the appendix in the hearings and read the background and give a simple explanation if you can. Just what part is this so-called relief plan to play in post-war international power politics? When we authorize a post-war one and one-third billion dollars to be spent and all in advance we should know what we are doing. Some members of the committee want to materially alter the bill; others want to recommit it; others seem doubtful about this great experiment we are about to launch. If we had the money with which to pay the bill that would be so different to our present situation. It is almost impossible for me to accept the bill as anything less than a part of the general over-all power politics approach in which we have become so deeply involved and on this question I should like to submit for the RECORD this interesting statement by Mr. A. K. Chesterton of London, England, and taken from the Liberal Advocate, this observation being here submitted for reference only and to show what the other fellow is thinking and saying. A lot of bold promises are being made these days but some time we shall have to face the ways and means of financing all these promises. When that day arrives, our young people will have something to say about the matter as they will then have more years on their



shoulders and my guess is that they will disapprove many of the promises the Congress and the administration have approved.

#### TWO KINDS OF POWER POLITICS

(By A. K. Chesterton)

President Roosevelt's statement that after the war small nations shall enjoy equality with large nations, and be left free from outside interference subject to their good behavior, has doubtless warmed the hearts of all those charming people in this country who believe that the world is governed by lofty phrases.

Mexico, some South American republics, and even states much farther afield, however, will have heard the pronouncement with considerable skepticism. They know from their own experience that "good behavior" on their part is not taken to mean that Ecuador, let us say, will obligingly refrain from launching upon an invasion of the United States. They know that in the ruthless school of world affairs exemplary conduct consists in small nations—and, for that matter, nations not so small—spurning to hold any too dogmatic ideas on such matters as oil, or gold, or on the acceptance or repayment of international debt.

President Roosevelt must know this as well as anybody, just as he must know that if he were to make that knowledge public, or take a single step toward smashing the dictatorship exercised by expert capitalism, his job would be placed in the direct jeopardy. And not only his job, if the fate of more than one American President may be taken as a precedent.

Power politics in the international field are of two main kinds: the open and brutal aggression of Hitler and his armies, and the hidden and more subtle direction of affairs by the power of money. Hitler can and must and shall be smashed by force of arms, but who is to smash the other and more insidious foe?

President Roosevelt must answer this question before his guaranty to the smaller nations can amount to anything more than pious moonshine.

And, like unto Baldwin, President Roosevelt's lips are sealed.

It stands to reason that, so long as financial interests dominate the international position within the great nations, they will retain the power to cross national frontiers and control the internal position within the smaller nations. It is they who are the assessors of good behavior and it is they, in the last resort, who call upon the governments of the great nations they control through usury to apply the stick.

The remedy? There can be, at any rate at the start, no remedy on international lines, since the representatives of the nations which had not first put down financial brigandage at home would be the brigands themselves, through their nominees. The present vicious circle would be perpetuated. What is required, therefore, is for national governments to control their own finances—a step impossible to take until they have first cut adrift from the international financial system which, in turn, cannot be achieved until they have reduced international trade to a quid pro quo trade in genuine surpluses, after maximal national production has, as far as possible, met the requirements of maximal national demand.

When that has been done, and only when that has been done, it will be possible for nations both large and small to consider themselves, without undue self-flattery, to be in effective control of their own destinies.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I think I can say I have the interest of the United States at heart

just as deeply as the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD].

The proposal is that the Congress shall say that of all the money authorized under this resolution, 90 percent must be expended in the purchase of goods produced in the United States. I am wondering if that will always be in our interest. I have grave doubts about it.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Under the amendment the gentleman just put in we could not even dispose of this surplus which has been imported into this country.

Mr. WADSWORTH. And already paid for under other appropriations. It would tie them up and make them ineligible.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I finish, please? I only have a short time.

Now, the gentleman from Michigan referred to wool. It may be that we have a surplus of wool. But how about poultry products? Poultry products may very possibly be one of the elements in our contribution. Under this amendment we must spend 90 percent of our poultry purchases out of this fund.

Take dairy products. Will anyone deny that today there is a scarcity of milk or butter?

I think we would better go pretty slow before we run the risk of imposing continued rationing on the people of the United States by a mandatory provision saying "you must spend 90 percent of all your money in the purchase of our supplies." It is a pretty difficult thing. Now, as a matter of fact, as this thing is set up, U. N. R. R. A. makes its request. It goes to the Committee on Appropriations. The Committee on Appropriations sends for W. F. A. and for W. P. B. and examines those and other governmental agencies as to what they have to say as to the available supplies of this or that or the other article in the United States. It might turn out that they are asking too much of us in one item, or two items, or five items. The Committee on Appropriations will go into that. If our governmental agencies and our Committee on Appropriations take note of that and find that the request in certain directions is too extreme, too great a strain on our resources and hurts our own people, then U. N. R. R. A. must ask Canada to come in and take part of it, or Australia, or Brazil. We are masters of this thing from the beginning to the end. But if you put in a rigid amendment like this we are not the masters.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? There was no objection.

[Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York, as amended by the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment may again be read.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FISH as amended by the amendment offered by Mr. CRAWFORD: On page 1, line 5, after the figures "\$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate" insert "of which 90 percent shall be spent for the purchase of farm products and other supplies produced in the United States."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. FISH) there were—ayes 60, noes 83.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chair appointed as tellers Mr. FISH and Mr. BLOOM.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 78, noes 135.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I have at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert: "That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time to time such sums as Congress may determine to be necessary, to the Army and Navy, for use of military governments established in occupied countries for the adequate conduct of relief and rehabilitation and related necessary activities. A complete record shall be maintained by each military government of all expenditures and submitted to Congress in semiannual reports of the Army and Navy, whichever the case may be."

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS]?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, for quite a long time now I have enjoyed the honor of associating and working with many Members of this House. In committee and on the floor our activities have penetrated many problems—large problems which have faced the country. Many times we have stood together. Sometimes we have disagreed. During this time we have become acquainted with the fundamental views of one another; our ideas regarding government; our respect and loyalty for the Constitution; our philosophy of life and freedom. It is a long path we have traveled. As I stand here today, at this milestone along the road of our country's destiny, I want all of you to know



the feeling in my heart. There is no group of men and women anywhere in the world for whom I have greater admiration, and greater respect. Over and over again you have shown your faith, loyalty, and love for your country. Again and again you have shown your Americanism. Your judgment and decisions always have been made on the basis of what is best for the country. Disagreement and debate over the best road for the Nation to follow is most beneficial to the country. It is the American way and America always gains by this procedure. Diversity of view is helpful in a free country. There is no injustice or dishonor in disagreement which is directed toward finding a wise road for our country during these dangerous, tragic days.

Here today, however, there is no disagreement among the Members regarding the necessity and desirability of relief for the people who have been stricken and left helpless through the operation of war. There is very little disagreement among our people throughout the Nation regarding the question of relief. It is the natural impulse and desire of every good American citizen to see that every worthy, hungry human being is fed and adequately clothed. We are willing to go even further, to any reasonable extent, to aid any such individual to help himself, reconstruct his approach to the problems of earning a livelihood, and maintaining himself and those who are dependent upon him. The call of the hungry and distressed touches the heartstrings of all our people throughout this Christian land. Our people not only want to respond and are willing to respond but demand that we respond. The Christian legions of the American people never have turned their backs to the needs and suffering of others, regardless who they are or where they may be. The Armenian massacre and the Japanese earthquake stand out in the near background. The question facing us here today, however, is not whether or not we shall respond to these demands of humanity, in all parts of the world, but rather is solely the question of what machinery we will use and what methods we will employ to render the most effective and efficient relief service. This question of method is most serious—yes; perhaps more serious than most of us realize. The method of administration and distribution of relief is the issue on which there is justification for disagreement regarding this proposed legislation. There are millions of Americans concerned with the method rather than the fact of relief.

It is their money that is to be used. It is their taxes which are to be increased to finance relief. It is the American people, who will provide the money and goods for relief. Do not be mistaken about this fact. The parliament or legislature of no other country has appropriated any funds either for direct relief, or for relief by U. N. R. R. A. The American people therefore, are tremendously concerned about the supervision of these funds. They want to know who it is that is actually and really trusted with the administration and su-

pervision of relief throughout the entire project, all the way down the line to the persons actually making the distribution. They want to know how these funds are to be utilized. They want to know where and from whom goods are purchased and the prices paid. They do not want any millionaires made out of relief paid for with American dollars. They want to feel certain that those really in need are adequately cared for. They do not want any partiality shown any group because of race, color, or creed. Certainly every Member of this House must have the interest and benefit of the American people, in their hearts, and controlling their views and action. There is no greater responsibility than our responsibility to the American people. We are their representatives, their servants in the functioning of their Government.

It should be borne in mind that the method—the machinery set up in this proposed legislation—takes the whole question of the participation and operation of our country's relief objectives, completely out of the direct control of this Government. As soon as the membership here appropriates the billion or billions, requested as America's share, according to this legislation—and we do not know how many billions it will be—our Government will cease to have even a scintilla of authority over its use. The institution set up to have control is U. N. R. R. A., an international organization, presumably representing the various United Nations in handling of relief. The administrative decisions made, will be the decisions of this international body and not the decisions of this Government. This international body completely divorces the administration of relief from military operations, while at the same time, it has the authority to step right into the midst of important and vital military activities.

As an international body, and presumably the agency of all of the United Nations concerned it can approach its task in the war zone, with such apparent authority that it is reasonable to expect dangerous and embarrassing clashes with the military administration inevitably will result.

It has been stated that ample and extensive hearings were held by the Committee on Foreign Affairs regarding this proposed international plan. The report of the distinguished chairman of committee accompanying House Joint Resolution 192, on page 3, at the bottom of the page, states the following witnesses were heard by the committee in favor of the resolution. Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, Francis Bowes Sayre, Assistant to the Secretary of State, both identified with U. N. R. R. A.; Hon. Leo T. Crowley, Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, and Oscar S. Cox, the general counsel of the Foreign Economic Administration. The Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, Director General of U. N. R. R. A., was invited by the committee to discuss purposes and policies. All of these five distinguished gentlemen are personally identified and associated with U. N. R. R. A. One gen-

tleman appeared in opposition, our distinguished colleague from Ohio, Representative SMITH. The gentleman from Illinois [Representative DREW] ably presented his own plan. There were no no other officially called witnesses. In view of the effect this legislation might have on military plans and operations, certainly the Members of the Congress should have the views of General Marshall, Admiral King, General Vandegrift, and any other military specialists designated by these men. Suppose General Marshall were of the opinion this legislation might interfere with the activities of military government and civil affairs. Would you still vote for it? Suppose Admiral King considered the legislation from an operational viewpoint and was of the opinion it greatly duplicated military plans regarding relief in occupied areas already in operation. Would you still vote for it? Suppose General Vandegrift should be of the opinion that the administration of relief involved important military factors, and therefore should be administered by military authority. Would you still vote for it?

Suppose General MacArthur should hold the view that no international authority should be set up at this time, having authority to act without consulting the military and civil affairs government, under his authority and responsible to him. Would you still vote for this legislation? Suppose General Eisenhower should state that he was opposed to any action at this time that would interfere with military government plans for relief. Would you still vote for this resolution? Suppose General Clark desired to administer all relief in the countries occupied by his army and responsible to his command. Would you still vote for this resolution? Suppose General Stillwell, for many reasons, desired certain authority over the relief function—or, suppose General Montgomery stated he would control relief distribution in areas under his command. Would you still vote for this legislation?

Has the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, or the military authorities in Great Britain, Russia, and China expressed their views about this method of administering relief by an international body having no responsibility to them? None of these officers or officials, having the enormous responsibility of winning this war, has expressed any opinion regarding this legislation. Would not you as Members of Congress, however, like to know their views? If they considered this resolution untimely now, certainly most of the membership would support them by voting against or postponing action at this time. If they approved, certainly every Member here would vote for this resolution. Perhaps they would consider it "superduper" and unnecessary. Before making such an important decision, would not it be wise to know the views of the military men, who know all of the ramifications of the problem?

The establishing of relief functions, under the complete control and authority of the international body of U. N. R. R. A. clearly ignores the function of relief ac-



tivities, in connection with other vital military operations and responsibilities. U. N. R. R. A. duplicates and interferes with the relief plans of the United States Army and Navy. These plans already are in operation. An examination of the scope of U. N. R. R. A. operations as defined in the agreement, and a careful reading of the United States Army and Navy Manual of Military Government and Civil Affairs, precisely discloses this duplication and interference. The agreement defines the scope of U. N. R. R. A. as—

Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.

In other words, as soon as any area is occupied by Allied armies, U. N. R. R. A. can begin operations. U. N. R. R. A. even has the authority to return prisoners and exiles—certainly a completely military function. In article 1 of the agreement, U. N. R. R. A. is directed:

To plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

Notice this article of the agreement states, "any area under the control of any of the United Nations." Also notice it states food, fuel, clothing, shelter, medical services, and their production and transportation. Now let us turn to the United States Army and Navy Manual of Military Government and Civil Affairs. On page 11, in paragraph k, is found the following:

The basic economic policy of United States military government is twofold: First, to revive economic life and stimulate production in order to reduce to a minimum the needs of the area for United States and Allied assistance and to develop the area as a source of supply for further operations, and second, to use available goods and services as efficiently as possible for the satisfaction of military and civilian needs. Corollaries of this basic policy include the following:

An equitable distribution of necessities, such as food, fuel, medicine, and clothing, should be instituted as quickly as possible. To this end it will be necessary to reestablish to some degree at least, public utilities, transportation, communications, and trade. It will often be necessary to enforce controls, which may or may not be the same as those in effect before occupation, over various aspects of economic life, including prices; over marketing by rationing, by measures to bring hoarded goods out of hiding, and by suppression of black markets; over imports and exports; over money and banking.

Here under the Army-Navy plan your attention is again directed to food, fuel, medicine, clothing, necessities, and their

production and transportation, as well as adequate control over other related factors.

The military government has authority to take steps to put into immediate effect plans for the rehabilitation of production; the development of agriculture; the protection of health; the respect for religious customs and organizations; establishment of freedom of speech and press; the abolition of discriminatory laws relating to race, color, creed, or political opinions. The military government cannot show any partiality toward any group of persons or any particular race. It is obliged to treat all of the people on the same basis.

There is no limit to the time of occupation and administration of the military government. It may remain in operation as long as conditions require. It is responsible, not to an international body of carefully selected persons such as is U. N. R. R. A.; it is responsible to General Marshall and Admiral King. They are highly competent officers of the United States—competent, indeed, to delegate to highly trained American officers of military government the administration and supervision, of relief in occupied areas.

It is clearly evident from this comparison that there is a complete duplication by U. N. R. R. A. of plans and activities of the United States Army and Navy already in operation. The Army and Navy have worked out a definite and concrete plan for the care of relief and all of the related problems. This plan constitutes a carefully integrated part of military operations. Why is there any need for placing this "superduper" international group in authority over them and interfering with their plans and activities?

The establishment of U. N. R. R. A. authority over relief will interfere tragically with the operation of relief machinery already set up by the Army and the Navy. A divided command is no command. A divided authority is no authority. A divided administration is inefficient, resulting in no administration. Certainly no Member of this House would intentionally vote for legislation at this time that would not only be embarrassing to our military commands, but would cause them to greatly change plans, long developed and in operation. In view of these facts I submit to you that the U. N. R. R. A. legislation is most untimely now.

To make certain the reality of relief I offer two alternatives:

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time to time such sums as Congress may determine to be necessary, to the Army and Navy, for use of military governments established in occupied countries for the adequate conduct of relief and rehabilitation and related necessary activities. A complete record shall be maintained by each military government of all expenditures and submitted to Congress in semi-annual reports of the Army and Navy, whichever the case may be.

First. The acceptance of this amendment by this House and thereby stand by the Army and Navy, by authorizing the appropriation of the necessary funds to

adequately finance relief and related problems through the United States military government.

Second. If the membership fails to support this amendment, the House is obligated, not only to the Army and Navy but to the American people, to recommit this resolution to the Committee on Foreign Affairs for further consideration. This action would provide the time for the officers in command of the Army and Navy, or such officers they might designate, to appear and express their views to the committee regarding the administration of relief and regarding this resolution. This Congress cannot afford to gamble the destiny of this Nation by any action which interferes with the military plans of officers and men shouldering the weighty responsibility of winning this war. Their views must be known for the benefit of this Congress regarding this legislation and for the benefit of the American people.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 additional minutes.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman, we have a number of other amendments to consider and we have spent quite a bit of time on amendments heretofore. I hope the gentlewoman will not insist upon asking for additional time.

Mr. FORD. I object, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire if further debate is desired on this amendment? If we could, I should like to dispose of this amendment. Does anyone else want to speak on this amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. No one is on his feet seeking recognition.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I think the amendment would have been subject to a point of order, but we did not see proper to make it because we wanted the matter presented to the Committee.

The purpose of the joint resolution is to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization. The amendment offered by the distinguished gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS] eliminates any participation whatever in this organization and simply authorizes an appropriation to be made to the War and Navy Departments to administer relief in these stricken areas.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. It does not seem to me that the matter is not germane.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I did not make the point of order, I am merely calling attention to it.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. We certainly can appropriate our own money to be spent in any way we wish.



Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. This resolution was brought up for one purpose and that only, to authorize participation in this organization, whereas the amendment takes us away from that entirely and simply authorizes an appropriation for the War and Navy Departments.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. My understanding is that it is primarily for relief.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I am not going to argue that.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I feel that my amendment would bring the relief to the people. The Army and Navy today are operating in the war zones very satisfactorily. They are absolutely fair in their administration of it.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I understand the position of the distinguished gentleman. This is the situation. The War and Navy Departments cannot carry on this relief when hostilities cease and when these countries are evacuated. They are doing it now while it is being carried on in a military way, but they do not want and they state that they would not want to do this work. It has to be done immediately after the military authorities evacuate this territory. U. N. R. R. A. will not operate in any of those countries until the military authorities invite them to come in and say, "We are ready to turn it over now." It would be entirely impractical, Mr. Chairman, to do it as suggested in the amendment and I trust that the amendment will be defeated.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. FOLGER. Is it not provided in this joint resolution that immediately upon taking office they shall in conjunction with the military and other appropriate authorities take the necessary action?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. That is true. They will cooperate with the military authorities and they will not come in until the military authorities invite them in.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment. This amendment is in two parts. Although the second part of it is an amendment to the second section of the bill, I ask unanimous consent that both parts may be read at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. VORYS of Ohio: On page 1, line 4, strike out the word "President" and insert "Department of State."

On page 14, line 25, insert, after the word "expended", the words "by the Department of State."

On page 15, line 1, strike out the word "President" and insert "Department of State."

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, this amendment would provide for handling the appropriations for U. N. R. R. A. through the State Department. I believe I have demonstrated that I am a friend of U. N. R. R. A. I want it to succeed. I want the contributions of the United States controlled by some statutory agency. The United States member of the U. N. R. R. A. council is an Assistant Secretary of State. I want him responsible to Congress as to whether U. N. R. R. A. is living up to its obligations and I want him responsible for carrying out any obligations to U. N. R. R. A. which the Congress undertakes.

In the State Department appropriation for this current year are the appropriations for 26 different international bodies to which we already belong, including the Pan American Union, International Trade-Mark Bureau, International Labor Office, and various international commissions. It is the job of the State Department to see whether these bodies are performing their obligations under the various agreements and then to see that we perform ours.

The State Department should have this job for us under the U. N. R. R. A. agreement.

The big objections to this come from the State Department. Mr. Hull does not want the assignment because he does not want a big, new, administrative job. There are three good answers to these objections. First, this job is unprecedented in our Government, as well as the State Department. Someone will have to learn how to do it wisely. Second, if it is done wisely, it will not be a big administrative job. Every agency needed to screen and procure and coordinate the supplies we furnish is already in existence and need not be duplicated. My third answer to Mr. Hull's objection is this: I am delighted to find in Washington an official who is not seeking to increase the size and the power of his department. That is a reason why I want the Department of State to have this job, and I feel confident that Secretary Hull will not refuse to perform any duties assigned him by law.

In the organization of the Department of State, announced a week ago, he has an Office of Economic Affairs.

We want U. N. R. R. A. handled by an old-line statutory agency that will continue in existence in the post-war period, not by a 4-months' old war baby which may be seeking a new line of activity to perpetuate itself into the peace period. F. E. A. is the successor of O. E. W., which was the successor of B. E. W., which caused the big fight between Vice President WALLACE and Secretary Jones. F. E. A. also has lend-lease and O. F. R. A. and a few other odds and ends and a staff of over 4,000. It is intended as a war agency. There has certainly been war in it, as well as outside it. If you study the report and the hearings, you will find that F. E. A. is not intended to have a thing to do with U. N. R. R. A., except to coordinate and correlate and expedite and generally "kibitz" and throw red tape around. U. N. R. R. A. goes to the combined boards for supplies. The United

States representatives on these boards must give their consent. The procurement of the supplies is through War Food Administration, for food, War Production Board and Treasury Procurement. U. N. R. R. A.'s head offices will be in Washington. The Director General is an American. The administrative staff is largely taken over from O. F. R. A. They know their way around Washington. They do not need chaperones. If our existing American agencies decide that it is in the interest of America to let them have some supplies, they do not need another new agency playing a little international politics with our supplies. All necessary double-checking can be done by the State Department, which is already in this picture and which is by Executive order responsible for the policies of F. E. A. If some of the F. E. A. staff are needed in the State Department for this new job, they can be transferred by Executive order.

The President will, of course, have the controlling, Executive power, and responsibility for our share in U. N. R. R. A. When Congress selects a statutory department to perform an additional function of government, instead of voting a blank check to the President, this is no slight to the President. It is merely the regular way in which Congress should perform in making laws. There is enough responsibility to go around for both the Executive and the Congress in making U. N. R. R. A. work. Both the President and the Congress can unite in selecting the President's Department of State to discharge the grave responsibilities placed upon it by the Executive and the Congress.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. The gentleman is showing his appreciation of the forbearance of the State Department by making them do this job, whether they want it or not.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. That is correct. I am glad to find some bureaucrats who say they do not want a job. They are the ones I am looking for, and when the State Department has 26 different appropriations for international bodies to administer, I want them to do this job, even though they are modest in not claiming to be seeking it.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. I believe that relief should be administered by the military authorities. They are doing a fine piece of work in various countries and territories today. They are respected, they are liked, and they are wanted. No person from the war zones testified before us, no one from the Army or the Navy, yet I was wondering how the House would feel if General Eisenhower were here to testify and stated he did not want U. N. R. R. A. to interfere with military relief and rehabilitation. Can you not see how difficult it would be, if his men of the Army were administering relief, and U. N. R. R. A. came into the area and administered another form of relief? U. N. R. R. A. holding the purse strings would



have financial control and would create a dislike of the Army that was trying to maintain fair and orderly procedure. It has been said on the floor that the Army does not want to undertake further relief and rehabilitation. I suggest we should find out the plans and activities of the military government of the Army and Navy before passing this resolution.

U. N. R. R. A. is a direct duplication of what the Army is doing today under its military and civil governments in occupied countries. U. N. R. R. A. clearly ignores the function of relief activities in connection with other military operations and responsibility.

U. N. R. R. A. duplicates and interferes with the plans of relief and rehabilitation of the United States Army and Navy. Such interference can prove to be a very dangerous procedure. The military plans are already in operation. A careful reading of the United States Army and Navy Manual of Military Government and Civil Affairs discloses this duplication and interference.

The Army and Navy provided their officers with highly competent special training in the laws and procedure of military government and civil affairs. These officers are extremely well trained for their assigned duties. Military government may remain in occupied areas for several years. I wish to remind the House that this war has not yet been won.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan asked and received permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, when we are paying our taxes this year, every one of our tax dollars is used for the purpose of giving away, to present and prospective friends abroad, American goods and services, including 9 percent of all the food produced in this vast country of ours. Practically all other Government expenditures for the prosecution of the war and, for our elaborate administration at home, is paid from borrowings which have brought our national debt to staggering heights. I will give you some figures compiled by the Library of Congress which will give you an idea of where we are going. The per capita public debt—and this includes the debt of the Federal Government only—the obligation resting on everyone of us—man, woman, and child—a few months ago stood at \$935, whereas the average Britisher carries only a load of \$164. Our total debt, when these figures were compiled, stood at \$143,000,000,000. Since then it has risen by twenty more billions. But compare this figure of 143,000,000,000 with the total debt of all our allies, which aggregate only \$126,000,000,000. In other words, we in this country carry a much heavier burden than all our allies together, including Great Britain and Russia. It is not less revealing that the total debt of the Axis Powers was only \$92,000,000,000—two-thirds only of what has been piled up on this patient, far too patient, generous, far too generous, Nation of ours.

Now, I, for one, and I am sure that everyone of the Members of the House

agrees with me, do not want our foreign economic policy conducted in such a way that this country be bled white; be bankrupted; be left in such an economic position at the end of this war, that it will be unable to recover; unable to compete on the world's markets with other nations, which we have helped to maintain at our expense, a more favorable economic position than our own. I deeply regret that those responsible for our economic foreign policies have conducted the affairs of this country in such a way that when it happens to be revealed, under what conditions our gifts are presented, and in which way they are used, such information arouses deep and just resentment on the part of our people.

I want to tell you about some of the schemes which are now under development in Washington to further expand our economic activities abroad. On September 25 the President created an Office of Foreign Economic Administration, headed by Mr. Leo Crowley. This new Office is created to centralize the activities formerly carried on by the Offices of Lend-Lease Administration under Harry Hopkins and latterly Edward H. Stettinius, foreign relief and rehabilitation operations under Herbert Lehman, and Economic Warfare under Vice President HENRY WALLACE. At the same time, Governor Lehman was appointed a special assistant to the President in transition to the job as director of the proposed United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. At the same time, also, a number of gentlemen were appointed as heads of interdepartmental committees in the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination of the Department of State. The object of these committees is to provide assistance in the economic rehabilitation of the East Indies, of Malaya, of Belgium, of Luxemburg, of the Netherlands, of Scandinavia, and so forth. To complete this over-all picture of foreign economic engagements, all the United Nations met on November 9 and signed the agreement for a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, incorporated in the bill before us. Unless we Members of this House watch carefully and register our opposition, this will develop into a "United States World W. P. A. Unlimited" with us footing all the bills.

Many of us view with anxiety the tremendous problems this country is going to face when the war ends; when the 10,000,000 or more soldiers return; when the war plants close their doors, most of them forever, some of them to be reconverted to the production of civilian goods. We fear that we shall face problems which will require the utmost in sacrifice on the part of every one of us to prevent a complete economic collapse. We all feel keenly that the men and women who left their homes, their jobs, their studies and education to spend years of their youth fighting in all parts of the globe and on the seven seas, are entitled to all the help and assistance we can possibly give them. Even so, we shall never be able to compensate them for their sacrifices.

This Nation has always been generous. We have always been happy to give a helping hand to people in distress with-

out regard to nationality, race, or creed. However, at the end of a long war, that for years has taxed the resources of every participant to the breaking point, there will be little difference between the victor and the vanquished as far as wealth is concerned. Every belligerent nation, victor and vanquished alike, will face a superhuman task of rebuilding what has been so thoroughly devastated. I wish I could see how we may live up to our responsibilities right here at home, and I am sure I cannot see how we shall be able to help all the other peoples put their countries in order, any more than I can see how they can help us, except that we may all exchange our goods and services under fair conditions, and thereby mutually benefit one another. But to do that we need no international political administration, but enterprising and alert businessmen in the foreign field. When one studies the agreement, one cannot help wondering whether this proposed relief administration will not be operating under a false flag. There is, a provision in this bill that no private relief organization shall be permitted to operate in any area where our international administration is active. In other words, such activities as are now undertaken by the Swedes to feed Norwegian children; to receive starved Finnish children in their homes; to maintain asylums for war orphans in France and Belgium, may no longer be permitted. I fail to see the moral right of any individual, any organization, any government, to prevent individuals anywhere from exercising their right and obligation to feed the hungry and to aid the destitute. If this project, which our Government is proposing, was truly philanthropic, every prospective recipient of help would, of course, be thankful and more than willing to cooperate. As a matter of fact, the attitude of the governments of the countries which certainly need relief, such as the small European states under German occupation, is far from enthusiastic. It is frankly reported that "some of them are to send delegates rather more in a spirit of acquiescence than enthusiasm," that "the Atlantic City talks to follow the signing of the agreement will be fated to go down in history as a painful memory among the small nations." I have quoted from a London cable to the New York Times of October 9.

In days so serious as those we are living through, at times when only a small minority of the afflicted humanity can get even their daily bread, in a period of history when the great commandant of love your neighbor is more forceful than ever, I should hate to see the Government of this country confuse philanthropy with politics. As I see it, as many Americans see it, and as many foreigners see it, this proposed relief administration is nothing but an attempt to establish a new international administration on the pattern of the late League of Nations with new and appropriate provisions for establishing the four big powers as an economic supergovernment of the world under American direction. When such an organization is established in a limited field of apparently benevolent activities, it will be so easy to expand its



scope to deal with more and more problems of the post-war world. I want now to warn you to be on your guard. Many interests are striving for power at our expense, and at the expense of an afflicted humanity. It is time that we return to the simple duties and to the simple virtues. It is time to keep a watchful eye on those who, professing charity, promote selfish interests; it is time that we reject those who try to substitute power politics for true democracy. It is time that we revive the virtue of charity, realizing that charity begins at home.

Mr. BLOOM. In answer to the point raised by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOODRUFF] if the gentleman will refer to the selected documents of the first session of the U. N. R. R. A. Council at Atlantic City, I would like to read what it says with reference to the resolution relating to welfare services and voluntary relief agencies. I would like to say at this time that the gentleman referred to Sweden. Of course, Sweden does not come into this operation. It would not come in at any time, because it is not an occupied territory. The U. N. R. R. A. only calls for countries that have been occupied, such as Italy and France. Further answering the gentleman I would like to read from the selected documents as follows:

*Resolved, The welfare service administered by or in cooperation with the Administration shall be provided without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief.*

Now, this is the part I would like to have the gentleman understand:

(2) That it shall be the policy of the Administration to enlist cooperation and seek participation of appropriate foreign volunteer relief agencies to the extent that they can be effectively utilized in relief activities for which they have special competence and resources, subject to the consent and regulations of the Director General in accordance with article 4.

I do not know whether that answers the gentleman in full or not, but I have been reading from the selected documents of the Atlantic City Conference.

Mr. ROWE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. ROWE. Is there any power in the proposed organization to exclude anyone who may interest himself in private charity?

Mr. BLOOM. No.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. A good many people in this country have contributed funds for various countries now occupied and those funds are here in the United States because of inability to spend the money or to send things to those people. Now, is it my understanding that each individual organization which has raised this money will not be permitted to spend it unless they spend it through U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. BLOOM. I do not know, but I would like to answer that question in this way. U. N. R. R. A. is specifically set up so as not to allow one country or one people to control supplies going into

any country. In other words, it is not just the country that has money that can get the supplies. Greece may not have anything, but she will get the same consideration that France or Holland or any other country gets which has the money. That is the principle and that is the objective of U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Then I understand that the people that have money are not getting anything from U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. BLOOM. Oh, no, no; your understanding is wrong.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I would like to have it cleared up.

Mr. BLOOM. The people that have the foreign exchange or the money, such as Holland or England or France, will have to pay for what they get up to the value of their dollar exchange until their resources have been exhausted. But the country that has no foreign exchange or any gold or anything to pay for it, will come in on the same proportionate share as the other countries will come in. Do I explain that?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. The purpose of the fund is to put up the money to see that they can be on an equality basis with other countries that do have the money?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. MASON. How do you explain this statement on page 10 of the bill?

Foreign voluntary relief agencies may not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the Administration without the consent of and unless subject to the regulation of the Director General.

Mr. BLOOM. It is just to keep it under the control of the Director General and prevent waste and duplication. As I said, there must be some control. There is no question about it. That is all it is there for.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the pending amendment is the one offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS] which changes the language of the resolution where the authorization is made for the appropriation to be made to the President of the United States and substitutes in lieu of "President" the words "Department of State." In other words, it leaves to the Department of State rather than to the President of the United States, the Executive head, the appropriations to be made and expended in this country.

Our committee gave very serious consideration to this proposal contained in the gentleman's amendment, but did not accept it. There are several reasons why the amendment should not be adopted, and I earnestly hope that it may be defeated. No one has a higher regard for the Department of State and its great Secretary, Cordell Hull, and Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of

State, who is in charge of the Economic Division of the Department of State, than I; it is not because of feeling of unfriendliness for them or lack of admiration of the Department of State that I cannot support the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS], but because I feel it would be a mistake to take it from the Executive head of the Nation and delegate it to a subagency, especially in view of the fact that the Department of State does not want this power. The Department of State does not want the job. Secretary Hull advised our committee, and I think wisely so, that the Department of State is not an administrative agency and that he did not want it lodged there. The Department of State is a policy-making agency of the Government. It has no set-up within it to administer a fund of this kind. It has no organization of that kind. The administration is a business task. It would be an innovation to turn it over to the Department of State for administration. Secretary Hull does not want it. Dean Acheson, his assistant, does not want it. Reasons were given which I think should be convincing, why it would be unwise to vest this power in that Department.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Does not the gentleman feel it would be within the spirit of recent events to draft a prominent Democrat, like Secretary Hull, for the job? Is not this the time when we draft unwilling people to serve?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Yes. I would not be opposed to drafting anyone, especially the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, for whom I have the highest admiration, but I believe when you draft anybody you ought to find out whether or not he qualifies for the job. Secretary Hull has a pretty big job and it is growing bigger all the time. His Department has a great responsibility in dealing with problems growing out of this war with reference to our relation to other countries. I think it would be not only unfair to him, but unfair to us to put this added burden on that Department.

Mr. FORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield.

Mr. FORD. Would we not be creating an entirely new bureau, which my friend is opposed to?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Well, I do not want to get into a debate about bureaucracy, because it is a question that always brings a lot of talk. I want to get the minds of Members down to the practical side of this question. It is a question of what is the best and wisest way to administer this fund.

The Department of State is simply one of the executive branches of the Government, and as was explained by other Members who have explained the operation of this bill, I think the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] explained that the various agencies will go through them and it will clear through the Committee on Appropriations. The President of the United States is at the head of all those agencies, whereas the Secretary of State is only the head of



those matters that pertain to our policy with reference to other countries. So it would not be practical.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. May I have 2 additional minutes?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I say then because the Department of State does not have the machinery with which to do it, because it would not be the logical way to handle it through that Department, rather than the President who has command of all these various agencies, and if the President can find some agency which is better equipped he will delegate this power to that agency, another power to another agency, and another power to still another agency, and we should have at the head of all those agencies the head of the Government, the President of the United States. I do not like to oppose the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS], because he has shown a fine spirit of cooperation on this important measure. I think this is about the only time he has gone wrong on this bill, so far as I know. I think the gentleman's amendment, when you consider it in the light of its administration, would be a mistake. I, therefore, sincerely hope the House will reject the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has again expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, one of the curses of our present situation is that we have too many agencies meddling into this picture. We have the B. E. W., which blew up. Now its functions have finally been transferred to F. E. A. We do not want to create an additional agency as we go to this operation. The organization of U. N. R. R. A. has already been set up. If this bill is passed, just as it is, the President will set up a new agency to handle this picture. On the other hand, if we do it in the simple, ordinary, and orderly way, he will delegate this function of handling the contribution of the money to U. N. R. R. A. to the State Department, and let the State Department handle the foreign affairs, just as it is supposed to. I am not in favor of subterfuges, and creating additional agencies where it is not necessary. I hope the House will get together and adopt this amendment and clear up this situation and put an end to the confusion.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. The gentleman speaks with a great deal of assurance that the President is going to set up a new agency to administer this. I have had no such information.

Mr. TABER. Only from the set-up and the looks of things. That is the way it looks. I have no authority to speak for the President, but going by past performances and all that sort of thing, I want to avoid confusion, and I

want to keep the foreign affairs in the State Department where they belong.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. BLOOM) there were ayes 102 and noes 87.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 116, noes 102.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. O'CONNOR: On page 1, line 5, after the words "not to exceed", strike out "\$1,350,000,000" and insert "\$675,000,000."

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I call attention to the fact that the committee amendment has already been approved.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Montana desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, my amendment changes the amount.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman desire to be heard further on the point of order? If not, the Chair is prepared to rule.

The amount is fixed in the bill. The gentleman's amendment comes too late. The point of order therefore is sustained.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to return to that part of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Montana asks unanimous consent to return to that section of the bill for the purpose of offering an amendment. Is there objection?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I object.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is heard.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I ask to be heard on the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order has been decided. The gentleman from Montana was given an opportunity to be heard but did not avail himself of it.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SMITH of Ohio: Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following: "There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$250,000,000 to be expended under the direction of the President for the furnishing of food, clothing, medicine, and other absolute essentials of life, to relieve starvation and suffering among individuals in those countries which have been overrun by, or have directly suffered from hostile action of, the enemies of the United Nations in the present war."

Amend the title so as to read: "Joint resolution to authorize the appropriation of \$250,000,000 for use in relieving starvation and

suffering in countries which have been overrun by, or have directly suffered from hostile action of, the enemies of the United Nations in the present war."

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment is not germane to the pending resolution. The pending resolution is to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization. The gentleman's amendment simply authorizes an appropriation to be made to the President for a certain character of relief and not within the purview of the pending resolution as stated in its preamble.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is prepared to rule.

The amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio appropriates money for purposes of relief. The Chair feels that it is in line with the general purposes of the bill and overrules the point of order.

The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I am offering would substitute for the pending resolution a simple, straightforward appropriation measure. It would provide for an appropriation of \$250,000,000 to be used by the President to purchase food, clothing, medicines, and the other necessities of life for the starving peoples of the war-stricken areas. It would not authorize the use of funds for any rehabilitation purposes, as is provided for in the resolution.

Mr. Chairman, members of the Foreign Affairs Committee have in the debate on this resolution made rather strong claims that their committee has given long and deep study to this proposal. We are asked to believe that they have gone into all phases of it with great thoroughness. It seems to me, however, that at least one important consideration has been left out of their deliberations entirely; namely, the wherewithal with which to pay for their scheme.

Where is the money to come from to pay the cost of this gigantic undertaking? This question has not been considered either in your committee deliberations or by any of the members of your committee who have spoken in the House on the proposal. Yet, this is a vital question. Indeed, I think it is the most vital one.

I know it is difficult, if not impossible, to get many Members interested to any great extent in this phase of the subject. The attitude of mind of so many of us seems to be to even avoid having this question brought up. The Congress has become so habituated to spending without regard either as to the amount or the eventual means of payment that it seems we have become utterly blind to the ultimate consequences that must result from this state of mind.



The one and only source from which the means can come to pay for this undertaking is the Government printing press. There just is no other source from which to obtain it. Taxation and the sale of bonds to private investors together are wholly inadequate to meet Government costs. The acquisition of Government securities by the banking system is wholly a process of creating credit dollars by fiat. It is true inflation, since it involves the creation of additional fiat currency.

Sooner or later the effects of this spending policy must manifest themselves. All experience without exception teaches us to expect those effects to be greatly injurious to our economy. The volume of fiat credit dollars is already large. In June of last year total deposits in all the banks was roundly \$96,500,000,000. More than \$57,000,000,000, or about 60 percent, of that amount consisted of Government printed or fiat dollars. This involves only Government securities acquired by the banking system and does not involve an additional amount of bank credit which comes within the classification of fiat credit.

Indeed, the course we are pursuing is in substance identical with that which was followed by Germany and which led her into financial disaster. It is the same road that was taken by France under the misguidance of John Law in 1719 which brought great disaster and hardship upon that nation. We are going the way of France in the nineties of the eighteenth century which plunged her into utter ruin and from which she probably never fully recovered.

If I did not believe that there is yet time to in great measure save our country from the evil effects of the course we are pursuing, I should not now be making this plea. I do believe we could still do much to avert trouble if we would but firmly set ourselves to the task of stopping all spending that is not absolutely necessary to the winning of the war to maintain the true functions of Government, and to confine what aid we can give to the war-stricken peoples to the essentials of life.

Under the circumstances our aim should be to avoid undertaking any relief program which has even the possibilities in it of launching our Nation upon a world-wide W. P. A., as this proposal certainly has. We will have to help the starving peoples of the war-stricken countries as much as we possibly can, but let us confine our aid to the essentials of life, food, clothing, medicines, and so forth, as we did in the other war. That program operated successfully. It did not involve the creation of an international bureaucracy. It did not have in it the dangers of overexpansion and wasteful spending which the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation proposal has. We should aim at giving the most needed help. We should avoid altogether creating the gigantic international political machinery which this proposal would embrace.

Mr. JENKINS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. JENKINS. Is it not true that those who are opposed to this proposition in principle but are willing to grant some relief, under the parliamentary situation the only chance they will have to vote that way is to vote for the gentleman's amendment?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. The gentleman is absolutely correct.

Mr. Chairman, a few days ago when the gentleman from New York told us how this committee considered every phase of this proposed piece of legislation I heard him say that India had gold enough to pay for her relief supplies. Can the gentleman tell us something about the status of gold with respect to India?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes; I can.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Please do so.

Mr. BLOOM. I would like to say I am very glad the gentleman asked that question.

At the beginning of the war, in September 1939, the Reserve Bank of India, which is the central bank of India, reported that it held in gold about \$133,000,000 and in sterling balances—in dollar equivalent—a little less than \$2,000,000.

In the latest statement available, that of December 3, 1943, they report that their gold reserve is unchanged but that the Reserve Bank of India owned more than \$2,000,000,000—in dollar equivalent—of sterling balances.

These foreign-exchange assets represent only the holdings of the Government of India and they do not include private holdings of gold, sterling balances, or other foreign-exchange assets. India evidently does not hold any significant amounts of dollars at the present time.

This information was taken from the weekly statement of the Reserve Bank of India for the dates mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH]?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, answering the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM], chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I should like to say that if he will read the Indian laws relating to gold-reserve requirements as security for demand liabilities in the form of circulating notes, the nature of the sterling assets she owns, and so forth, he will see that India has no free gold for export.

The latest figure I have on the gold holdings of India is that furnished me by the Federal Reserve, which is \$274,000,000 as of August 1943. India requires a 40-percent gold, or gold and gold-exchange reserve, as cover for her circulating notes. By "gold exchange" is meant exchange which is payable on demand in gold. It is true India owns \$2,000,000,000, or more, of English sterling. But English sterling is not convertible into gold on demand, in the sense the term "gold exchange" is supposed to

be taken, and in which it is used in the Indian law.

Indeed, one of the very purposes of the proposed international stabilization fund is to bolster the value of English sterling, and with United States gold. If you will look into the matter you will discover that India's gold holding is short by more than \$600,000,000 for her note cover. Hence she does not have a dime in gold to export for any relief or other supplies.

I have heard statements by members of the Foreign Affairs Committee about certain other countries having gold assets to pay for relief supplies. First, those countries who have gold or other means to pay for their needs cannot truly be considered as coming under this proposed program. It was my understanding that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation program was to provide charity only.

Some of the western countries of Europe were mentioned as having gold to pay for relief. If you will take the trouble to examine the situation in those countries you will find that in nearly all of them the same condition will be found as we mentioned in the case of India. In those countries you will find their gold holdings nearly all pledged as cover for demand liabilities.

No, the Committee on Foreign Affairs did not even make a pretense of finding out how the program would be financed. All it considered was the spending part. I urge upon you to support my amendment so that we may avoid the danger of setting up a global W. P. A. which inheres in this resolution. By supplying only the necessities of life, as we did in the other war, we can avoid that danger and hold the cost to a minimum.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I am very much interested in the discussion that has just taken place with reference to the monetary situation in India. I should like to tell the gentleman from New York that the most shameful manipulation of money is going on in India and in the Orient today. I should like to tell the gentleman from New York that the British Government for India has just debased the Indian rupee and cut its silver content in half—by minting rupees of 50 percent silver and 50 percent alloy, and made the 92.5 grains of pure silver no longer legal tender, thereby cutting down the purchasing power of Indian money, when they came to deal with this country, in half.

I should like to tell the gentleman from New York that, if he will read the bulletin that came to his desk the other day from the National City Bank of his own city, he will find that gold today is worth \$63 an ounce in India. I should like to tell him that gold is worth in Cairo more than \$60 an ounce. I should like to tell him that down in Buenos Aires gold is worth about \$44 an ounce.

We are printing money by the bale here and sending it by airplane to China, where they have the most horrid inflation today.

Talk about relief. May I suggest that the learned gentleman from Ohio [Mr.



SMITH] get the facts on this money question and the relief situation.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITE. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. If gold is selling for \$68 to \$70 per ounce in Cairo and Bombay, what does that mean in the way of discount of American currency?

Mr. WHITE. It means that American currency is being discounted.

Mr. CRAWFORD. About 50 percent.

Mr. WHITE. We have a stabilization fund of \$2,000,000,000, but it does not operate to stabilize the currency in face of this inflation.

Mr. CRAWFORD. That is right.

Mr. WHITE. A man in India may have gold at \$64 an ounce when it is \$35 an ounce here, but what can he buy with it? Why are the people in India starving by the hundreds of thousands when their money has such purchasing power? The most shameful manipulation of money is going on in the Orient and India today that the world has ever seen.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I have tried to listen with some care to the debate on this resolution. As one Member of Congress, I think I reflect the attitude of the majority when I say that we want to do the right thing in this matter. I for one want to be sure that when I cast my vote I am doing it in line with good conscience and my responsibility in view of the present-day situation, but I confess that I am somewhat troubled about this situation. The distinguished gentleman from Ohio has given this Congress something to think about.

We used to have a Member of the House who would stand here and ask, "Where are you going to get the money?" and do it every day, and people laughed at him. Now we have reached a point where there does not seem to be any thought given to the question of how we are going to keep on financing this ever-increasing and ever-continuing deficit that faces our Nation.

Let us see where we stand. According to the most recent Treasury estimate, the national debt will be \$197,000,000,000 by the end of this present fiscal year, and according to the Budget estimate just submitted by the President it will be \$257,000,000,000 by the end of the next fiscal year, and no end is in sight at all. Plan after plan after plan after plan is visualized to spend billions and billions and billions more. You tell me where we are going and where the people of this country are ultimately going to get the money to finance all these programs.

God knows we want to be in the show. God knows the people of America want to be a part of this cooperative effort. God knows we want to do something for the distressed and starving people of these occupied areas. But have these great benefactors of mankind forgotten that we have people here at home, the aged people of this country who are starving, and the white-collar classes, who are suffering today in this country?

Do you realize that every trust fund of this Government has its funds now

invested in United States Government bonds, that the funds of the old age and survivors insurance, the funds of unemployment compensation, the funds of the National Service Insurance Act, the United States Civil Service employees retirement funds, the railroad retirement funds, the Canal Zone retirement funds, and the funds of every other trust fund are loaded up to the hilt and to the limit with United States Government bonds?

Do you realize that today, with the deposits of this Nation \$107,000,000,000, according to the most recent figures of the Treasury Department, 53.8 percent of the deposit liabilities of all the banks are invested now in United States Government bonds?

Do you realize also that the Federal Reserve banks have over \$7,202,000,000 invested in United States Government bonds, and that the people are going to continue to invest? But I am wondering whether, when the emotionalism of war is over, we are going to be able to continue on and on and on with these bond drives, to continue to sell bonds. I am wondering who is going to buy the bonds to be redeemed by the millions of people who will want to spend their money when this war is over.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, I am one of those who have confidence in our country. I am not selling my country short. I believe we can ultimately work ourselves out. I am not one of those who believe we are going to repudiate this bond issue, nor am I one of those who believe we are going to pay it off with worthless money. We are going to pay it off with confidence, work, production, and the restoration of the wealth that we have been compelled to expend in our war effort. But I am just wondering if we are going to continue on and on and on, and, if there is going to be no end to these programs for the expenditure of billions of dollars, just how we are going to continue to finance it. That is a question that is worrying me, and I know it is worrying the people of this country. They are beginning to wonder how we are going to be able in the post-war period to maintain our economy and to continue to pay the taxes that are necessary to maintain that economy in the post-war period. They are beginning to wonder how we can continue to plan and plan and plan these huge expenditures in the post-war period with apparently no thought being given to how we are going to raise the money that we propose to expend.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. Yes.

Mr. FORD. Suppose the war goes on for 5 years. We will have to keep appropriating, will we not?

Mr. KEEFE. Yes; and asking that question does not relieve my concern, I will say to the distinguished gentleman from California. He happens to be one of those gentlemen, from his general attitude as manifested on the floor, who apparently is not concerned. I am one of those who is concerned. I know that we have got to go on. I know that we will have to spend untold billions yet before this war is won, but I say to the gentleman that that fact that I say it will, and that I shall vote to spend to win this war, does not relieve me of the ultimate concern as to what is going to happen to the economy of this country, because of these expenditures, and I think it is high time when we are passing on an authorization measure, authorizing an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000, that this Committee give some particular serious thought now as to whether or not we are not overstepping the bounds, or whether or not the distinguished gentleman from Ohio is not right in offering the simple resolution that he has offered to restrict the present amount to \$250,000,000.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. Yes.

Mr. FORD. Well, the proposition is that this money is to be used to rehabilitate the overrun countries.

Mr. KEEFE. No; that is not the proposition at all, and if the gentleman states that it is to rehabilitate these countries, then he has not read the bill or heard the argument.

Mr. FORD. I have read the bill and that is exactly what it proposes to do.

Mr. KEEFE. Because in the very last paragraph it clearly states the contrary of what the gentleman has announced.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I am impressed with what the gentleman is saying about appropriating billions of dollars. I have an amendment which I tried to get in here to reduce the amount to just one-half, but due to a new method of strategy employed by the committee, we were denied the opportunity of voting upon the \$1,350,000,000.

Mr. KEEFE. The gentleman has an opportunity to vote now when we vote on the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has again expired.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I have very little to say any more than this, that the amendments that are being offered to this measure, almost any amendment that is offered and agreed to, excepting one or two for the operation of it, will vitiate it in its entirety. These amendments to me smell like stale Munich beer, and they also smell like stale rice and rotten fish from Tokyo, and that is exactly what I mean. Hitler and Hirohito must laugh when they hear these arguments. We are asked here for a sum of money to go into Europe, Asia, or wherever we have to go and



rehabilitate those people who have been overrun by the Nazis, by the Japanese, by Hirohito and Hitler, and you are coming in here and trying to cut it down to a mere pittance, and I think it is unworthy of the House of Representatives to stand here and try to accomplish a thing of that kind. To me, and I am entitled to my opinion, it smells of isolationism under the guise of economy. Just as the Guam fortification was defeated on the same plea.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last five words. I would like to pick up this discussion where it was left by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KEEFE] if I may. I feel it is true, as my colleague from California [Mr. Ford] in rather picturesque words has said, that we cannot view this problem of relief after a war of this kind from any small or partisan, narrow or selfish point of view. I do not know whether we have spent more money on the war than was necessary. War is an expensive proposition at best. It may be that some of the expenditure could have been saved. It does not seem to me, in view of the magnitude and terrible destruction of the war, that \$1,350,000,000 is in any way out of line with what human need will be. If there is one thing above all that men in the armed forces expect of us it is that we prevent another war like this from visiting this world. If we are even to start on that task everything in our power must be done to prevent hunger or disease or pestilence after victory has at last been won. We are going to have to spend money for food and medical supplies and other things, for these poor people and I do not think that \$1,350,000,000 is too much for the United States to contribute.

But this does not alter the concern expressed by the gentleman from Wisconsin a bit, except that I would say that this amount of money is on all fours with the war appropriations, and it is just as necessary as war appropriations if our objectives are the ones that we talk about. We do have to spend money to win this war and we may have to spend it to combat the utter destitution that may follow it in many parts of the world.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes.

Mr. KEEFE. Will the gentleman explain what funds have been used to rehabilitate the people of north Africa in the liberated areas and what funds are being used and under what auspices are the funds disbursed, that are being expended now to take care of the people in liberated areas of Italy and Sicily?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. In north Africa, I understand, there are funds which in part have been repaid by the French. I am informed that they have made a good deal of repayment of the money we have expended. The money that is in circulation in Italy, if that is what the gentleman has reference to, is to furnish a needed circulation medium to facilitate the exchange of goods there, and, incidentally, it is working, and goods are being exchanged, and that is the exact purpose of money anyway, according to my view.

We have an unbalanced budget now, and we are piling up a huge debt, to which there must be an answer. I tried to answer that in a book which I sent to every Member of Congress. The fact is that even if you reduce the war expenditures as much as you can without depriving our Army and Navy of all they might possibly need to win this war, you still have to have much heavier taxes than now, if you are going to even come anywhere near to paying for this war currently. I am one who believes taxes should be levied in accordance with our Nation's needs. We have not done that and the new tax bill does not help. Mr. Speaker, one-third of that national debt that we have contracted in this country ought never to have been debt at all. That portion of the debt has been piled on the American people only because the Government of the United States has turned over to the private banks the power to create money, which power by the Constitution is reposed exclusively in the Congress. Whenever Government bonds have been sold to banks for new demand deposits written on their books for the purpose of buying the bonds we have been exchanging the credit of the American people for the credit of private banking institutions, and have permitted them to use the Government bonds to secure the very credit they created with which to purchase them. I am not talking about the sale of bonds to an individual, a bank, or a corporation, when that person or corporation gives up money it already possesses to pay for the bonds. That is all right. It is not inflationary. Nor does the citizen who buys a bond create the money to buy it with. On the contrary he gives up part of his money to the Government.

I am only saying that the people of America ought not to have their debt increased by a thin dime when new money is created. And I am saying that as to one-third of our present debt that is exactly what has happened. Well over \$50,000,000,000 of our national debt today consists of "debt that ought not to be debt" as I call it in my book; Out of Debt, Out of Danger. We are paying interest today on \$50,000,000,000 of our own Nation's credit, yet it is called national debt. Correction of this one wrong would help a lot. But there can be no doubt that we shall have to bear heavy taxation in the future and our Nation's capacity to pay those taxes is going to depend directly upon the degree to which full production and full employment and abundant creation of wealth is maintained in America.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. The possibility of making good the appropriation asked for or authorized in this bill, the possibility of paying for the war, the possibility of solving the debt problem, above all, the possibility of having good jobs for returning soldiers—all these depend and the whole future of America depends

upon our keeping our farms and factories and mines and mills busy with production in the years after this war is over. But goods are not long produced without a market demand for them. And therefore the high national production which we must have depends upon whether or not we maintain a full home market for the goods we can and must produce in this country.

Furthermore—and I come back now to the remarks of the gentleman from Wisconsin—we must have a way of doing that, a way of assuring that full home market without further increase in the public debt. I do not agree, on the one hand, with people who give the people of this Nation the impression that by cutting down on appropriations for some bureau in the Department of Agriculture or for some other purpose that we can lift the huge burden of debt that the war is bringing upon us. Saving we should make wherever it does not cripple necessary work, but save as we may on non-war expenditures the difference will not be great. Neither do I agree with those who say the national debt does not make any difference; that we can go on and on increasing it, because we owe it to ourselves; for the ownership of Government bonds is becoming more concentrated every day.

I think the truth lies between those two extremes. In the brief time that is permitted to me today I want to say this. The American people do have to have a way after this war of earning their way out of debt. They have to see clearly how their financial problem can be met. And a fundamental part of enabling our Nation and people to earn their way out of debt after this war is to credit the Nation as a whole rather than to the banking system alone the economic benefit from the creation of money which is called for by the entire business life of this Nation when its capacity to produce is increased. Today the United States does not get that benefit.

Our Nation is compelling itself to borrow at interest from a private banking system every dollar that is called for of additional circulating medium as a result of increased production. There, to me, is the key to the possibility of our sustaining a full demand for the goods that our industry and agriculture can produce in the future without further increasing the public debt. If we can stabilize this debt after the war is won we can handle it. We can pay it off. We can reduce it, provided in the future expansion of the Nation's power to produce is reflected on the books of account of this Nation and is entered as a credit instead of a debt. Credits are created today on the books of the Federal Reserve banks or on the books of private commercial banks of this country and for those credits we exchange interest-bearing Government bonds. All I want to see is that those credits shall be created originally not on private bankers' books, but on the books of either a publicly owned central bank of issue, which the Federal Reserve banks can readily be made, or on the books of the Treasury of the United States itself.



This should be done only under authority from Congress which would provide by statute that there could never be inflation nor deflation of the purchasing power of money in America. Control and use of the power to create money in balance with production can prevent deflation. Fearless use of taxation—a good deal more fearless use than we are now making—is the only basic cure for inflation.

Mr. KEEFE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield.

Mr. KEEFE. I want to say to the distinguished gentleman from California that if the remarks which I made served no other purpose than to prompt the discussion which has now taken place on the floor, it has added a great contribution to the information that this Congress ought to have. I compliment the gentleman from California on the very studious and fine presentation that he has just made.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I am very much obliged to the gentleman.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I would like to say to the gentleman, and I think he knows that our Army is in occupied countries and in the liberated areas, why have a duplication of appropriations? Why have an appropriation upon an appropriation? There is no need for that. We are all for relief.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Simply because I do not believe this is a job we ought to ask the military to perform.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. They are doing it today.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I think they have a big enough job already.

Mr. WHITE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. The gentleman knows we recently passed an appropriation bill for a large amount of money and we recently had a budget submitted to us for \$100,000,000,000 for 1 year.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. That is right.

Mr. WHITE. Computed at the rate of 3 percent, as the gentleman from California suggested, on that debt in another 5 years we would have \$3,000,000,000 a year added to the national debt as an interest charge on the national debt every year. Do you think the American people can stand for that?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I do not know. I most earnestly hope the war will not last for 5 more years. I believe, as I have said, that the all-important thing is for us to have a method whereby we can assure our producers of a full market for all they can produce and to be able to do this without further increases in the debt. America can manage. She can meet and solve her problems if she maintains full production and if her people see hope ahead. It is that hope—a way out—a solution of the problem, however great, that I seek to give.

The CHAIRMAN.—The time of the gentleman has expired.

(Mr. VOORHIS of California asked and received permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last section. I am delighted that the gentleman from Wisconsin made his able and very illuminating address. It is a very persuasive argument for the amendment I just presented to the House. With its well-trained personnel and carefully considered plans, some of which are now in operation, the military governments of the Army and Navy can administer relief at the least possible expense to the people not only of this country but also of the occupied and liberated countries. The appropriation of billions for U. N. R. R. A., is not only a duplication of expense but also a duplication of administration. The Committee on Foreign Affairs did not call witnesses from the War Department or Navy Department. No officer or official representing the military government was asked to testify. They know something about relief for they are now administering it in liberated areas of north Africa, Sicily, and Italy. Military government is doing a magnificent job in these areas of relief and rehabilitation. Why should we finance this "superduper" council, responsible to no government, to go into these areas and duplicate this work and in many instances interfere with the work of the military government? This extravagant and needless duplication of expenditure could have been worked out in the committee, but the committee refused to continue the hearings and call well-informed witnesses on the subject of relief. Personally interested witnesses were the only ones called. They knew little of the real job to be done. I know of no other case in my many years of public service when a committee has so denied the request of a senior member. Such action was highly unwarranted. It is very bad leadership. As a result I have been forced to present this duplication of relief work being done and planned by the military government here in open forum for the consideration of the entire Congress. There is no limit to the time of occupation and administration of the military government. It may remain in operation so long as conditions require. It is responsible, not to an international body of carefully selected persons such as the U. N. R. R. A. It is responsible to General Marshall and Admiral King. They are highly competent officers of the United States. Competent, indeed, to delegate to highly trained, American officers of military government, the administration and supervision of relief in occupied areas.

It is clearly evident there is a complete duplication by U. N. R. R. A., of plans and activities of the United States Army and Navy already in operation. The Army and Navy have worked out in minute detail plans for the supervising of relief and all the related problems. These plans constitute a carefully integrated part of military operations. Why is there any need for placing this "superduper" international group in authority over them and interfering with their plans and activities?

Certainly no Member of this House would intentionally vote for legislation at this time that would not only be embarrassing to our military commands, but would cause them to greatly change plans, long developed and in operation.

I would remind the House under the military and civil government in occupied territories or in liberated territories, the War and Navy Departments of Military Government are obligated to see that there is no interference with the education of the people, with the religious training of the people, with the political desires of the people. The people are permitted to have their own religion and their own type of education. I have an amendment that I am going to introduce for acceptance in this resolution on this subject. It is extremely important.

Certainly in these days of enormous expenditures, no person, no Member of the House of Representatives, has any right to unnecessarily increase the burden of relief, burdens which not only the people, the mothers and fathers of veterans must pay, but also the veterans themselves, the very men giving their lives to the country now and their children must pay for generations and generations to come. My amendment did not carry in the House of Representatives. I am hoping it will be considered by the Senate. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will have exhaustive hearings, I am very sure, upon this matter. I do not believe for 1 minute that any member of the Committee on Foreign Relations will fail to call before it those officers in the Army and the Navy that are assigned to the duties of relief and rehabilitation in occupied countries and in liberated areas. I believe every Member here is searching his soul to find the right thing to do. I have at least raised my voice in protest in open forum here in this House against this special method of administering and supervising relief. I want to be certain relief is wisely and impartially distributed.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. If I amend my request to make it 10 minutes, will the gentleman object?

Mr. REED of New York. If I am recognized, I will not object.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes. That is the reason I amended it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM]?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, it is very, very important that we keep our feet on the ground. I am in full sympathy with the remarks made by the



gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KEEFE], as to the gravity of the financial condition of the United States. I know that we have a great national debt. I know that the coming generations have got to pay it. I am worried about it just as the gentleman is worried about it. But, Mr. Chairman, we are engaged in a great war. I want to remind the House of the fact that if General Marshall came before the Military Affairs Committee tomorrow and asked for \$100,000,000,000 to help win this war he would get it without a dissenting vote. That is how patriotic this House is. Now that being the case, what about this \$1,350,000,000? What about it? It is true it will add to the national debt, but in my considered, conscientious opinion, this \$1,350,000,000 is just as necessary for the winning of the war and the preservation of the peace in an orderly world as any \$1,350,000,000 we have appropriated for the Army and the Navy. Why? Do you think the boys who are fighting in Italy, and the generals who are leading them can win our battles there with a disorganized population behind them? With disease, hunger, and lack of clothing and shelter rampant? They cannot do it, and they do not want to do it, and they want some civilian agency of the government of the United Nations of the world to take over and handle that situation.

This U. N. R. R. A. will not come into any area until the military says it is the wise thing to do and that they want it to come in. It will follow the military. Therefore, it is necessary from a military standpoint, to keep at least \$1,350,000,000 in this bill.

How are you going to pay this national debt of ours without an orderly world? And how are you going to have an orderly world after this war unless we are able to put the distressed and famine-stricken people of the earth upon their feet in order that we may do business with them. You cannot do it.

The gentleman from California [Mr. Voorhis] has talked about maximum production, and we must have it. We must have the greatest markets this country ever knew, in order to pay the debts that we are now saddling on coming generations.

Now, what about the disillusioned people of the earth when they see that the nations which are able to do it will not help them to get on their feet? What are they going to do? They are going to do just exactly what the gentleman from Ohio said the other day. That is, they will turn to the man on horse back. Then where will be the United States and its ability to pay the obligation, which in order to fight this war, we have already saddled upon coming generations? This \$1,350,000,000 is the minimum. I am surprised that any Member would get up on this floor, after we have appropriated all these billions of dollars for this war, and say "We will cut off our noses in order to spite our faces and we will not appropriate \$1,350,000,000." We will not be alone but joined with 43 other nations to help the helpless all over the world in proportion to the means and responsibility of each nation. This appropriation is necessary to enter a world organi-

zation which will blaze a new path of international cooperation. It is necessary for the military welfare of our country. It is necessary from the standpoint of political stability in this world. It is necessary in order that we may speed the wheels of progress throughout the world and keep the markets of the world open. It is necessary in order that this debt, which we have saddled upon our children and our grandchildren eventually may be paid.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS] has expired.

[Mr. REED of New York addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

All time has expired. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SMITH, of Ohio) there were—ayes 76, noes 120.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chair appointed as tellers Mr. SMITH of Ohio and Mr. Bloom.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 72, noes 138.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. O'NEAL, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration House Joint Resolution 192 to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization, had come to no resolution thereon.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday, January 26, after the disposition of legislative business and the other special orders on the Speaker's desk the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] may address the House for 40 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special order I have for this afternoon may be transferred to Wednesday, January 26.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and include therein a radio address by the President of Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. D'ALESSANDRO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and include therein a radio address by Governor O'Connor and also a statement showing things expected of the various States, and a resolution received from the American Legion on the soldiers' vote.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

(Mr. KEOGH asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the Record.)

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein three editorials.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include a letter from ex-Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made this afternoon and to include a small part of the hearings, the report and also a letter from the State Department.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS]?

There was no objection.

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at this point in the Record on a tax bill I introduced today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON]?

There was no objection.

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, the country is demanding action by Congress looking to the simplification of our complex and bewildering income-tax law and returns.

On January 3, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement making certain suggestions for simplifications. Following the disposition of the pending tax bill I feel that this subject should be made the first order of business by the House Ways and Means Committee.

In order to bring the matter to a head, I am today introducing a bill designed to streamline the individual income-tax law and returns. My measure is based on the suggestions outlined in my January 3 statement, and is offered simply as a basis for discussion, and not with the idea that it is the last word on the subject. It would bring about the following salutary changes:



who make up our pressure groups, who seek to make big profits out of the war, or who produce our wartime strikes—men in any class who would recklessly gamble with the Nation's future in order to gain some petty, temporary advantage for themselves.

To my way of thinking the psychopathic Hitler worshipers and the foolish men who give them aid are asking for trouble, and if they persist, will assuredly get it.

By and large, we are a patient people and slow to wrath. But we are also a dangerous people when aroused. And if Americans become aware that small groups of self-seekers are trying to exploit their country and destroy their freedom, a day of heavy reckoning will come for the self-seekers.

I, for one, have had my faith in the fundamental good sense of Americans reinforced by my experience in war production. The great bulk of the people, industrial workers, white-collar workers, professional workers, farmers, employers—in every class, the large majority have been essentially loyal, hard-working, and cooperative in getting this war won. As the President pointed out in his message to Congress last week, certain sectors of the home front have deteriorated in recent months, notably in Washington, where the pressure groups are most active. But he gave us no reason to think that the attitude of the man in the street has deteriorated. On the contrary, I venture to say that psychologically the plain people of America are getting deeper into the war all the time.

In the first year of the war, I was startled by a public-opinion poll which showed that nearly a third of the people were in favor of a negotiated peace with Germany if the German Army overthrew Hitler. Recently, however, a similar poll revealed that even if Germany got rid of the Nazis and gave up all her conquered lands, three Americans out of four would insist on absolute surrender by the German Army. In my judgment, that shows a great advance in realistic thinking. Surely it is a far cry from any deterioration in popular opinion about the war.

Again, not long ago my attention was called to a poll which showed that 44 percent of the people think that the Government has not gone far enough in asking them to make sacrifices for the war, as against only 8 percent who think that it has gone too far.

No; wherever the home front may have deteriorated, it is not in the minds of the great majority of the people. They have learned that liberty is not just something you inherit, but something you have to fight to keep. And they are willing, anxious to fight for it. The people are becoming steadily better prepared, I believe, for the harsh realities of war. I have yet to talk to an American who does not realize it may well be a considerable time before Germany collapses, and perhaps a matter of years before Japan is crushed. I have yet to find one who is not grimly aware of the pain and tragedy which the war is bound to bring to many an American family.

The people are prepared to work hard and long, and to give up much, in order to win this war. At the same time, they are remarkably free from Pollyanna ideas about the future. They know that war disorganizes any society. They know that it promotes certain types of crime and delinquency. They know that the millions of young men in the Army will have a serious problem of readjustment when they return. They know we may be in for a period of acute uneasiness before a healthy post-war society can be firmly established.

But they have faith in their country—the country that Lincoln called the last, best hope of earth—and we who share in their Government must have faith in them. We need to remember, all the time, that our airplanes and our tanks, our guns and our marching men—these are only expressions of the people's will to be strong and free. Although Americans, as a whole, may be

sometimes distracted or confused by unforeseen events, in a crisis you will find them where they have almost always been—striding ahead, positive and purposeful, keeping their balance, unwilling to sacrifice big, enduring values for temporary, surface gains.

We men of Washington have the obligation to reflect this historical American attitude in our own work. It is up to us to preserve a calm and steadfast and dispassionate judgment, regardless of the pressures that may be turned against us. Even now, when our hearts are set on a smashing victory in this war, we are able to make the greatest speed by preserving the democratic balance. And I deeply feel that after winning the victory we shall go steadily on, with our democratic spirit stronger than ever, to amaze the world by our achievements in peace.

### United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

#### SPEECH

OF

**HON. CHRISTIAN A. HERTER**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, January 21, 1944*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER].

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, I have a particular interest in this bill, for the reason that during the last war I saw the Belgian relief in occupied Belgium when I was in charge of our legation which stayed in Brussels during the occupation by Germany for the express purpose of protecting, together with the Dutch and the Spanish, the relief operation. Later I happened to have the privilege, a rather painful one, of being, I think, the first of the Allies to go into Germany after the collapse of Germany and the surrender of Germany, and had some opportunity to see the chaos wrought by a nation in collapse.

Later, in the summer of 1922, I spent a number of months in Russia during a period when millions, literally millions, of people had died of starvation. With those three experiences I saw something of the starvation and hardship that comes as the aftermath of war. I saw some of the mechanism of relief and something of the organization that is required to cope with the problem.

The resolution before us deals with a given purpose. It deals with a mechanism to meet that purpose and it deals with an amount of money to implement that mechanism. I cannot believe that there is any man on either side of the aisle who questions the purpose of this resolution. That purpose is one of emergency relief. I cannot conceive of a single boy in our armed forces wanting to leave the continent of Europe or the continent of Asia with a feeling that he had freed a people from the yoke of

the enemy, only to let them die from starvation or disease. I cannot believe that they would stand for that. That purpose could be enlarged, but the time is too short.

As far as the mechanism is concerned, that mechanism has been worked out by 44 nations, spending weeks of time trying to arrive at the best that they could devise for a cooperative working agreement. May I say here that during the time I was associated with the American relief enterprises during the last war it was necessary for us to set up the European Relief Council, of which I happened to be executive secretary, because it was essential to coordinate the work there even of the American organizations. Now, unless we are going to do the job wholly alone, it is essential to set up a mechanism to coordinate the work of the different nations. While many of us might have objections to certain phases of this mechanism as it was set up, on the whole, it was created, so far as the American side is concerned, with a good deal of advice, and acceptable advice, on the part of responsible Members of Congress. Every step in its creation was fully made known to the Members of the Congress. At every stage Members of the Congress had the right to voice their objections. It has now met the approval of the 44 nations. It has been formulated as a document. It is something that we here cannot any longer control. Whatever our minor objections may be, in my opinion, it is an acceptable mechanism.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. In view of the gentleman's experience in the administration of relief during the last war, does he not think that this agency would be far preferable than for the different countries to have their own relief agencies, in that it will eliminate duplication and simplify and make more effective the administration of relief, rather than to have each country send in its own relief organization?

Mr. HERTER. I wish I could answer the gentleman at length. The answer simply is "Yes."

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I thank the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. EATON. I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I know that the gentleman will agree with me that those men fighting across the seas, fighting for freedom of education and religion, would want to go along with the authorization providing that freedom of religion and freedom of education will be allowed to go on in those countries and that U. N. R. R. A. shall not impose its religion or any other religion than that which any particular country wants.

Mr. HERTER. My answer to that very simply is this: The make-up of U. N. R. R. A. is one that is going to be



scrutinized by every one of the 44 nations participating in it, even in a small degree. We have, perhaps, the major participation through the Director General. But I am not afraid of that organization attempting any religious domination or any political domination. There are other instruments that are created for the purposes of trying to reach political agreements. Insofar as political policies toward these nations are concerned, that will not be the concern of U. N. R. R. A.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

### Labor Draft

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1944

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent of the House, I present an editorial appearing in a recent issue of the Midland Daily News, of Midland, Mich. This editorial discusses a question of the utmost importance to the people of this country. The views expressed are sound; they are based upon facts which have too long existed. The editor puts his finger directly upon the weaknesses of our present administration and their connection with the impossible situation now existing. The editorial is worthy of the consideration of every Member of this body:

#### LABOR DRAFT

The merits of the President's suggestion for a Universal Service Act which he believes will stop strikes and make for an all-out war effort are now under discussion. We are inclined to doubt the value of such an act, in that we believe it comes too late; that it will not cure the basic ills; that it will simply mean more Government bungling, and may even hinder production.

To draft all labor would be such a colossal job as to make all previous Government efforts seem picaresque. To draft only the labor needed for direct industrial war service would dwarf all present efforts. The work alone would take hundreds of thousands of extra Government workers. If this was to be done, and the idea does have some merit, it should have been done earlier. A draft to make the idle work, something similar to the old vagrancy law, might be more practical.

From our observations, it would appear that the Government itself has, through its colossal and far-flung incompetence and its attempt to centralize so much in Washington and leave so much to the President, created the labor strife of which it now complains. To be known as a friend of labor is one thing, but to give in to every whim of labor, or any other group, whether they be farmers, merchants, manufacturers, or professional people, is, from a practical standpoint, untenable. The politicians have continually over-promised and underdelivered, and labor is now awakening to that fact.

A good example of strike making is the present set-up on the War Labor Board. Thousands of cases have come along. Most of them have waited for weeks, some for months, and others never have been settled to anyone's satisfaction. The neglect to

have a localized authority with power to act brings no end of trouble and we do not blame labor for many of its complaints. We know of cases which have been pending for 6 months or more and still there is no action and there is little or no disagreement in some of these.

In Michigan in 1943 alone there were some 8,000 cases going to the Wage-Hour Division alone, and over six thousand went to the War Labor Board. Many major cases have had to go to the President. Some have been settled by the Government's taking over, which is a near example of both sides losing and the people holding the bag.

The present Federal system to regulate labor and hold persons to jobs has little value. Few employers wish to hold a person to a job when he is dissatisfied, because he cannot deliver a fair day's work; few employees will stay on a job in spite of regulations if they wish to leave. Thus, to hold them in forced labor would, as we see it, bring on more chaos, greater dissatisfaction, and lessened production.

The President could, under existing power, revamp some of the present Government machinery and see to it that it works. The loose, ineffective, feeble and incompetent methods now set up can be traced to the centralized Washington control. The shilly-shally down there gives anyone who tries to get things done the creeps. That's why hard-bitten labor leaders and hard-driving executives have had to shake out so many bags of chaff to get the wheat and accomplish anything. Let the Chief Executive look at the basic causes of present conditions and apply a remedy.

### Views on the Soldiers' Vote

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1944

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me, I insert an editorial appearing in the Washington Star entitled "A Sound Compromise," an article appearing in the Washington Post by A. J. O'Leary entitled "Mailing State Ballots Would Hinder War, Stimson Declares," and an article appearing in the Chicago Times entitled "A. F. of L. Demands 'Foolproof' Soldier Vote Act." The editorial and articles are as follows:

[From the Washington Star]

#### A SOUND COMPROMISE

The revised Lucas-Green service-vote bill is a vast improvement over the one already passed by the Senate and supported, in a slightly amended form, by the Elections Committee of the House. Its chief virtues are three: First, it would provide for a uniform Federal ballot and thus relieve the Army and Navy of the almost impossible task of administering voting according to the differing laws of the 48 States. Second, it would guarantee the right of election officials in the States to determine the validity of the ballots returned to them and thus resolve all constitutional doubts. And third, with the uniform ballot channeled expeditiously through a Federal commission whose only function would be that of a distributing agent, it would so simplify the whole problem that the bulk of our service personnel would have a genuine chance to express itself

next November. On the other hand, by leaving everything to the States, the measure recently adopted by the Senate, and now awaiting action in the House, would have the effect of disfranchising the overwhelming majority of the millions of men and women in the armed forces. Accordingly, to the extent that it would prevent this and at the same time preserve the prerogatives of the States, the new Lucas-Green proposal seems to be an excellent compromise upon which Congress ought to be able to agree. That it has been approved by the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections is a good and encouraging sign.

[From the Washington Post]

MAILING STATE BALLOTS WOULD HINDER WAR, STIMSON DECLARES

(By J. A. O'Leary)

Secretary of War Stimson told Congress yesterday it would interfere with effective prosecution of the war to give mail priority to State ballots for servicemen for use in primaries extending from February to October, and in the November election.

Unless there is a last-minute change in sentiment, however, the House is expected to pass this week the Senate-approved State-ballot plan, in preference to a simplified uniform Federal ballot confined to voting for President, Senators, and Representatives. The State ballots would cover both national and State tickets.

The Secretary's comment was made in a letter to Chairman WORLEY, of the House Elections Committee, who said, nevertheless, he would offer his bill for a uniform Federal ballot, with permissive use of State ballots, as an amendment to the State ballot bill.

Advocates of the uniform Federal ballot also received a set-back last night, when Senator TAFT, Republican, of Ohio, expressed a fear that use of such a voting procedure in place of the regulation State ballots might throw the whole election into a legal tail-spin growing out of contested returns.

#### SEES BILL IMPROVED

When the Senate adopted the Eastland-Rankin State-controlled plan December 3, by vote of 42 to 37, Senator TAFT voted with the supporters of the Federal ballot. He said yesterday the House Committee has improved the Senate version, and he now sees no reason why the State-ballot system would not be effective.

The new Green-Lucas bill, which retains the Federal ballots but leaves any question of their validity to local determination, has won over the support of several Senators who were against the earlier version on December 3. But Senator TAFT indicated there may be several switches in the other direction in support of State ballots because, he said, the Federal ballot was the most important question in the bill.

Some supporters of the simplified Federal ballot had hoped to get another vote in the Senate early this week before the House acts, but this seemed unlikely last night. This means that, if the House on Wednesday or Thursday passes the Eastland-Rankin States' rights plan, the last chance for inclusion of the Federal ballot idea will come when the House amendments are brought back to the Senate for submission to conference.

At that point, Senator LUCAS (Democrat) of Illinois, is expected to make a strong effort to have the Senate reverse its action in rejecting the Federal ballot.

#### STIMSON EXPLAINS STAND

Secretary Stimson's criticism was centered on a provision in the bill giving priority to mail containing ballots and voting instructions.

He explained that "it would be difficult to give such priority even in connection with the uniform, lightweight, small-sized Federal



pose, caused a substantial growth in the number of Canadians who looked toward various Socialist solutions as means to the achievement of social progress. Our western farmers began to demand publicly controlled marketing organizations and, eventually organized great producers' cooperatives which have met with considerable success and are now being paralleled by substantial consumer cooperative societies. Labor, too, has found that unorganized it was at the mercy of powerful corporations and capitalistic enterprises. Local labor and farmer's political associations came into existence here and there and had temporary successes, but the crash of 1929 found the Nation in every way unprepared to meet it.

Meantime, in Parliament, a small but very able group of western farmers had been co-operating with a smaller labor group. In 1932, under the chairmanship of the late J. S. Woodsworth, M. P., they met to consider ways and means of extending throughout the country the cooperation they had found possible and useful in Parliament.

Thus it was that in August 1932 representatives of a number of labor and farmer political groups met to consider united action, and the C. C. F. was born. The name "Cooperative Commonwealth Federation" was adopted because it accurately portrayed the aims of the movement. The name "Labour Party" seemed too exclusive on account of the dominant role played by the working farmers; "Farmer-Labour" was rejected because it seemed to exclude the small but influential group of middle-class intellectuals and businessmen who were destined to give such valuable aid to the new party. Today the name and the initials "C. C. F." are a distinct asset to us.

At the outset there were unavoidable divisions of opinion. These brought joy to our opponents, but their rejoicing was shortlived for, quite soon, a real core of agreement was reached. The unity which emerged from a recognition of differences at the outset resulted in a real dynamic unity instead of a make-believe purely artificial front. As a consequence, the political program of the C. C. F. was formulated not by doctrinaire theory but out of the needs of the Canadian people. The result was a native democratic people's program and a political movement controlled and financed by the people.

I will not recount the early struggles of the movement, the self-sacrifice and missionary spirit that went into it. On the one hand, we were denounced by a powerful capitalist press as Communists in disguise, while on the other hand the Communist Party loudly denounced us in terms of which they are past masters. But we have veered neither in one direction nor the other. Today the Communists who sought to destroy us because we are democratic and opposed to a totalitarian dictatorship have formed a new party which they call Labor-Progressive and have sought to affiliate with us. But, consistently, our annual conventions, and recently our party gatherings, have unanimously and decisively rejected any and every form of cooperation with them. Between us there is more than one fundamental difference. We believe, therefore, that any attempt to unite groups that differ fundamentally can only bring disaster to democratic movements. That, I think, has been demonstrated many times in countries where Communist Parties have succeeded in boring from within. Their contortions before and during this war have been amazing. The latest statement of Earl Browder at the Madison Square Garden last Tuesday night is an example of Communist inconsistency. He is reported to have said that the party will abstain from nominating political candidates and will cooperate with the so-called free enterprise system. I believe that much of our success throughout Canada is due to the forthrightness of our statements and the consistency of our attitude.

During the winter of 1932-33 the provisional council, assisted by leading members of a university group known as the League for Social Reconstruction, drafted a party manifesto based on the provisional program adopted a year earlier. This is known as the Regina manifesto, which was characterized by an outstanding British commonwealth statesman as the finest modern political document in the English language. The document expressed in the clearest terms our aim and purpose. It declared that the C. C. F. is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a cooperative commonwealth in which the principle, regulating production, distribution, and exchange, will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profit.

Our aim, then, is to replace the present capitalist system with its injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which exploitation of one group by another will be eliminated and in which economic planning for abundance will supersede unregulated private enterprise. The social order which we desire is not one in which individuality will be crushed by regimentation, but one in which the proper collective organization of our economy will make possible a greater opportunity for individual initiative, more leisure, and a richer life for our citizens. We believe firmly that this can be evolved through appropriate political action through the election of a government inspired by these ideals and supported by a majority of the people. We do not believe in change by violence.

In Canada both the old parties, Conservative and Liberal, have been and are merely instruments of capitalist interests which finance their campaigns and control their policies. Their purpose is to divide the people and serve the economic interests that control them. The C. C. F. has not only exposed this unreality but in some Provinces and urban centers has forced them to unite against us. In just over 10 years we have become the major political issue in our country. We are today the official opposition in three of our Provincial legislatures including that of largest Province, Ontario. Here in this Industrial Province labor was convinced by bitter experience and by the activities of the C. C. F. parliamentary group that direct political action was essential. Thus, last year, many local labor unions decided to affiliate with us. Then, last September, the Canadian Congress of Labor recommended its local unions to affiliate with us. Unfortunately, inadequate funds prevented our taking full advantage of this favorable situation, and our opponents are amply financed by the corporations, some of which are subsidiaries of parent companies in your country. Significant, too, is the fact that had the civilians voted in Ontario last August in the same proportions as the soldiers who were permitted to vote in Canada, the C. C. F. would have been the government of Ontario. In a recent byelection at Red Deer, Alberta, the three military polls all gave majorities to our candidates. Word reaching me from overseas reports great gains in strength for the C. C. F. among all the armed forces. Perhaps I should say that in our military camps overseas, as in the British Army, discussion of current political and economic matters is widespread.

Many of our men have made up their minds as to what they are fighting for as well as what they are fighting against. Many of them have a firm determination that they will not return again to the chaos and suffering of the pre-war years. Had provision been made for the taking of the soldiers' vote overseas, particularly in Britain, the recent elections held in Canada would have been more conclusively C. C. F. Should a general election for Parliament occur this year, we anticipate a heavy military vote in our favor. Gallup polls have shown our strength throughout the country. While there is a variation of a few points from time to time,

a recent poll gave us a larger percentage of the popular following in Canada than any other party. In other words, it is not beyond a possibility, if not a probability, that the general election, due within 15 months at the most, will put us in power in Canada, and what is more we are preparing plans to meet such a national challenge. Editorials in the daily, weekly, and financial press bitterly attacking us, are potent evidence that the vested interests are thoroughly alarmed at the prospect. Because this is so obvious the common man in greater numbers join our ranks. Parties, like individuals, are known the company they keep. Only big business is clamoring for a return to what they are pleased to miscall "free enterprise." We know that planning production for a national purpose, war, has enabled us to treble our national income at a time when hundreds of thousands of our ablest young men and women are in the armed forces and out of actual economic production. Before the war thousands of these young men rode the roads while thousands of Canadians were on relief. Our Government rejected every demand for adequate amelioration on the plea that money was not available. While we all support the huge expenditures for war and destruction, we aver that a properly planned economic structure would enable us to provide opportunities for peacetime production and the distribution of goods and services.

And Canada is a country rich in resources, many of which have been scarcely tapped. True, there has been colossal waste in the exploitation of our forests, our natural gas, and some other resources. The C. C. F. does not intend to allow any corporation, native or foreign, to rob our nation or posterity. Only national planning, however, can safeguard and develop our great heritage. For much of it is already controlled by powerful private and monopolistic corporations. This is particularly true of oil, nickel, chemicals, and aluminum, but public opinion has forced governments to establish publicly owned corporations to operate national air and radio services, although sections of the press and private interests seek constantly to undermine them.

The C. C. F., however, does not believe that everything should be owned and operated by the state. Indeed, we distinguish, clearly, between two kinds of property: that upon which the life and general welfare of the community depends and which ought to be socially owned, and that which ministers to the welfare of the individual and family, and does not interfere with the general economic plan, which ought to be individually owned. Thus we say that banks, investment trusts, Nation-wide monopolistic enterprises like oil, packing plants, transportation, should be nationally owned, while others like telephone, hydroelectric power might be provincially owned. Others again ought to be municipal enterprises, while many industries and distributive services should be co-operatively owned. Thus it is that there are fields where private enterprise could perform a useful function. What these fields should be can, I think, be readily decided. If private business does not exploit the public or is not likely to become a dangerous vested interest, or is being efficiently operated under proper working conditions and will play its part in assisting the national economic plan, there is no reason why its ownership and operation should not continue in private hands. In other words, we do not intend to socialize merely for the sake of socializing, but in order to secure efficiency and the greater satisfaction of social needs. For example, unlike Britain, land is not a monopoly in our country nor have we developed large-scale corporation farming such as you have in some parts of the Union; hence we believe that our agriculture ought to be carried on on the basis of the personal ownership of the family farm. So we place security of tenure for the farmer in the forefront of our pro-



gram and intend to legislate to prevent his dispossession and the rise of a tenant farmer problem due to the concentration of lands in the possession of mortgage trusts and financial or other corporations.

As can be readily understood from what I have said, we believe that political democracy must be accompanied by economic democracy if freedom is to be real. Thus we want to see technicians, labor, and so on, adequately represented on all our industrial planning boards with all the accompanying rights to organize collectively and to establish industrial self-government through labor management committees. In addition, there must be a legal code guaranteeing protection against the hazards of illness, old age, and so on. In other words, proper social security for the people.

So far I have dealt with domestic issues. This war more than the last has made Canada conscious of her place and obligations as a member of the community of nations. For reasons I mentioned at the outset of this address, the C. C. F. believes in maintaining close cooperation with the peoples of the British Commonwealth. We are not imperialists. We want to cooperate with progressive people everywhere in ending exploitation and in raising the standards of life throughout the world. We will support every policy which will enable the people of India and the colored races everywhere to attain their rightful places as free men and equal before God and man. This means, of course, that in the community of nations we will lend our aid to the elimination of exploitation everywhere. Only a free and economically secure world can be a peaceful world. No world and no nation can be secure as long as any part of it is denied the right to live in dignity and freedom.

It follows that we are firmly of the opinion that national reconstruction and progress in Canada can only attain its full significance when it becomes a part of world order in which all peoples will have the opportunity for an abundant and creative life. Peace, let us remember, is not only the absence of war. To endure, it must be based on universal security and be rooted in economic, political, and cultural equality. In such a world education must be widespread and free. It should be the privilege of the educated to devise ways and means of making possible the preparation of people everywhere to assume the rights and obligations of full democratic citizenship.

Canada, therefore, desires the closest relationship with the United States and with the nations of the British Commonwealth, for we have a common cultural heritage. But she also desires to assist in the formulation of plans for a new world association of nations. The C. C. F. would like to see our country join the Pan-American Union as one regional organization of nations making for the larger world unity and also because we believe that progressive forces are stirring among large masses of our Latin-American neighbors. Progress like peace is indivisible and we can find mutual assistance in cooperation. We desire, then, to assist in building a world-wide association of nations so that we may achieve international justice and a permanent system of collective security; membership in which would be open to all nations willing to accept its obligations and submit to its authority. We shall not be satisfied, however, with any organization which might be dominated by three or four great powers. As a small nation which has made a substantial contribution to the defeat of the aggressors, Canada on behalf of herself and other smaller powers seeks the recognition that is properly hers and theirs.

I do not propose to outline in any detail what our country has done. True, had we organized thoroughly our economic and

other resources when war broke out, had we taken a firm stand against the control of our economy by the representatives of big business, we could have done much better.

The London Economist, in dealing with our huge war budget and high taxation on May 23 last, said, "It is right that due honor should be paid to the realities of steel and muscle behind these monetary figures. If Canada is prevented by the smallness of her population from taking rank with the big powers, she has in the last 3 years made a place for herself in a category all of her own. Relative to her resources, her effort is second to none."

Looking at what our Nation has done in war, Canadians are confident then can do as well in peace, provided that the world moves forward, too. My plea, therefore, to this audience, including as it does, many leaders of progressive thought in this, the Capital City of the richest country in the world, is to find the ways and means to join with and indeed lead the democratic and progressive forces of the world. It seems to me that if you fail in this the United States, perchance North America, may become the lonely, isolated, tariff-barricaded, and last remaining citadel of an outworn economic system, and the world will inevitably drift toward another and a more terrible world war. In 1776 you led the progressive forces of mankind. Because of it you had the sympathy and warm support of many across the seas. From your example then sprang the political revolutions in France, Great Britain, and in many other lands. Now, millions of workers, farmers, peasants, and plain people seek to make real the political democracy we have by achieving the economic democracy we lack, for, unless mankind achieves both, the fight for the "four freedoms" will have been in vain.

### United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

#### SPEECH

OF

**JERRY VOORHIS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 21, 1944

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. Voorhis].

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, the primary duty of Congress to the men who are now fighting this war and to our Nation as a whole is for us to do everything we can to build a firm and lasting peace after this war is over and to try to make such contributions as we can in any way available to us to the preservation of free institutions in the nations of the world.

Ever since long, long ago a primitive tribe, whose fields had for some reason failed to yield a harvest, crossed the mountain range or the desert between themselves and some other tribe and attacked them in order to gain the food they needed, hunger and want have been causes of war and conflict.

After this war there will be a situation in the world of greater devastation, of greater human misery, of greater human need for the very basic necessities of life, and of greater danger of widespread disease than has perhaps ever existed before in the history of the world.

It seems to me perfectly clear that for the American Congress to fail to adopt the measure we have before us would be a mistake of most abysmal consequence. I cannot but believe that there is one development that will be more necessary than anything else in the world after this war, and that is a revival of the spiritual forces among people throughout the world. Unless there can be a vision on the part of people in our own country and in other countries of what human life is capable of, unless action can be based upon the fundamental principles that have come down to us through the ages from the founder of the Christian religion, I cannot see how we are going to face successfully the problems of the world. Therefore, it seems to me utterly inconceivable that the American Congress, having presented to it here in our own House of Representatives the opportunity to pass upon a matter of foreign policy where our willingness to lend some aid to starving and destitute people is the real issue, should fail to approve the expenditure of some \$1,350,000,000 as a maximum, if necessary, in order to do our part for the relief of human need.

In the time that remains to me, I want to speak about the manner in which this job should be done. It is altogether possible that, granting the absolute necessity for relief and rehabilitation, in the attempt to carry it out serious mistakes could be made. There are one or two fundamental principles that must be observed. The first is that insofar as humanly possible, people should be helped to help themselves, and the economy and the life and activities within these devastated nations should be built up from within by the people there themselves. So far as possible, direct relief should be avoided except for the necessary supplying of food and medical supplies in the beginning. The second principle is that insofar as possible, we should avoid the administration of this relief in any nation either by foreigners or by individuals or groups within those nations who might be ambitious to promote themselves and who might take advantage of opportunity to control relief administration to feather their own nests.

I have a concrete proposal I want to lay before the House, and it is briefly this: In all parts of the European Continent there has been developed in recent years a pattern of cooperative enterprises growing up out of the everyday problems and experience of the people of these nations. Some of these are cooperatives of farmers, some are cooperatives of city folk. These cooperatives have been engaged in the business either of purchasing, distributing, and selling foodstuffs, clothing, and similar items, in the production of farm commodities, in the production and distribution of feed and fertilizers and supplies. There is a whole structure of cooperative distributive machinery, not in



the hands of any ambitious politician but in the hands of the people themselves, right in each community, established through the years, and these people have demonstrated their ability to meet together the everyday problems of life. In Denmark there are 550,000 consumer cooperative members and 100,000 farmer cooperative members. In Norway there are 196,000 consumer cooperative members and 60,000 farmers in the farm cooperatives. In Holland there are 260,000 in the consumer cooperatives and 112,000 in the farm cooperatives. In Belgium there are half a million consumer and 115,000 farm cooperative members. In France there are 1,600,000 in the consumer cooperatives and 500,000 in the farm cooperatives, making a total of nearly 5,000,000 families in the Atlantic nations alone who through the years have had the things they needed distributed or purchased through these cooperatives. What better way of handling this problem of relief and rehabilitation could be found than by using this already existing cooperative system of distribution? These people are dealing with their own people, their primary principle has been self-help, their primary experience has been doing business on the basis of group loyalty, and in cooperation, dealing with the everyday problems of business and life. How much better if the work of this United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation could come through the grass-roots' folk in these devastated nations and thus make possible from the very beginning the rebuilding of the economic structures of those countries.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes.

Mr. ROWE. And upon which the primary interest is service, economically, to the people.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. That is correct. That is the only reason that these organizations exist at all. It further has been suggested by no less a magazine than *Fortune*, that in solving the problem of those properties seized by the Germans in these occupied areas, no better solution could be had than for these properties to be turned over under some proper arrangement to some of these cooperatives for operation, directly ministering to the needs of the people. If we want to avoid any possibility of political difficulty in the rehabilitation of these nations, this is the way to do it, for the primary principle of these cooperators through the years has been that their organization is nonpolitical.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. But the provision of U. N. R. R. A. which prevents any foreign or any other relief agency from participating in this program prevents these people the gentleman is talking about from administering any relief or giving relief.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I do not believe so. I hope I am correct.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Oh, the gentleman from Missouri is wrong about

that. It would not prevent their participation.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. As I understand it, the agreement provides that the Administration shall have the power to "designate agencies" in any country "to perform any local act appropriate to its objects and purposes." I particularly looked that up, and believe that under that language it would be altogether possible for the cooperatives of the Scandinavian countries, or for the cooperatives of France or Yugoslavia, Poland or Holland to be designated as agencies for the carrying out of this rehabilitation purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

### Things To Be Avoided

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. JOHN A. DANAHER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1944

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, on the editorial page of yesterday's New York Times there appeared a letter dated Washington, January 19, 1944, written by Prof. Herbert Wright, who is professor of international law at Catholic University. The letter, entitled "Things To Be Avoided," deals with a most important subject, and is so factual, informational, and meritorious that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in full in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THINGS TO BE AVOIDED—PROCEEDINGS OF PARIS CONFERENCE URGED FOR STUDY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In a letter published in the Times of January 16 John B. Elliott makes several inaccurate statements in commenting on an earlier article by Edwin L. James. Because such statements are rather frequently made and not always challenged it may serve some useful purpose to indicate them.

Mr. Elliott says: "Nearly two-thirds of the Senate were for unconditional ratification of the Treaty of Versailles." On November 19, 1919, Senator Underwood offered a resolution of unconditional ratification, which was rejected by 38 yeas to 53 nays. In other words, only 41.8 percent of the 91 Senators who voted were in favor of ratification without reservation, not even a majority, much less "nearly two-thirds." All of the 14 reservations had previously been adopted singly by votes ranging from 54½ to 62½ percent, and what Mr. Elliott probably had in mind was that if the 41 Senators who favored unconditional ratification had joined with the 39 Senators who favored ratification with reservations the Lodge resolution of ratification with reservations previously voted on would have carried 80 to 14, instead of being defeated, 39 to 55.

#### OBSERVERS IMPORTANT

Mr. Elliott says: "The League, due mainly to the absence of the United States from its membership, was proving a disappointment to its entire membership and verging toward a failure." Of course, this blaming of the

United States for the failure of the League is a purely gratuitous assertion, as is also the stirring reason alleged for our Government sending official observers to Geneva to attend sessions of the League—namely, "as a sort of apologetic action for not having accepted membership." The record will show that observers were sent for the purpose of enabling the United States to cooperate with the League in all appropriate matters, not a grudging "recognition that the League and its work were vastly important."

The record will also show that on two very important occasions of vital interest to world peace the United States, by the Stimson note of January 7, 1932, to China and Japan concerning Manchuria, and by President Roosevelt's proclamation of October 5, 1935, laying down an embargo on arms and munitions to Italy and Ethiopia, took stronger action than might have been entailed by membership in the League, only to be left, as it were, out on a limb holding the bag, by the League itself. Is it fair to say, then, that if the United States had been a member "all might well have been different?" It would be fairer if Mr. Elliott could adduce some instance in which the support of the United States for some important activity of the League had been desired and was refused.

#### NOT A PLAY UPON WORDS

Nor can the inclusion of an association of nations in the national platform of the Republican Party be cavalierly brushed aside as a mere play on words. A general association of nations, based upon the broad principles of justice contained in President Wilson's Fourteen Points of January 8, 1918, is a far cry from the League of Nations actually created by the Covenant. This provided for a closed, armed alliance of the Allied Powers (1) to maintain the status quo of the Paris peace treaties and (2) to further the foreign policies of France and Great Britain.

This is evident from a number of considerations. First, the Central Powers and nations not then on friendly terms with the United States were barred from original membership in the League. Second, a nation not mentioned in the annex to the Covenant was allowed to be admitted to the League only upon (1) the agreement of two-thirds of the assembly, (2) the giving of "effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations," and (3) the acceptance of regulations prescribed by the League for its armaments. No such conditions were exacted of original members.

That this closed alliance was intended to control the world on the basis of the status quo of the peace terms is indicated by article X of the Covenant, which provided for the preservation of the territorial integrity of all members of the League, and by article XI, which provided that "any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League," the League being empowered to take appropriate action in the contingency.

The objections of the people's representatives in the Senate, therefore, were not so much to a free association of nations as to the particular kind of association they were asked to endorse. This is evident in the vote on the reservations when the Treaty of Versailles was being considered by the Senate for the second time in March 1920.

#### VOTE ON RESERVATIONS

On reservations 1 (withdrawal from League by concurrent resolution), 2 (exclusive power of Congress to authorize armed forces for guaranty of territorial integrity under article X), 3 (power of Congress to pass on acceptance of mandates), 4 (reservation of decision on domestic questions), 5 (exclusive interpretation of Monroe Doctrine), 6 (non-agreement with provisions concerning Shantung), 7 (approval of Senate required for



appointment of American representatives in the League), and 14 (nonagreement with voting power of self-government dominions), the vote was well over two-thirds, ranging from 68 percent on No. 2 to 94 percent on No. 3, while the vote on all of the remaining reservations, except No. 15, ranged from 61 to 65 percent, nearly two-thirds.

No. 15, referring to sympathy for Ireland, did not figure in the first consideration of the treaty and was adopted in the second consideration by the scant majority of 38 to 36.

The resolution of ratification with reservations was put to the vote the second time on March 19, 1920, and received 49 yeas to 35 nays, a 58 percent majority, but not quite two-thirds. Of the 39 Senators who were supposed to favor unconditional ratification, 22 voted in the negative. Had only 7 more of these joined with their 17 colleagues and with the 32 who favored ratification with reservations the resolution of ratification with reservations would have carried by the necessary two-thirds, while if all 22 had switched it would have carried 71 to 13, or 84 percent. To use an expression of Mr. Elliott, "the facts are indisputable."

How far the delegates of the United States to the Paris Conference of 1919 were responsible for some of the ineptitudes, to use a euphemistic expression, of the Paris peace treaties will be evident from a perusal of the proceedings of the Paris Peace Conference now being published by the Department of State, four volumes of which have already appeared. A study of these authoritative documents will not only furnish the means for more accurately appraising the blame, if that be considered profitable, but what is far more important, will afford an opportunity for discovering the mistakes to be avoided in the negotiations following the present war.

HERBERT WRIGHT.

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1944.

### New Slogan, New Name

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. RUFUS C. HOLMAN**

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1944

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. President, a correspondent has sent me a copy of a letter addressed to the Portland (Oreg.) Journal entitled "New Slogan, New Name." I ask unanimous consent to have the letter published in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW SLOGAN, NEW NAME

SILVERTON, January 11.

To the Editor:

It appears that even the administration has had enough of the New Deal and asks us to bury it, forget it, and find a slogan that better describes present conditions and performance. Inasmuch as the terms, "New Deal" and "Democratic Party" are now synonymous, this same reasoning would call for a new name for the Democratic Party—a name that also fits present performance. I submit for this new party name, "Bureaucratic Party," and the following as an accurate and candid slogan for this Bureaucratic Party: "We preach (before election) the people rule; we practice (after election) the bureaucrats rule."

ALVIN C. DICKOVER.

### Necessity for U. N. R. R. A.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. ORVILLE ZIMMERMAN**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1944

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Mr. Speaker, we will be called upon sometime today or tomorrow to determine by our vote whether or not we will participate in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration proposed in the pending bill, House Joint Resolution 192, and thereby cooperate with the United Nations, our allies in this global war, in the relief of the millions of human beings who are, and will be, left in the wake of this tragic war.

The Allied Nations have agreed upon the program now before us, and our action on this measure will make known to them and the other nations of the world our desire and intention to cooperate in a program to preserve the peace of the world in the years to come. We failed to do this at the end of World War No. 1, and in the opinion of many thinking people, this World War No. 2 and our participation in it are the result of our failure to participate in the program for world peace presented to us at that time.

A few months ago this House adopted the Fulbright resolution which announced to the world the policy of this Nation to cooperate in an international program to preserve the peace of the world and prevent future wars. That resolution had the approval of people of this Nation and of our soldiers on every fighting front. This is the first opportunity the House of Representatives will have to take a step to implement that resolution. We cannot afford to pause or take a backward step at this time, but must reveal to our allies in this war our sincere desire to cooperate with them in relieving the misery, suffering, and distress of people who are in many cases the unwilling victims of this war.

The necessity for this program is very tersely stated in an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post today, which I have obtained leave to insert herein, and which is as follows:

U. N. R. R. A.

The first practical test of America's willingness to cooperate with other nations in the solution of post-war problems is now before Congress. Both House and Senate have pledged such cooperation in a solemn resolution. The opportunity to implement it with concrete action is now at hand in the form of an authorization to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Our response to this opportunity will signal our intentions to all the world. It is greatly to be hoped that Congress will respond generously and with an impressive majority.

The resolution authorizing American participation in U. N. R. R. A. was endorsed unanimously by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. It provides for a contribution of \$1,350,000,000 by the United States to be used, along with the contributions of

other governments, for relief of the millions of men, women, and children uprooted and impoverished by the war. It is estimated that the total relief job will cost in the neighborhood of \$20,000,000,000, 90 percent of which will be paid for by the liberated countries themselves. But the initial expenses are to be met by the 44 members of U. N. R. R. A., about half being allotted to the United States because our national income is now greater than that of all the other member countries combined. The plan is to have each member government eventually contribute approximately 1 percent of its national income.

In negotiating with foreign representatives over the nature of the U. N. R. R. A. arrangement, the State Department kept in constant touch with members of both the Senate and House Foreign Affairs Committees. The procedure was exemplary for negotiation of international agreements, though, as we said at the time, the Administration would have been better advised to include Congress in the American delegation at Atlantic City. However, this is no treaty. It is therefore clearly not a subject for Senate ratification. It is an executive agreement, entered into with a continuing knowledge of the proposals on the part of congressional leaders. Congress is now simply asked to endorse an arrangement in the making of which its own representatives have been kept informed. The pattern should be applicable to other international agreements of a similar nature which this country will be obliged to enter into after the war.

Opposition to U. N. R. R. A. can come only from those who oppose any sort of international cooperation. Their objection is not to the means which have been devised, but to the purpose. They should be voted down in an incontrovertible demonstration of this country's will to play its full responsible part in the world society of the future. As the report of the House Foreign Affairs Committee summed up the issue, the U. N. R. R. A. is a forward step, carrying toward the peace the teamwork we have achieved in war. We can make progress toward cooperation only by cooperating. It is time for Congress to take real steps in this direction.

### The Acoustics of the Senate Chamber

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. JAMES M. TUNNELL**

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1944

Mr. TUNNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a communication from a Washington resident commenting on the acoustics of the Senate Chamber, which was published in the Washington Star a few days ago.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

During a recent visit to the Senate I wondered whether the Members knew what was going on.

Am I the first to notice that the voice of the Senator on the floor is not completely audible, or am I partly deaf?

I was seated in the gallery about 20 feet from a Senator who was speaking. Though I did catch some words I was unable to catch enough of them to complete his ideas.

In order to keep every Senator in the chamber aware of every word expressed dur-



It will be observed that in the foregoing the writers of the pamphlet evidently thought it was rendered harmless by insertion of the word "emphasizing," but this opens up a wide area of discretion to the informational officer so that he may suppress news dispatches according to his own idea of what is emphasis.

Likewise, there is an adroit reference in the above "civilian forces on the whole." Nobody has ever set up such a straw man before. What has been said often—because it's true—is that certain economic or social groups are slipping into "special favor." But to the Army instructional officer truth of that nature is taboo. To mention it, of course, might do damage to the political fortunes of the Roosevelt administration which has been dispensing such special favors.

Most of the soldiers are over 21 years of age and quite capable of forming their own judgments if they can get the news through customary channels. Yet these same young men are being asked to sacrifice their lives in a war to preserve the "four freedoms," and one of the four, as named by President Roosevelt, is "freedom of information."

## Make English a World Language

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1944

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from ex-Senator Owen to the Secretary of State:

JANUARY 15, 1944.

HON. CORDELL HULL,  
The Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Accept my thanks for your letter of January 14 advising me that the President has sent to you my letter to him of January 3, on the subject of making English a world language.

Since writing this letter to the President, I have received Prof. Mario A. Pei's book, *Languages for War and Peace*, which contains a review of the languages of the world and in specific terms within its cover contains instruction for teaching English-speaking people how to speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, and Japanese on a fixed pattern. His other volumes dealing with Chinese, Arabic, Malay, and Dutch are in process of publication.

This book, however, demonstrates the justification of Professor Pei in approving the global alphabet in principle and gives the proof in specific terms that the sounds employed in these languages above enumerated can be written with the global alphabet. The vital fact to which I call your attention is that the sounds employed are covered completely by the symbols used in the global alphabet. For example, every sound of the Russian alphabet of 33 letters is covered by the symbols of the global alphabet so that the global alphabet with its stenographic advantage could be immediately applied to Russian, or to Japanese, as well as to Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, German. Moreover, my stenographic alphabet can be expanded by phonetic symbols which I have provided to cover any particular sound that might be thought of sufficient importance to justify it.

I request your office to obtain the book, *Languages for War and Peace*.

I enclose for the information of your office in this connection the book, *The Silent Billion Speak*, of Frank Laubach, Ph. D., on his experience in abolishing illiteracy in 80 other different languages by the use of various phonetic alphabets devised by him and his associates for these numerous language groups.

He has employed the Roman letters for his various phonetic alphabets but the disadvantage of the various Russian alphabets and of the alphabets employed by Dr. Laubach is that they differ from each other; second, that they employ symbols which in the different languages have different sounds and therefore none of these alphabets can be employed as a world alphabet.

The global alphabet takes this into full account and employs symbols which do not have multiple meanings, which do not have silent letters, and which do not have multiple meanings either in an individual language or, of course, in other languages.

Moreover, my alphabet has been reduced to the simplest forms humanly possible consistent with complete legibility and freedom from confusion with each other. This will enable the people of the world to write the phonetic alphabet as script very much faster than by the use of alphabets using the forms which they now employ.

The great advantage of the global alphabet is that the student who is learning English will have a text in which his own language and the English language are written interlinear with identical meaning. But both languages appearing in the global alphabet enables the foreign student of English to read and pronounce with substantial correctness the English language, as well as his own, leaving him only the necessity for learning the meaning of the English words.

Twelve hundred words of English will suffice to carry on satisfactorily conversation with commercial, social, and general matters of interest, but opening the door to English with 1,200 words of course opens the door to learning many other English words of like sound and shades of meaning. The great advantage of the phonetic alphabet in all these languages is that the individual can learn to read his own language in one day and thus avoid the 10 years of time which it takes a child to learn the archaic spelling employed by literary men in all the modern languages. The phonetic alphabet in all these languages opens the door of knowledge immediately through books printed with the phonetic letters. The Russian people are entitled to the credit of emancipating their world (one-sixth of the globe) from illiteracy and the ignorance and poverty due to illiteracy. The new world established on the basis of the good-neighbor policy, for which we are profoundly indebted to you, will be a new world of literacy and of multiplied production which will enable people now illiterate to increase their output ten-fold through modern processes and make this world a world of superabundance and human brotherhood. This increase of production will enable communities now illiterate to send vast quantities of their surplus production to the United States and to other friendly nations and establish the credits with which to buy the manufactured goods of other nations. The world will create radio receiving sets and will be able to make them. This will enable the voice of the President of the United States to speak to the whole world in English with the speed of light. The prophecy is being rapidly fulfilled were the Master said, "I have many things to say to you which you cannot bear now" but the Comforter (the Spirit of Truth) "shall teach you all things and bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have spoken to you." Every hour of the

day the radio is transmitting the Christian doctrine of brotherhood in some form or other to the ends of the earth.

I venture to suggest, Mr. Secretary, that you might have your experts examine *Languages for War and Peace*, and Dr. Laubach's book, *The Silent Billion Speak*, in connection with the material on the global alphabet sent you by the President, together with the book of Williams, *The Russians*, the book of Hewlett Johnson, *Dean of Canterbury*, *The Soviet Power*, and the book, *Mission to Moscow*, by Mr. Davies, which gives in detail what Russia has accomplished through the phonetic alphabet and their policy of the intensive education of the people through this advantageous mechanism. Thirty thousand new phonetic books are now being manufactured annually, distributed, and read with avidity by the Russian people. Laubach, in closing his letter to me approving my alphabet said, "Yours for a great cause." No man alive is better qualified than he and he is now working with Nelson A. Rockefeller who is serving so well in advancing the cause of human understanding and the good neighbor policy in connection with our Government.

May I not suggest that you invite President Douglass, of the American University, to examine this matter and make an additional report for the sake of the record?

I do not underestimate the forces of apathy, of preoccupation, of prejudice to the reception of a new way to spell, to write, to read the English language, but I do know the American children of 9 and 10 years of age can learn to read this alphabet with a very few hours of instruction for I am having this demonstrated now in Washington City as proof of the fact, because local proof of 40 children is sometimes more persuasive than the proof furnished afar off by 350 languages, to which I have above referred as evidence.

I cannot close this letter to you without expressing my deep and affectionate appreciation of the colossal services you have rendered as a great public servant in building up the good neighbor policy and in the happy results of the conferences of Moscow, Cairo, and Tehran.

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT L. OWEN.

## The U. N. R. R. A.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1944

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following telegram from the Minnesota United Nation Committee in favor of U. N. R. R. A.:

ST. PAUL, MINN., January 22, 1944.

Representative WALTER H. JUDD,

House of Congress Building:

The Minnesota United Nations Committee regards the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Conference as one of the most hopeful and necessary steps in world co-operation, if we are to have a basis on which to build world organization, if we are to have markets for our goods and employment for our people, we must realize that the help of all nations is necessary to rehabilitate the devastated nations instead of allowing them to become the prey of disease, anarchy, and



revolution. We respectfully urge your favorable vote for the full appropriation for U. N. R. R. A.

DONALD J. COWLING,  
Chairman, Minnesota United  
Nations Committee.

### Streamlining Congress

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. HENRY D. LARCADE, JR.**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1944

Mr. LARCADE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call to the attention of the Members of Congress an editorial in the Washington Post of January 23, 1944, entitled "Study of Congress," and am of the opinion that this article will be of interest. The editorial follows:

#### STUDY OF CONGRESS

Congress has reacted very slowly to the efforts to modernize its machinery and reorient it in our present system of big government. All the outstanding reforms suggested by members and critics of Congress are yet to be accomplished. Yet the American Political Science Association's Committee on Congress believes that changes are on the way. In its third progress report the committee points out that modernization of Congress is now a topic of widespread discussion. There is a growing awareness that Congress will have to improve its methods of operation if it is to remain a great democratic legislature in the complicated post-war era. "Its ability to play its role successfully," as the committee points out, "will depend upon its willingness to appraise and modify not merely its internal machinery, methods, and customs, but the whole question of its place in our scheme of government, including its relations with the Executive on the one hand, and with the people, on the other."

The committee visualizes Congress declining in public esteem and leadership if it attempts to carry its colossal burden of work without modernizing its machinery. That could mean only further shifting of responsibility and power to the President. Even if Congress goes halfway with the reformers, it will have a difficult time arresting the decline of its powers. Mr. George B. Gallo-way and his fellow explorers in the wilderness of congressional custom, tradition, seniority and habit do not want to stop at the halfway mark. They are urging Congress to reappraise the whole problem of a representative legislature in an era of wide and expanding Federal powers.

What the experts seem to be saying is that Congress will have to modernize its own machinery or surrender more of its policy-making functions to the bureaucrats. Now that is precisely what Congress wishes to avoid. So it should have the greatest possible interest in strengthening its own ability to act in the public interest. A few alert members are working persistently toward this end, among them Representatives DIRKSEN, KEFAUVER, and MONRONEY; Senators LA FOLLETTE, MALONEY, and others. Some of them have proposed admirable specific reforms, such as a question period in the House for the heads of executive departments and the development of congressional research staffs. But by all odds the most hopeful measure on this subject is the Maloney-Monroney resolution to create a joint committee

on ways and means of improving the organization and effectiveness of Congress.

In fairness to itself, we believe, Congress should hasten to get this study under way. The country cannot be saved from the extremes of bureaucracy merely by hampering the President. Nor can it substitute positive and constructive policies for the present planless muddling on the domestic front unless Congress itself is organized to function as a modern, responsible policy-making body. We think it is time for Congress to take a long and critical look at itself, and the best possible beginning would be the designation of a handful of its most alert and forward-looking Members to launch such a study.

### Let the Soldiers Vote

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. JOHN J. COCHRAN**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1944

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, the question that confronts us is whether or not we really want those serving in the armed forces to vote for President, Vice President, Senators, and Representatives in Congress, and to have those votes counted as cast. Everyone will say yes. If that be true, why quibble? Some raise the question of State rights. Let me impress upon you that if our armed forces do not win this war there will be no such thing as State rights.

As for me, I will make it plain between State rights and the right of 10,000,000 men and women in the armed forces to vote in November. I am not going to pay the least attention to dilatory arguments that have been advanced under the guise of State rights. We were not seriously troubled with State rights when we passed the Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief Act which protects members of our armed forces from the sale of their property to satisfy tax assessments, from foreclosure of mortgages on their property, from court action against them during their service, and from the operation of statutes of limitations.

I take the position Congress has the right to enact legislation that will permit those in the armed forces to vote for Federal officials and to make it mandatory their votes be counted.

In the States where registration is required I want to see that waived.

When the War and Navy Departments tell us they just cannot handle this matter and comply with 48 different State laws, then it becomes our duty to pass a law that will govern in every State in the Union.

The majority report holds the so-called Lucas-Worley bill would violate the Constitution. I do not agree with that view but maintain Congress has jurisdiction if it exercises it. Section 4, of article 1, reads:

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

Therein you find authority for the passage of proper legislation. It specifically provides Congress can by law make or alter State regulations.

No one can deny that under article 1, section 4, Congress is given the power at anytime by law to make or alter State regulations relative to elections for Senators and Representatives. There is only one limitation and that is, Congress shall not alter State regulations or laws relating to the "places of choosing Senators."

Amendment 17 amends the Constitution to provide for the election of Senators by popular vote and they are now elected in a manner similar to Representatives instead of by the State legislatures as was originally done. The State legislatures, under the seventeenth amendment, retain some authority or control in the election of Senators, but only in connection with vacancies as it provides that "the legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct." The use of the words "may empower" and "may direct" makes it permissive rather than mandatory for the State legislature to act, and this seems to be entirely in keeping with the original intent of the framers of the Constitution as expressed in article 1, section 4, which gives Congress the right to alter State election laws and regulations.

The limitation "except as to the places of choosing Senators" in article 1, section 4, is no longer operative because of the amendment providing for the election of Senators by popular vote. At the time that limitation was written it was contemplated to elect Senators by the State legislatures.

Article II, section 1, makes provision for the election of the President and Vice President. That these two officers are likewise representatives of the people no one can deny. The control of the Federal Government over the election of these officers seems to be exclusive. Under this article, "Each State shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress." Here again we find the use of the words "may direct." The action of the State legislatures is simply administrative and directory rather than mandatory.

Mr. Speaker, I have examined the law of my State relative to the casting of ballots of members of the military or naval forces passed in 1943. I say without fear of contradiction if the Missouri law prevails not more than a few of the thousands of men and women in the service who are on duty outside of my State will be able to cast a ballot.

Congress must exercise the powers set out in the Constitution and pass legislation providing a simple method to take care of this question.

The right of the serviceman to vote is the only issue. I say that the Federal Government which took these millions of men and women from their homes has the duty of protecting their right to a







DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
(Issued January 26, 1944, for actions of Tuesday, January 25, 1944)

(For staff of the Department only)

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HOUSE

1. FOREIGN RELIEF. Passed, 338-54, H.J.Res. 192 with amendments (pp. 683-700). As passed, this measure authorizes total appropriations of \$1,350,000,000 as the U. S. Share in UNRRA's relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in war-torn countries (pp. 683-700).

Agreed to the following amendments:

By Rep. Vorys, Ohio, to provide for administration of the program under the State Department's direction (p. 688).

By Rep. Mundt, S. Dak., to recommend use of UNRRA funds in military areas stricken by famine or disease (pp. 690-93).

Rejected the following amendments:

By Rep. Smith, Ohio, to strike out the authorization for the Council to approve "amendments involving new obligations for member governments"; by a 24-78 vote (pp. 683-86). Later similar amendments by Rep. Smith were rejected, 41-93 (p. 688); and 175-217 (pp. 698-99).

By Rep. Busbey, Ill., to reduce the authorization to \$1,000,000,000 and provide for administration of the program through the Red Cross; by a 71-123 vote (pp. 686-87).

By Rep. O'Connor, Mont., to reduce the authorization to \$675,000,000 and to provide for administration by the President; by a 51-106 vote (pp. 687-88).

By Rep. Smith, Ohio, to terminate the program Jan. 1, 1946; by a 23-108 vote (p. 698).

Rejected, 131-261, a motion by Rep. Rogers, Mass., to recommit the bill with instructions to reduce the authorization to \$700,000,000 (p. 699).

2. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM for next week, as announced by Majority Leader McCormack: Conference report on S. 1543, the mustering-out pay bill; resolution to provide additional funds for the Dies Committee; H.Res. 408, the Colmer(Miss.) resolution to establish a post-war economic policy and planning committee; and on Thurs. the independent offices appropriation bill, stating that "on Monday that bill will be finished" (pp. 700-1).



3. POST-WAR PLANNING. Rules Committee reported a resolution for consideration of H.Res. 408, to establish a Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning (H.Rept. 1021) (pp. 700, 707).
4. FLOOD CONTROL Flood Control Committee announced a schedule of hearings on the 1944 flood control bill. The Department is scheduled for Feb. 22. (p. 706.)
5. MUSTERING-OUT PAY. Received the conference report on S. 1543, to provide mustering-out pay from \$100 to \$300 for members of the armed forces (pp. 677-8).
6. UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES. Rep. Cochran, Mo., stated that the Accounts Committee had directed that a resolution be reported providing \$75,000 additional for the Dies Committee (p. 678).
7. TAXATION. Several members urged simplified tax-return forms (pp. 679-82, A403, A408, A416).
8. WAR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS. Rep. Snyder, Pa., discussed the disposition of "unused appropriations" of the War Department (pp. 702-3).
9. WAR PRODUCTION BOARD. Received a report on WPB's operations. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 706.)

#### SENATE

ADJOURNED in memory of the late Sen. Van Nuys, Ind., who died Jan. 24.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

10. VETERANS; POST-WAR PLANNING. By Rep. Rankin, Miss., H.R. 4057, and Rep. Rogers, Mass., H.R. 4064, to provide Federal Government aid for the readjustment in civilian life of returning World War No. 2 veterans. To World War Veterans' Legislation Committee. (p. 707.)  
By Rep. Stearns, N.H., H.R. 4066, to revise the rates of pension to veterans while pursuing vocational training. To World War Veterans Legislation Committee. (p. 707.) Remarks of author (pp. 701-2).
11. PERSONNEL. By Rep. McMillan, S. C., H.R. 4068, to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act. To Civil Service Committee. (p. 707.)

#### ITEMS IN APPENDIX

12. FOOD ADMINISTRATION. Rep. Hope, Kans., inserted resolutions adopted by the Kans. Board of Agriculture regarding cooperatives, post-war planning, parity, AAA, cost-of-living, inflation, subsidies, farmcredit, economy, farm machinery, feed, oleomargarine, meat inspection, plant quarantine, farm labor, and wheat prices (pp. A398-9).
13. PORK PRODUCTION. Speech in the House by Rep. Gilchrist, Iowa, stating that the pork situation has caused a "glut" on the market and describing an interview with the War Food Administrator on this subject (pp. A412-3).
14. FOREIGN RELIEF. Extension of remarks of Rep. Shafer, Mich., criticizing H.J.Res. 192, the UNRRA measure (pp. A411-2).



Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. TABER. Does the fact that the rule has not been filed mean that a new practice has been inaugurated of carrying rules around in somebody's pocket?

The SPEAKER. The Chair knows nothing about any practice being established, and recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM].

**PARTICIPATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ORGANIZATION**

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of House Joint Resolution 192, to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of House Joint Resolution 192, to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization, with Mr. O'NEAL in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Section 1 of the bill is still open for amendment.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SMITH of Ohio: On page 13 strike out all beginning with the word "article" in line 19 down to and including the word "vote" in line 8 on page 14.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks and to proceed for 4 additional minutes.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York reserves a point of order on the amendment.

The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his own remarks and to proceed for 4 additional minutes. Without objection it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for 9 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, article VIII should be stricken from this resolution. It is an anomalous provision and wholly unconstitutional.

I do not believe the writers of the Constitution intended that the President should in the exercise of his duties in carrying out the foreign policies of this Nation have the authority to bind it to an undertaking such as this resolution proposes. Except in the prevailing atmosphere of dissolute spending it is unlikely any Chief Executive of the United States would have attempted to do such a thing.

Section a of article VIII provides:

Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the ap-

proval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it.

This means that the President could, without any authority from Congress sign an agreement with the other nations which would bind the United States to further undertakings than those involved in the present resolution, relief and rehabilitation. What those obligations might be no one can tell. One can, however, have some idea by looking at the agreement which the President signed for pooling our oil resources with those of other nations, which action was based on the so-called master agreements, which in turn are based on the Lend-Lease Act. I do not believe the President should be given specific legislative authority to do what this provision would allow him to do. Furthermore I think it is wrong to give legislative sanction to his signing the agreement which would bind us to this program. The cry of the country already is that the Executive has too much power. This would add greatly to the power which he already holds. It would reduce still further what power is left to the Congress.

Sections b and c would distinctly vest in the international body the power to actually amend the law which we are now asked to pass, this House Joint Resolution 192. Article b reads as follows:

Amendments involving modification of article III or article IV shall take effect on adoption by the council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the central committee.

Under this provision articles III and IV could be amended without even the consent of the Chief Executive as well as the Congress. It should be noted that our member on the Council and the central committee would be a part of the international organization. He would not be a part of our governmental structure.

Section c of article VIII provides:

Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote.

Here not even the vote of our representative on the Council would be required for effectuating amendments to this law we are now in the act of passing. Only a two-thirds vote of the members of the Council would be required. And what might these other amendments be? Who knows? In the psychology of rapidly expanding Presidential and diminishing congressional power, and with the ever-increasing concern by the forces now in control of our Government for the welfare of other nations at the expense of our own, which now prevails, the term "other amendments," as well as the other provisions in article VIII could and likely would operate to fan the flames which are now burning out our Constitution, if not our very sovereignty as well.

I have already pointed out that the passage of this resolution, and particularly article VIII contained in it, would establish a dangerous precedent, that this could be used to force through Congress the passage of laws to establish a united and associated nations stabilization fund and an international bank for

reconstruction and development as is being proposed by the administration. I should like to repeat that there are strong indications that the administration intends to sign with the other nations for the establishment of these two agencies and then come to Congress for appropriations to carry out those schemes just as he has done in the case of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation agreement and procedure. I am warning the Congress and country of the dangers of these international monetary proposals. Our people would never consent to their going through if they understood them.

The United States has the enviable record of never having defaulted on any of its international agreements. But the administration in power is now in the process of engaging the United States in international commitments which our Nation may not be able to fulfill. There is, after all, a limit to what the American people can do and will do. We should take timely warning of this.

Mr. BLOOM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. I would like to call the attention of the gentleman to page 14, lines 1 and 2, which state, "and shall take effect for each member-government on the acceptance by it." Nothing can take effect until that member-government, any of the 44 member-governments that have signed this agreement, has accepted it; nothing can take effect until the member governments agree to it, which answers the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Tell the Congress what the term "member government" in subsection a of article VIII means.

Mr. BLOOM. Well, "member government" is the President and the Congress of the United States. That is the Government.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. The gentleman says the term includes the Congress of the United States?

Mr. BLOOM. It has got to be accepted by the President.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Let us be clear. Do not try to equivocate. Does this mean the President alone or does this mean the President and the Congress or does it mean the Congress alone? Let us have a definite answer.

Mr. BLOOM. The Congress has to appropriate, that is right.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I am not talking about the appropriation at all. I am talking about the meaning of the term "member government" in subsection a of article VIII.

Mr. BLOOM. The President of the United States must agree to this, and sign it.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. The gentleman means to say that the term "member government" refers specifically to the President of the United States and to no one else?

Mr. BLOOM. No, no.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. To whom does it refer?

Mr. BLOOM. Our constitutional government, the constitutional processes of



our Government. It has got to be accepted that way, whatever the constitutional processes will be. That is the way it has got to be done.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH]?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, this is an important question, and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs is equivocating. I want to state to the House, and settle once and for all, that this means the President of the United States exclusively. That is written into this bill. If you will refer to page 1 of this bill, you will note this language:

*Resolved—*

And so forth—

in the working of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and associated governments on November 9, 1943.

Established by the United Nations and associated governments, as this language applies to the United States, can mean only that the President was considered as representing the United States with absolute power to bind the United States to the agreement. So that the term "member government" in subsection "a" of article VIII means, in effect, the President of the United States, and it does not include the Congress.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I yield to the gentlewoman from Illinois.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. On page 14 it says that, "Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote." Among those other amendments is article V, which maintains our constitutional rights.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Certainly.

Miss SUMNERS of Illinois. So that article V, which maintains our constitutional rights, can be voted down and voted out by the Council by a two-thirds vote without the consent of the United States?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. This resolution provides for international legislation, and therefore partakes of a superstate.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. They can lift our constitutional rights right out without our consent.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the question raised by the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH] was thoroughly discussed and considered by the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I have here an excerpt from that testimony. There is quite a bit of it. It is in the published hearings.

Dean Acheson was questioned closely with reference to this very matter. The language that is desired to be stricken by the amendment, article VIII, was inserted not to give more power but to reserve more power to our Government. As Mr. Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, who knows more about what is contained in that agreement than anyone else and who is thoroughly familiar with it, said, that provision, article VIII, was specifically inserted in the agreement in order to make it clear that U. N. R. R. A., which is a service agency for the administration of such relief measures as the Government may choose to provide for the liberated areas should not in exercising its functions as such service agency impose any new obligations on the member-governments without going through the appropriate constitutional processes of such governments. In other words, this is a limitation and a restriction simply to call attention to what had already been written in there that the duly constituted processes and authorities of the Government should determine any changes to be made. That was written into the agreement after consultation with our committee and with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in order to safeguard that very thing, the sovereignty and independence of our Government.

Mr. Chairman, the truth is that we cannot change here the terms of the agreement by a vote of Congress, and this amendment would be futile if it were adopted because you cannot change the agreement of 44 countries. The text of the agreement is set forth in the resolution for information only.

I am going to ask the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to withdraw the point of order so we can have a vote on this amendment, which is not necessary, because nothing can be done until the Congress authorizes an appropriation, and, as stated by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] yesterday the Appropriations Committee can put any limitation it wants and that committee will do it; so the amendment is futile; you cannot change by this amendment the agreement of 44 countries, and I sincerely hope the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my reservation of a point of order and ask for a vote.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, may I remind the Members of the House what has just been said? This amendment is absolutely futile. It would be just as impossible for Congress to amend the fact that a certain document, which I presume is now in the archives of the Secretary of State, signed by 44 nations, does have in it an article VIII as it would be for the Congress at this time to pass an amendment changing the words of the Declaration of Independence or the almanac or striking out certain letters in the dictionary. It is impossible for the House to change the fact that this international agreement has article VIII

in it, and that is what the amendment attempts to do.

As to the substance of article VIII, the way in which the 44 nations have agreed that the agreement they have made can be amended, this has been thoroughly discussed during general debate and under the 5-minute rule. It has been pointed out that no change affecting the rights of our Government or the obligations of our Government can be made without the approval of our Government through its constitutional processes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words, and ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. LEMKE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I should like to see if we cannot agree upon some limitation of time for debate on section 1. I ask unanimous consent that all debate on section 1 and all amendments thereto close in 1 hour.

Mr. GEARHART. I object, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this section and all amendments thereto close in 1 hour.

The question was taken; and, the Chair being in doubt, the Committee divided; and there were—ayes 75, noes 28. So the motion was agreed to.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GEARHART. Is the 10 minutes that was granted the gentleman from North Dakota before the limitation was placed on debate included within the hour?

The CHAIRMAN. It is not included within the 1-hour limitation.

(Mr. LEMKE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Chairman, a great deal has been said about our not being able to change or amend this resolution because 44 nations have agreed to it. We can, however, preserve our own self-respect and the integrity of our own Government, and it is about time, if agreements have been made without congressional or constitutional sanction, that we serve notice on these nations and on the world that such agreements are not binding upon the United States of America.

The truth is, the 44 nations that we are told agreed to the provisions of this resolution have not unqualifiedly agreed. Six of these 44 nations are already objecting to the amount that their governments are supposed to contribute, while 14 of them have signed the agreement with reservations to the effect that they could not enter into a binding agreement with-



out legislative approval or sanction from their own governments.

After listening for 3 days to the debate on this resolution I have been forced to the conclusion that I cannot conscientiously vote for it and be intellectually honest with myself. We took an official oath when we were sworn in as Members of Congress that we would uphold the Constitution against all enemies, foreign or domestic. I believe this resolution to be unconstitutional, and I intend to keep my oath to uphold the Constitution.

I cannot accept the theory that the Constitution can be forgotten when it serves our purpose. I cannot accept the sentiment expressed here that the Senate is to pass upon the constitutionality for us. It is true that the Senators also took the oath, but that does not authorize you to violate the oath you took. If you believe that this resolution is unconstitutional, it is your duty to oppose it and not try to get around the Constitution by camouflaging it.

I agree with you that all agreements are not treaties, but, all treaties are agreements. The difference between an agreement—a contract—and a treaty is this. An agreement may be made between individuals and corporations or between individuals and corporations on one side and nations on another. Those are contracts and agreements. But, all agreements, no matter by what name you call them, made between sovereign nations are treaties and must under the Constitution, until we change it, be approved by two-thirds of the Senate present and voting.

Let us not insult our own intelligence by saying this is not a treaty, but an Executive order. An Executive order can only be made pursuant to the Constitution and the laws under the Constitution. An Executive order is not an agreement. It is an edict by the Chief Executive authorized by the law and permitted under the provisions of the Constitution.

We are told by the distinguished gentleman from Texas that the Foreign Relations Committee has determined the constitutional question. I am sorry, but the Foreign Relations Committee cannot assume responsibility for my oath of office to uphold the Constitution. I am responsible only to my own conscience and not to the desires or the momentary impulses of the Committee on Foreign Relations. They, too, took an oath of office to uphold the Constitution and they may satisfy themselves with a peculiar kind of reasoning that this resolution is constitutional.

I say deliberately that not only the executive branch of our Government, but we, the legislative, as well as the judiciary branch are out of step with public sentiment and public opinion. The people demand that all three branches of their Government once more respect the Constitution. We all know that in time of war the military arm must have full and complete control of military operations, but a declaration of war does not abolish Congress nor abrogate the Nation's laws. It does not set aside the Constitution.

I repeat that in recent years all three branches of our Government have flaunted the Constitution. We have attempted through legislative enactment and through Executive and administrative orders and directives to impose upon our people unconstitutional restrictions and requirements. We are about to do it again.

I am further opposed to this resolution because it gives another blank check of \$1,350,000,000 to the Executive. A blank check with which to create an international W. P. A. Nearly every Member on this floor has given lip service to the effect that we have issued too many blank checks, that we had too many alphabetical set-ups like the O. P. A. and others that have not only not helped the war effort but hampered it. The people have taken us at our word and have repudiated this system in recent elections, and yet here we are now about to create an international W. P. A.

Again we are called upon to pay 60 percent of the amount to be spent by this international W. P. A., while the other 44 nations are to pay only 40 percent, and this includes Great Britain, who controls one-fourth of the world's territory, as well as Russia.

There is no necessity for such a set-up. We are all for feeding and taking care of the starving, but this can best be accomplished through the International Red Cross and through the Army itself; and if you want an alphabetical set-up, then through lend-lease. Why create a new set-up? It is no excuse to say that the International Red Cross nor the Army do not wish to do it. That is not for them to say. That is the prerogative of Congress and the Executive.

We are not only for feeding the hungry in Italy who opposed us—one of the Axis that caved in—but we would feed, by force if necessary, the 3,000,000 starving children of France, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and others that, for some unknown reason, we are standing by and permitting to die from starvation.

However, let us remember that, whatever we do, charity begins at home. I note that the Senate has nipped off another \$100 from the mustering-out pay of our discharged veterans. Billions for foreign people, but \$200 for the discharged veterans. That will, unless you are careful, become the slogan of this Congress.

We have about reached the limit of our financing other nations. When this war ends our Government will owe over \$300,000,000,000. We, 135,000,000, possessing less than 10 percent of the world's resources, will owe more than all the other nations together—more than the over 2,000,000,000 that possess 90 percent of the world's resources.

I cannot accept the erroneous theory that if we keep our factories running at full blast for other nations—exhausting our own resources—will bring permanent prosperity. It will bring poverty, death and destruction. You cannot eat your cake and still have it. That is as true in national affairs as in personal affairs. You cannot give away your wealth and still possess it. Thus we see,

in place of being the richest Nation on the earth if the test is that of indebtedness, we are the poorest Nation on earth.

Again our tax burden is greater than that of any other nation. The per capita tax in the United States, including Federal, State, and local, is \$357, as against Great Britain's \$291. We have gone the limit in taxation and bond drives. Let us not wreck the Nation by creating international W. P. A. organizations.

I know that these sentiments are pro-American. Why should not we be pro-American. Churchill is pro-British, Stalin is certainly pro-Russian with a vengeance, Chiang Kai-shek is pro-Chinese. Permit me to assure you that our soldiers and veterans are pro-American with a vengeance. That sentiment is burned deep in the heart, the soul, and the conscience of every true American.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. PLUMLEY was granted leave to extend his remarks in the Record.)

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Chairman, I would be much more concerned with respect to the magnitude of the amount referred to in this bill, and with respect to our contribution to the cause of relief and rehabilitation, were it not for the facts, namely:

First. This is a relief and rehabilitation measure to authorize—not to appropriate.

Second. Before one cent is contributed it must be appropriated. Before one cent is expended the expenditure of that one cent will have to be justified else the Appropriations Committee will not appropriate one penny.

Third. As an authorization bill the constitutionality of the act is not an issue; and were it, that question is not involved now.

Fourth. This is not a blank check—obviously.

Fifth. One billion three hundred and fifty millions is the total limitation which may never be reached, and cannot be exceeded under this act.

It never will be reached unless the reason therefor can be justified, and if so justified we would be slackers not to do our part to save the world, post-war—for relief and rehabilitation.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Chairman, if I am correct in my understanding of the joint resolution we now have under consideration, its purpose is to set up an international organization to dispense relief in the countries which have been or hereafter will be liberated by Allied military might.

If that is the purpose—and, I think, all will agree that it is—the legislation, it would seem, is entirely unnecessary.

Already Allied arms have liberated Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Tripoli, Sicily, and the southern part of Italy.

In all of these liberated countries, relief is now being efficiently administered in accordance with local necessities—this under legislation already enacted and with funds already appropriated.



If the legislation is entirely unnecessary, then, why the legislation? This, indeed, is a pertinent inquiry.

The answer is manifest, or, should be, to anyone who has followed the trend of events these last few years.

It is legislative precedents that the proponents of the joint resolution are seeking—not all of the proponents, for, most of them, are still among the uninitiated, still thinking in terms of relief, still pursuing that humanitarian impulse so commendable in all human beings.

Precedents! What precedents? Ah, therein lies the rub.

One is the Panamanian Compact, negotiated by the President, not submitted to the Senate.

Another is this U. N. R. R. A. international concord of 44 nations, the joint resolution now under consideration, negotiated by the President, not submitted to the Senate.

The first has already been approved by the Congress in a joint resolution which ignored the plain mandate of section 2 of article II of the Constitution.

That is now a precedent.

When the joint resolution under consideration is passed, the Constitution will have been again bypassed, a second precedent will have been established.

Another international understanding will have been unconstitutionally assented to by the Congress, every Member of which has taken a solemn oath to uphold not only the Constitution as an entirety but every part and portion thereof, including section 2 of article II.

With these two precedents—and a few more, perhaps—the foundation will have been firmly laid for the great triumph over constitutionalism—the submission to the Congress of the great treaty of peace in the form of a joint resolution—a treaty negotiated by one man, not by the Chief Executive by and with the advice and consent of the Senate but by the totalitarian action of the President alone, the Constitution notwithstanding.

Mark my words! That, colleagues, is my prediction of that which is being planned for us. That, sirs, is the unhappy implication of this day's proceedings. Watch, gentlemen, for the great treaty of peace, for, indeed, it will be one that will represent the will and desire and overweening ambitions of but one man—the President of the United States.

This is totalitarianism on the march.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SMITH of Ohio) there were—ayes 24, noes 78.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BUSBEY: Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums, not to exceed \$1,000,000 in the aggregate, as the Congress of the United States may determine from time to time to be appropriated, and such sums to be used for relief among the populations of areas liberated by the armed forces of the

United Nations. Such sums shall be administered solely by the American Red Cross, using the facilities of their international organization.

"SEC. 2. The American Red Cross shall submit to Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any such appropriations.

"SEC. 3. Relief shall be defined as aid in furnishing food, clothing, shelter, the prevention of pestilence and recovery of health of the peoples of the liberated areas."

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Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, this is a very simple amendment. There has been a great deal of talk during the last 3 days in regard to how relief to the liberated countries should be administered. There has been a great deal of talk as to precedents in administering relief. I submit to the House the fact that in my estimation there is only one organization in the entire world which is qualified to administer relief on such a broad scale and only one organization that has trained, qualified personnel. I refer to the Red Cross. The American Red Cross, through its international Red Cross and cooperating agencies, certainly are in a position to administer this fund. I have heard no serious question raised during this debate as to the need of helping these people. I am sure we all want to do everything within our power to assist the needy in these liberated countries. Therefore, our problem resolves itself into the question, What is the best agency to administer this fund?

We have plenty of precedent for my resolution, because the Seventy-seventh Congress appropriated \$85,000,000 for exactly this same purpose, namely relief in these foreign countries, to be administered, if you please, by the American Red Cross. According to the figures given to me yesterday by the American Red Cross, they have already expended \$79,000,000 of this appropriation. Approximately \$15,000,000 has been expended in England; \$13,000,000 in Russia; \$5,000,000 in China; \$11,000,000 in France; and the remainder in smaller amounts in various countries. This naturally raises the question in our minds, if the Seventy-seventh Congress appropriated \$85,000,000 for this program, why then should the Seventy-eighth Congress start off on another program to authorize appropriations for a new organization such as U. N. R. R. A.? The proponents of this resolution say, "This provides for rehabilitation as well as relief and the Red Cross only administers relief; they are not organized to take care of rehabilitation." That is true.

I maintain that rehabilitation is a program distinct and separate from relief, but there is no reason why an organization set up to take care of rehabilitation could not cooperate wherever possible and necessary with the Red Cross in their relief work. For example, the Army does an entirely different type of fighting than the Navy, nevertheless they cooperate wherever necessary to obtain their objective.

Let us do relief work under a relief organization, and rehabilitation work under a rehabilitation organization.

Under House Joint Resolution 192, which sets up the U. N. R. R. A. organization, as well as authorizing an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000, it will be necessary to recruit and train entirely new personnel to work under Gov. Herbert H. Lehman, Director General of U. N. R. R. A. Why approach this problem from such an impractical viewpoint, when the American Red Cross already has experienced, well-trained, and qualified personnel already in the field doing the relief work that is proposed under this resolution?

I regret very much that nowhere in the hearings—and I have read them very carefully—do I find a word of testimony from a representative of the American Red Cross in regard to their equipment to do this work; nor do I find a single word of testimony as to how this problem could be handled, from the greatest recognized authority in the world for handling relief, the Honorable Herbert Hoover.

Under House Joint Resolution 192 we are authorizing an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 of the \$2,000,000,000 to be subscribed by the various United Nations capable of paying their assessments. I am very much afraid that under this plan many of the nations which might be entitled to relief under U. N. R. R. A. will feel that they did not receive their fair share, and in return the United States of America will be blamed.

I believe it far better that the Congress appropriate the entire amount and keep it under our supervision to distribute as we think best than vote to create an agency such as U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. Chairman, in the interests of humanity and the welfare of the starving and needy peoples of the world, I sincerely trust the House will adopt my amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

[Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. DAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, I believe a proper respect for this legislative body requires that we stop for a moment and take our bearings and find just where we stand. Without any disrespect to the learned members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, I believe we find ourselves at this moment in a very sorry predicament. At one of the most vital parts of this whole resolution that we are asked to adopt, they do not seem to know or agree on just what it means. Yet it is of such vital



importance that it came up here upon the motion of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH]. Now I call your attention to the fact that one of my colleagues the gentleman from Illinois, [Representative MASON], asked the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM], on last Thursday, the following question:

Mr. MASON. The text of the U. N. R. R. A. agreement as printed in the bill, regardless of whether it is a treaty or an agreement, if this resolution is passed by the Congress and adopted, then becomes a substantive part of the law and whether it is a treaty or an agreement, it is then approved by the Congress; is that not right?

Mr. BLOOM. That is right.

Then further on in the RECORD, on page 491 of the proceedings of the same day, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] again asked that same question of the gentleman from Ohio [Representative VORYS], of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He asked the question as follows:

Mr. MASON. I want to ask the gentleman the same question that I asked the chairman of the committee. The fact that the text, you might say, of U. N. R. R. A. is incorporated in this bill, whether it is an agreement or whether it is a treaty, makes no difference, if this resolution is passed, then does that mean that that text is adopted as part of the substantive law of this land?

And the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS], of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, replied:

In my opinion it is not.

That is just contrary to the position taken by the gentleman from New York, [Chairman BLOOM].

It is no more a part of the substantive law—

Stated the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS]—

than if the Lord's Prayer or some other document were quoted in a statute. It appears in the text; it is there, but it is not a part of the substantive law.

Where do we find ourselves today?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAY. No, I cannot; the gentleman has his own time.

We are up against this situation: The President makes what he calls an Executive agreement with 44 other nations and yet he comes to us and says: "We want you to make an appropriation so we can carry out that relief and rehabilitation program." But he does not stop there. This resolution goes beyond a mere authorization, because in the words of the chairman of this committee they put the whole contract in the resolution and make it a substantive part of the law. If it could become a substantive part of the law it becomes a part of the supreme law of the land, just like a statute or a treaty. Nevertheless, the lower House of Congress, in the consideration of this resolution, is asked to do away with the constitutional requirement which makes it necessary that all treaties which become a part of the supreme law of the land be concurred in by the Senate by a two-thirds vote.

Here is the danger in this, and I pray you to consider it: This is not interna-

tional relief, this is not a war measure; this is a constitutional question, and the day will come when it will rise up to plague you. The resolution provides that the President is the only one who can sign amendments to this contract. The time will come when the President may make an amendment contrary to the wishes of Congress or the wishes of the country, an amendment going beyond mere relief and rehabilitation, and he will not come back to this body again for authority. It is a constitutional question, and raises a serious danger.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, I wish to be heard on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Debate was limited on the amendment and the gentleman's name does not appear on the list of those seeking recognition.

All time on this amendment has expired.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment may be again read.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will again read the amendment.

There was no objection.

The Clerk again read the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. BUSBEY) there were—ayes 69, noes 91.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chair appointed as tellers Mr. BUSBEY and Mr. BLOOM.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 71, noes 123.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. O'CONNOR: On page 1, strike out all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following: "There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$675,000,000 to be expended under the direction of the President for the furnishing of food, clothing, medicine, and other absolute essentials of life, to relieve starvation and suffering among individuals in those countries which have been overrun by, or have directly suffered from hostile action of, the enemies of the United Nations in the present war."

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, on yesterday I tried to amend the amount mentioned in the authorization in this resolution. Now, here is the record:

Committee amendment: On page 1, line 4, after the word "sums", insert "not to exceed \$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate."

There was not a word of discussion, not a word of debate, not a word came from any member of the committee showing that this amount was necessary to carry on the program.

I want to tell you Members, and I ask you to weigh these words, if we are not careful this Congress will be known throughout the country as a spendthrift Congress. On that record alone, when the people get a whack at us, without a

word of debate, without a word of explanation we saddle upon the people of this country \$1,350,000,000. Mr. Chairman, I am fearful they will clear this Chamber on that record alone.

This is a new procedure. I take my hat off to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs as a strategist because the very gravamen of the resolution was the amount and the amount comes in here as a committee amendment, slipped through without a word. It is new procedure.

Let us get down to brass tacks. The trouble with this Congress is that it has been talking in terms of billions of dollars until we have got the habit. I represent 360,000 people who have to make their own living, farmers and laboring people, and it is out of these kind of people that this money will come. We are saddling not only upon this generation but future generations \$1,350,000,000 without a word of explanation.

Let us turn the pages over and get toward the end of the book to where the war is over and the boys come home. Many of them are going to come home with their eyes out, many of them are going to come home with their legs off, and their arms off, mentally deranged, too. Our hospitals are going to be filled. We will not have enough hospitals. We will have to provide and care for the wounded boys. We have no idea what our needs will be. Take a look in the future before you commit yourself to \$1,350,000,000 on a new venture.

Let us find out what is going to be done with this money. The sum of \$675,000,000 is not hay. It is enough to start with.

The distinguished gentleman from South Dakota made a statement here the other day in the course of general debate that we ought to keep ringing in our ears. He stated that this resolution calls for \$1,350,000,000—more than this Nation has ever been able to save in 1 year. Yet, Mr. Chairman, without a word of debate, it is written into the bill and sent through the House.

Mr. SAUTHOFF. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SAUTHOFF. I am in favor of the gentleman's amendment. I would like to point out that with the \$258,000,000,000 indebtedness, it means \$7,650 for every family of four people. The interest alone is \$150 a year.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Why, of course. May I say, Mr. Chairman, if there is a record vote on this amendment, I doubt if there would be a vote against it.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am not sure I understand the gentleman's amendment accurately.

Mr. O'CONNOR. It is to cut the amount in half.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Does it not also substitute the gentleman's language for the whole of the first section?

Mr. O'CONNOR. To some extent; but owing to the way the committee amend-



ment for \$1,350,000,000 was slipped in, we have to resort to doing something indirectly that we cannot do directly.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana [Mr. O'CONNOR].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SAUTHOFF) there were—ayes 51, noes 106.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I have three amendments to offer. These amendments individually strike out the three sections in article VIII which comprise the amendment that I offered some time ago. I am going to ask unanimous consent that these amendments be considered together and that they may be read together so as to conserve time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. SMITH of Ohio: Beginning on page 13, strike out all of the language contained in line 23 down to and including line 2, page 14.

On page 14, strike out all of the language contained in lines 3, 4, 5, and 6.

On page 14, strike out all of the language contained in lines 7 and 8.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I made this request because I do not want to take any more time of the Members than may be necessary. The amendments, of course, will be voted down. I anticipate that. Nevertheless, I want to make my record clear.

It has been contended by some of the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs that the striking out of article VIII would be a futile gesture, that it would not mean anything, which is not true. It may be possible that the President had power under the Constitution to sign the agreement. That is one thing. But the inclusion of that agreement in this resolution puts the stamp of approval of the Congress upon the act of the President in signing that agreement. That cannot be disputed.

Those of you who are in a mood of giving over to the Chief Executive more and more power and taking the powers which the Constitution vests in Congress more and more away from the Congress should vote against my amendments. Those of you who do not believe the Executive should be given any more power, and believe it is our responsibility to conserve what little power is left in the Congress, should vote for my amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I want to answer a statement made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] on the floor a few days ago.

I inquire of the gentleman from New York whether he made the statement that if the Congress no longer has the power to control appropriations it should abdicate and go home, or words to that effect?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The witness is willing to answer without fear of incriminating himself. The gentleman from New York does not question the power of Congress to control appropri-

tions. The gentleman from New York did state that if the Congress is not able to exercise the power in its wisdom, it had better go home.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I want to comment on that statement. If the Congress is not wise enough and courageous enough to control the public purse, the remedy is not for Congress to go home, but to reform its ways.

The gentleman from California has raised the question as to whether this proposal should not come within the scope of treaty-making. I am not so concerned about that, although it is important. I am not an attorney and cannot debate that point. All I am pleading for now is that we do not give the Executive any more power than he has. A member of my party said to me, "You are against this because of the man who now occupies the White House. If we had a man of our own choice there, you would not be against it." That is not my position. If Governor Bricker is elected President of the United States the next time, or if any other man on the Republican ticket is elected President, provided I am then a Member of this body, I shall take exactly the same position I am now taking should legislation such as this come before this body.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Is it not also true that no one from the Treasury Department was called to testify before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, only people employed by U. N. R. R. A?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. That is correct.

There is no question but what the State Department handed this resolution to the Congress practically on a platter. I know something about the history of this resolution. It was written largely at Hot Springs. That is where it had its inception. It is out of Hot Springs the principles involved in this joint resolution grew. I want to say a word about the Hot Springs Food Conference. I was there for 8 days. Do you know what most of the foreign delegates at Hot Springs thought international cooperation meant? I will tell you. They thought it meant getting something from Uncle Sam for nothing.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. SHORT. In order to keep the record straight, we might say that the egg was laid at Hot Springs, Va., but it was hatched over at Atlantic City.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SMITH of Ohio) there were—ayes 41, noes 93.

So the amendments were rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further amendments to section 1?

If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. Amounts appropriated under this resolution shall be expended under the direction of the President pursuant to section 1

hereof. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any such appropriations and of operations under the agreement.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. VORYS of Ohio: On page 14, line 25, insert after the word "expended" the words "by the Department of State."

On page 15, line 1, strike out the word "President" and insert "Department of State."

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is simply to amend section 2 to conform to the amendment already made to section 1. It will make section 2 read as follows:

Amounts appropriated under this resolution shall be expended by the Department of State under the direction of the President pursuant to section 1 hereof. The Department of State shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any such appropriations and of operations under the agreement.

The adoption of this amendment is necessary to make the two sections conform.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against the amendment that we are not yet considering section 2.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk has read section 2, and the amendment is in order. The point of order is overruled.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 15, after line 3, insert the following:

"The Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives shall employ an experienced auditor and other necessary personnel whose duty it shall be to examine the books, files, papers, and accounts of U. N. R. R. A. and all official documents pertaining to expenditures made by U. N. R. R. A. from funds appropriated in accordance with this authorization. Said auditor shall make a comprehensive report of same to the full Committee of Appropriations quarterly, or at such other times as said committee may direct."

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against the amendment that it is not germane to the joint resolution.

This resolution, Mr. Chairman, authorizes the expenditure of money for the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization to be handled, as the resolution has been amended, by the State Department. This amendment seeks to give a legislative committee of this House the power to employ an experienced auditor and other necessary personnel to examine the books, files, papers, and so forth, of U. N. R. R. A. As I understand the resolution, it requires a report to the Congress. The Committee on Appropriations has control over the appropriations. This is simply an authorization. If it is desired to place any limitations upon the appropriations, they should be on that bill, not this resolution.



The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Iowa desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. JENSEN. I do, Mr. Chairman, in order to make a few remarks.

Of course, I anticipated that a point of order would be raised against my amendment, especially since my very good friend, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Accounts, who is on the floor, has opposed the organization of an examining staff for each subcommittee of appropriations proposed in H. R. 325, which I introduced during the first session of the Seventy-eighth Congress.

Members of the House know that this is a very necessary amendment to this resolution. Of course, I had hoped a point of order would not be raised. Almost everybody who has talked for this bill has said that this is purely an authorization and that the Committee on Appropriations must appropriate the money before any money can be expended for U. N. R. R. A. That is all well and good, but we all know that in 98 cases out of 100 an authorization means an appropriation so a great responsibility rests on the shoulders of members of the Committee on Appropriations. I am sure that every member on that committee and I think every Member of Congress would like to know what, where, and how the money is being spent during the time it is being spent.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman should address himself to the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the gentleman from Iowa speaking to the point of order?

Mr. JENSEN. I will, Mr. Chairman, in due course.

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentleman will confine his remarks to discussing the point of order, the Chair will be glad to hear him.

Mr. JENSEN. My primary purpose of making these remarks I have is to point out the responsibilities which rest on every member of the Appropriations Committee in seeing to it that the least possible waste of funds is avoided, so that the starving, sick, and suffering people of the invaded nations might get the fullest possible benefit of this legislation. I shall continue to press for enactment of my bill H. R. 325 to accomplish the desired purpose of cutting out the disgraceful waste still going on in most every New Deal agency of government.

Mr. Chairman, I am not going to argue on the point of order, because I think in all honesty and fairness that it is subject to the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule. The Chair sustains the point of order.

If there are no other amendments to section 2, the Clerk will report the Committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: On page 15, after line 3, add a new section as follows:

"SEC. 3. In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Ad-

ministration at the first session of the Council, summarized in paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12, and reading as follows:

"11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world."

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BUFFETT: On page 15, after line 3, insert:

"SEC. 3. Appropriations hereunder shall be made exclusively from a special fund in the United States Treasury which shall be known as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Fund. Such fund shall consist of amounts received from the sale by the United States Treasury of special bonds to be known as United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Bonds, which shall be issued subject to the provisions and limitations of the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended, and which shall be sold only to individuals."

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment offered by the gentleman is impossible of performance under the powers of Congress; that is, it proposes to set up a special fund from which shall be paid the amounts appropriated by the Committee on Appropriations. It is not germane to the bill.

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman reserve his point of order?

Mr. EBERHARTER. I shall be glad to reserve the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Chairman, every legislative authorization really has two parts, first, how is the money to be obtained, and second, how the money should be spent. This Congress has spent the better part of 4 days arguing the second half of this proposal. I want to take 5 minutes to discuss the first half.

I am reminded of the old proverb: "He who pays the fiddler calls the tune." The logic of that proverb is unassailable, and the amendment I have proposed is a step in that direction. It simply proposes that the American people who must pay the fiddler be taken into partnership in the administration commitments to U. N. R. R. A. As a matter of fact, this amendment does not permit the American taxpayer to call the tune, but it will permit him to hear the tune while it is being played.

The humanitarian purposes of U. N. R. R. A. appeal to all Americans regardless of party or political belief. No one will quarrel with U. N. R. R. A.'s stated purpose. However, this proposition comes to this body under strange circumstances. For 2 long years, there has been a policy of brutal indifference by the Governments of Britain and the United States to the starving millions of occupied Europe. There has been a steady refusal of the governing United Nations

to even let these tragic peoples be helped by others, so that by the blockade we have been building cemetery populations in France, Belgium, and other occupied countries. Has the refusal to allow aid to these sufferers been based on the fact that our borrowed bank roll could not be used to rule that assistance program?

U. N. R. R. A. seems to be a proposal of great merit. I proposed this amendment so that this cause would necessarily be taken to the American people who must finance it. Let these funds be raised by the earmarked sale of bonds to individuals—bonds backed by the full faith and credit of the United States. This way the financing would be done directly with the people who must pay the bill and without inflationary effects.

Unless the funds for U. N. R. R. A. are raised by the sale of bonds directly to individuals, here is \$1,350,000,000 of inflation. The Government seized the railroads of the United States ostensibly to stop a so-called inflationary outlay of probably considerably less than 100 millions.

An America enslaved and ruined by inflation cannot be a big brother to the rest of the world. My amendment would eliminate the serious inflationary aspects of this proposal.

This administration is pleading for the people of America to buy bonds to finance the war and stop inflation. Let this Congress keep faith with these patriotic citizens. Finance U. N. R. R. A. by bonds sold to individuals for this specific purpose and put this great relief project on a straight-forward on-the-level financial basis from the beginning.

A refusal to finance this program by direct bond sales means the advocates of U. N. R. R. A. either lack confidence in the merit of their program or lack faith in the American people.

Each Member of this House should have more than a technical answer to this question before he votes for U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. Chairman, I have no quarrel with the purpose of this bill. I have worked for the relief of the starving children of Europe and have been given the brush-off. I believe in help for these stricken peoples.

Despite administration bungling in similar programs such as the W. P. A., South America, and so forth; despite their proven record of incompetence, still I would vote for this proposal, but I will not vote for it unless it is honestly and directly financed by identified bond sales to individual Americans for this specific purpose.

In an America, already bleeding from the wounds of wartime inflation, how the money is obtained is at least as important as how it is spent. This Congress owes it to the American people to rediscover this great truth, forgotten for the past 11 years.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. BUFFETT was granted leave to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Nebraska desire to be heard upon the point of order?

Mr. BUFFETT. No.



Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to be heard upon the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Just to make the suggestion that the fact that this proposed amendment is impossible of performance is no reason why it should be held out of order, because we have had much legislation of that kind which has been adopted. Further, I submit that it is germane, because it is a limitation on the source from which the money would be derived.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule. This is a matter which has to do under the amendment with the issuance of bonds, which is certainly not germane to this or to any other part of the bill. The Chair, therefore, sustains the point of order.

The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MUNDT: Add a new section at the end of the joint resolution to be known as section 4, and to read as follows:

"In expressing its approval of this joint resolution, it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration."

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I have asked the gentleman to yield, that I may say to him that I have no objection to that amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from South Dakota desire to be heard upon his amendment?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; I desire to explain it to the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Dakota is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, this amendment has been discussed at considerable length by the present speaker on December 21—starting on page 11099 of the RECORD—and again on January 21—beginning on page 506 of the RECORD. I appreciate the statement of the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM] that the committee now has no disagreement with it. I will explain it very briefly, therefore, since I think some members of the Committee who may be considering whether or not to vote for U. N. R. R. A. may be influenced to vote for U. N. R. R. A. when they recognize one of its objections has been erased by this amendment.

The situation I am seeking to correct by this amendment grows out of the conflict in definitions existing between the preamble of the bill and article 1. Under the preamble of the bill, as written, relief, under U. N. R. R. A., is available only to nations which have been

liberated and available to people only in liberated areas. According to article 1 of the bill, however, it is available to victims of war in any area under the control of the United Nations. Obviously some definition had to be arrived at in Atlantic City as to how those two statements should be interpreted. Therefore the definition was accepted at Atlantic City and publicized in the press that under those two interpretations India would be excluded from the benefits of U. N. R. R. A. This was in my opinion an unfortunate interpretation. And the declaration encompassed in my amendment would eliminate that unfortunate situation.

I want to say briefly why I think we are all interested in seeing India, and perhaps other areas of vital importance to military operations, included. Here we have on this map which I have displayed in the well of the House the Burmese border and the Indian border, and here we have American and Chinese troops striving, under General Stilwell, to get over to the Burma Road, fighting along with some of our Indian Allies. Down here we have British, American and Canadian troops, with Indian troops, trying to take Akyab which is to be a base to enable us to get down to Rangoon.

In these three provinces of India, Assam, Bihar, and Bengal, we find a great population which has just been undergoing a serious famine and where they are now under the scourge of disease and pestilence, sweeping over India and jeopardizing the health and lives of American troops now stationed in this section of India.

Consequently, whatever U. N. R. R. A. can do insofar as funds and facilities permit, to eliminate this disease and this unfortunate situation, will help in our action against Japan by strengthening India and giving assistance to the people working along with our troops. It will also safeguard the lives of American and English troops.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to my chairman for a question.

Mr. BLOOM. Of course, I do not want the impression to get out that the amendment which is agreed to, from your explanation, is confined to India. I would like to have the gentleman explain this amendment that he offered and to explain that it embraces any area where the same conditions exist throughout the world; is that correct?

Mr. MUNDT. That is exactly correct.

Mr. BLOOM. So I would like to get away from the impression that it is limited to India alone.

Mr. MUNDT. If a similar situation should affect, for example, China or Africa, or any other place in the world, of importance to our military operations, then U. N. R. R. A. steps in with their assistance and this provides a very important additional reason, in my opinion, why members of the committee should vote for U. N. R. R. A., because it is of assistance not only after the military operations, but if they are called upon by the military, it is of assistance at the

time the military operation is taking place or being planned.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for one further question?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. This is merely a recommendation or a suggestion that whenever these conditions exist, U. N. R. R. A. should take cognizance of them if it is possible to do so?

Mr. MUNDT. The gentleman is correct. It is a recommendation by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. RIZLEY. I commend the gentleman upon the amendment he has offered, but I am wondering whether this amendment does not modify the agreement that has been heretofore entered into between the 44 nations.

Mr. MUNDT. No; there is nothing we can do to specifically modify that agreement. As has been stated many, many times, the agreement is encompassed in the bill. My amendment expresses the conviction and desire of the American Congress on behalf of the American people that India and other similar areas will be made eligible for the benefits of U. N. R. R. A. We want to make its benefits available to areas of military importance wherever they are, and it does not in any way modify the text of the original agreement. Only U. N. R. R. A. itself can do that either by amendment at the next council meeting or by a modification of the prevailing definition with relationship to India.

This recommendation which we make is wise from a military standpoint, as I have pointed out. It is wise from a psychological warfare standpoint, because the Japanese have been trying to poison our allies in India by making them believe we do not care for their needs. This will belie that propaganda. It is wise from the standpoint of being practical, because it will enable U. N. R. R. A. to go into India with medicine and medical assistance, which is highly essential. India's big need of the moment is not so much for ships and food, nor is it a need for financial help; rather it is a need for medicine, for medical services and nursing talent, for health-protecting and health-preserving equipment. This medicine and this personnel can be flown to India by plane so my amendment provides a practical way of giving relief to India.

Finally, this amendment is wise from the standpoint of justice and equity. It removes the last vestige of discrimination from the operations of U. N. R. R. A. We who fight to promote justice and equity throughout the world cannot blind ourselves to the importance of practicing now the precepts which we promise for the future. Expressions of sympathy and pious adjectives are all right in their place but they will not relieve the current suffering in India. However, U. N. R. R. A. has that power and it will have that possibility if we today manifest the will by the adoption of my amendment as a part of this resolution.



Mr. Chairman, in terms of aid to our war effort and the saving of lives of American troops as well as in terms of creating good will in India and defeating the current Japanese propaganda in that area of the world, I submit that the amendment I have proposed will do more good than all of the other features of U. N. R. R. A. combined. I hope the amendment will be adopted by a strong vote and if it is I am confident that the other body of this Congress will see that it remains as a part of this joint resolution.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, I am sorry that we cannot see our way clear to aid the children in the occupied countries. They have been crying out to us for aid over the years of this war, but because of the blockade imposed against Europe we are unable to send the necessary food and materials to them.

I am hoping that U. N. R. R. A. will be the medium to send food and medicine to the children so much in need. I am also hoping that the administration of this relief will be of assistance in safeguarding our soldiers in occupied countries from disease and pestilence and all the other myriad evils which attend war on a scale such as this.

There are many questions in my mind at the moment.

There is the matter of an appropriation, a huge one even if it is only 1 percent of an unnatural fiscal year; there is the matter of administration and all its problems; and there is the matter of humankind—the little people—who need help badly and who have no place and no one to turn to for succor. There is the question of laying the foundation for a permanent peace so that these barbaric struggles will be done away with and our sons and daughters given a chance to enjoy the decency and security which is theirs by right.

Mr. Chairman, the question of India is a vital one for the United Nations today. In my opinion we would be doing a disservice to the Allied cause if we refuse to recognize the need now for relief in that country. We are all well aware—in spite of censorship restrictions—of the terrible famine there. While conditions have been ameliorated in that stricken country, the need for relief is still acute.

In considering India we know that it is a difficult and complex area to understand. However, we must realize that some 350,000,000 people live there. Those people are human beings—they eat, live, breathe, and have the same emotions that we have. Potentially, they can be our friends or our enemies. We have the history—the recent history—of the Burmese, Thais, and other Asiatic peoples turning against us, not because we did not understand them so much as because they understood us better. Imperialistic policies are things of the past and will no longer work because peoples, all over, have seen the evils which develop in connection with them.

A spirit of nationalism is sweeping the Far East and we cannot—and must not—

ignore it. Under U. N. R. R. A., an international organization, the United Nations will have a right and an interest in India's affairs. We want her help—in manpower, in material, and in her effect on other people's thinking in the East. We have the opportunity now to show to these downtrodden and oppressed people that we are their friends. If we do not grasp it they may well become—to a greater and more menacing degree—our mortal enemies.

We have in excess of 100,000 troops in India. They are dissatisfied and discontented. They know there is a war on and they want to fight it, get it over with, and come home. However, they are being kept in India awaiting developments and while there, they are witnessing at first hand the distressing conditions affecting the native population. What are they thinking about when they witness this unnecessary starvation, malnutrition, and disease? They are thinking of the same things that we are discussing here this afternoon. They know they can do nothing to better the lot of those people but they do know that we can. What is the use of preaching about the "four freedoms" if we do not mean what we say?

India is important in this war because it is the gateway to China and Burma. With a friendly population at our back we will be helped tremendously in our reconquest of Burma and our reopening of transportation outlets into China. We will have more tools and a better spirit to aid us. If we extend relief under U. N. R. R. A. to India we will strengthen our hand in the Far East and give hope to other subject populations. If we ignore India and her legitimate pleas, we are helping to sow a whirlwind which we will reap someday.

The choice, and the responsibility, of helping India become our real friend and possible ally, rests, I believe, with U. N. R. R. A. This Congress, by its actions now can either hinder or advance the cause of the United Nations and our ultimate victory in the Far East.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. I yield.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I just want to thank the gentleman for his very effective speech and to say I am personally very glad the Committee has accepted the amendment of the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last four words.

Mr. Chairman, I had intended, under section 1, during the hour that was allotted for consideration, to offer the following amendment but was called away to the Rules Committee on a matter of importance to the House. I knew, anyhow, that my amendment would not have been adopted. In view of what the gentleman has just said, I would like to read the amendment and then make a few comments and observations on it.

Page 1, line 5, after the words "\$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate", insert "of which \$100,000,000 shall be made avail-

able to furnish food and medical supplies to the starving children of the occupied nations of Europe."

That is what the gentleman who just spoke referred to. I doubt if we had had a vote we could have passed the amendment. The greatest crime against humanity, civilization, and Christianity is the mass starvation of hundreds of thousands, and maybe millions of innocent young children in the occupied nations, and we with all the food we have so far failed to do anything to relieve this starvation in France, Belgium, Norway, Holland and Poland, and in the other occupied countries. We have been unable to persuade the British Government to relax the blockade in order to save the lives of those young, innocent children who had nothing whatever to do with bringing on the war. Hundreds of thousands, and probably millions, of them are dying right now of starvation with bloated stomachs and in terrible agony and from such diseases as rickets and tuberculosis and other dread diseases, and the Congress of the United States has not yet done one thing to relieve that horrible situation and to save the youth of occupied Europe from dying of starvation and disease.

I am informed the other body has passed a bill in the Committee on Foreign Relations by a unanimous vote, making money available for that purpose. I hope that when it comes here it will be reported to the House by unanimous vote and that the vote of the Congress will be unanimous, so that we will place our moral influence, the moral influence of a great Christian nation, behind a demand that these helpless and innocent children be saved from further starvation and death as a result of a war that they had nothing whatever to do with bringing on, but are merely the unfortunate victims of it.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman stated that when that resolution comes over here he hopes it will be passed unanimously. It cannot come over here, unfortunately, because it is a simple Senate resolution; it is not a joint resolution or a concurrent resolution.

Mr. FISH. Then, if it is necessary I hope the gentleman's committee will act.

Mr. BLOOM. I will be very glad to; and our committee has acted very promptly on all such matters.

Mr. FISH. You have all seen these advertisements in the newspapers of Washington, New York, and other cities: "Don't let Hitler destroy a generation of children."

That is the issue. I am sorry we did not have a vote on it in the House. I regret I was called away; nevertheless, I felt that I ought to make some remarks about it and with the hope that this body or the Senate or the entire Congress combined would pass a resolution making it possible to send food and medical supplies to these starving children as long as this war lasts. I am sorry the gentleman from Montana, who is a member of our committee, did not offer the resolution himself.



Mr. SHORT. Because of the character of the resolution, the gentleman realizes that we cannot vote on that proposition, because of the very character of the resolution under consideration, the framework and machinery.

Mr. FISH. I realize that, and the gentleman is quite right; it was all but impossible to write amendments that would be germane to the pending U. N. R. R. A. bill. I had a pretty cunning amendment providing for relief to the children in the occupied nations but the time has passed for offering it.

Mr. SHORT. That is the fault of the resolution.

Mr. FISH. I understood the obstacles and difficulties, but I think we might have gotten around them and regret that the Members of the House could not vote on it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, I seek recognition on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, I can understand how Members of Congress recoil from the setting up of another alphabetical agency, and I am not moved in my support of this resolution by the idea that we are the richest nation in the world. Perhaps we are, but we are on the road to what will verge ultimately on, if not bankruptcy, at least exceedingly hard times.

This resolution authorizes the appropriation of the total sum of \$1,350,000,000. That is more than half the money that is now proposed to be raised by the tax bill which has just been finished in the Senate. I am a realist. I am for this resolution for the reason that it sets up machinery and provides for cooperation between this Nation and the 43 other nations which are parties to this agreement to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and give succor to those who are dying in the occupied countries of Europe. It in a sense is a war measure. Thousands of our boys and girls are in these occupied countries. They are of the flower of our youth. They are our bravest, our strongest, and our best. I know and we all know that pestilence follows in the wake of famine. I read in today's paper the startling and distressing statement that in the great country of Greece 900,000 of those heroic people have already died from starvation. I never look at a well-clothed, well-nourished baby in this land of ours that I do not visualize a starving infant at the withered breast of a starving mother in one of these occupied countries. And then again it is not only a war measure, it is a measure of enlightened selfishness. This world is a small world; distance has been telescoped, and I hope to see the day come as a result of this war when there shall have been established throughout the world a just and lasting peace and when these nations that are now broken with the plowshare of grief and the devastation of war shall again tread the paths of peace and productive industry. They will be our friends. I say, therefore, it

is a measure of enlightened selfishness. It is not only a war measure, it is a measure that translates into practical activity the principles of the Christian religion. It is a measure that translates into action the Golden Rule. For these reasons, and for others I could enumerate, I shall support it. In this country there are thousands of Greeks who are loyal American citizens, whose boys and relatives are fighting all over the world in our behalf. In this Nation there are thousands of Italians whose relatives and whose boys are fighting in our behalf. In this Nation there are thousands of Poles, than whom there is no more heroic people in all the annals of time, fighting on behalf of our cause. I do not want to turn my back on them. Then, in addition to all I have said, the finest expression of the humane and Christian principles undertaken to be set in motion by this measure was uttered by Him who spake as never man spake, when He said:

34. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

35. For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in.

36. Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

37. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink?

38. When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee?

39. Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?

40. And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Tennessee has expired.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last five words.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that I personally know something of the suffering of the people who are in foreign countries overrun by war. I have seen the suffering of the people of China and the Far East, and also in other countries. The people of the United States have in the past contributed much toward the alleviation of such suffering. The food from Nebraska farms has gone to nearly every country in the world in the past to help feed the hungry. I have read carefully all of the hearings on this resolution. It has as its purpose our participation with 40 or more other governments in a program to help feed and provide medicine to hungry and sick people in countries from which the enemy has been driven. The Allied armies are doing this work now as a war measure, and as I understand it, they will continue doing this until the time when war conditions make it possible for this civilian organization to step in. During and after the last war, the United States did most of the contributing. I am told that after the last war the people of the United States spent close to \$3,000,000,000 on world relief. In this program 40 or more other governments will participate in the expense. I feel that the committee should have gone further into world re-

lief in which the people of the United States have already participated. I find nothing in the hearings regarding the large amounts of money already collected from the people of the United States by the 124 various organizations which have been collecting money for world relief. Every Member of the House should have in his or her possession now a copy of the President's War Relief Control Board report, dated January 1, 1944, which gives the names of these 124 registered organizations which, since 1939, collected close to \$120,000,000 for relief in foreign countries.

The report gives detailed figures of amounts collected, amounts distributed, and the cost of administration and funds spent for publicity, affairs, and campaigns.

This report shows conclusively that the American people have been very generous in their contributions for the relief of suffering people all over the world. The committee should have included some of this information in its report, so that the world may know and the people of our country would know just how much has already been subscribed here for world relief. The report shows a great sympathy on the part of the American people for the sufferings of others. American people have been liberal in their giving, as shown by this report. My purposes in bringing up this matter now is to learn what will happen to these organizations which are now collecting money here and how their work will be affected by U. N. R. R. A. Will they continue their work? Will they supplement U. N. R. R. A.? Will the new organization absorb these 124 organizations or will they work through U. N. R. R. A.?

Here are a few figures on what people of the United States have already voluntarily contributed. Of course, this is not the entire total, but the figures show how the United States contributions have increased:

1939	\$2,488,587
1940	18,002,110
1941	28,901,522
1942	31,133,524
1943	38,794,412

Mr. JARMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEFAN. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. In reply to the gentleman I may say that the Committee on Foreign Affairs did take those questions seriously into consideration and it is provided and expected that U. N. R. R. A. will receive not only appropriations from the 44 United Nations, but appropriations from private sources and also from organizations such as the gentleman mentioned. The gentleman will understand that those are private organizations and, of course, this legislation does not eliminate them, but they will function in cooperation with and under the supervision of U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. STEFAN. I am not opposed to those organizations. I merely wonder what will become of them.

Mr. JARMAN. The committee agrees with the gentleman.



The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last six words.

Mr. Chairman, I take the floor at this time merely to say that I will support this bill. I believe it to be the only sound, workable method which we have been able to devise under all of the circumstances, although I would have preferred greater consideration and a greater use of the private agencies of the country, particularly of the American Friends Service Committee and the American Red Cross. However, I will support the bill, and I will also support the amendment to include India offered by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last seven words.

Mr. Chairman, when the bill comes up in the House a separate vote will be demanded on the Vorys amendments. I hope when that vote is taken the House will consider the seriousness of just what those amendments do unless they are defeated.

This is an agreement between 44 nations. The President of the United States, whoever he might be, is the one that the other nations of the world look to in their direct dealings with our Government. I am not talking about a particular President; I am talking about whoever might occupy the office of the presidency of the United States. The Committee of the Whole has stricken out the word "President" wherever it appears in the bill and has substituted therefor the words "Department of State."

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield for a correction?

Mr. McCORMACK. I will be glad to. Mr. VORYS of Ohio. On page 14 the words "under the direction of the President" were left in the bill, so that the President is left with complete charge of U. N. R. R. A. except that it is carried on through the Department of State appropriations. Line 25, therefore, as now amended will read:

Shall be expended by the Department of State under the direction of the President pursuant to section 1 hereof.

The President's authority and his great responsibility is still admitted in the bill.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, in answer to the gentleman, let me call attention to what we have done. On page 1 of the bill as reported there are the words "There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President such sum." The word "President" has been stricken out and the words "State Department" inserted in lieu thereof, so that it will read:

There is authorized to be appropriated to the State Department.

Over on page 14:

The amounts appropriated under this resolution shall be expended by the State Department under the direction of the President.

The President is the one that other nations deal with, the President is the one supposed to make the report, the President is the one who makes the recom-

mendations to Congress as to any future appropriations that might be necessary in relation to the conduct or the operation of U. N. R. R. A.; the President is also the head of the executive branch of the Government, and while I know it is not intended as such, there might be a misconception placed on the adoption of this amendment, and that is it is intended as a slap against the President of the United States. I do not think this House wants to do that or intends to do that.

I am speaking to the House and to the Committee of the Whole not in relation to any particular President. I would be on this floor if anyone else were President. If the man occupying the White House had been the nominee of the Republican Party, after all he would be elected and he is my President.

This bill relates to our foreign affairs. It is definitely linked up with the conduct of our foreign affairs and it will play an important part in the future foreign policy of our country. It is inescapable. I know my distinguished friend from Ohio—and I have profound respect for him—had no such intention, but people also construe from results and the construction not only here but abroad might be one, and properly one, that we would regret later on. As I said, I would be appealing to the House to change its action no matter who might be President. I do not want to be put in the position of opposing, but I ask the House to change upon reconsideration its action when we get into the House, and I say that no matter who might occupy the Presidency of the United States.

This bill is definitely linked around the Chief Executive of our country. He is the one who signed the agreement. It affects 43 other nations. There is not much more argument I can make except to appeal to your reason that when we go back into the House, and let us pause for a moment between now and then. I appreciate the significance of the act that we did. Do not let that middle aisle separate us on this important matter. I am sure that between now and the time the vote is taken, upon reconsideration, that the calm, considerate judgment of the Members of the House will be to strike out the amendment that was adopted in the Committee of the Whole, leaving it as it was before, in the hands of the President of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be read again.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

There was no objection.

The Clerk reread the Mundt amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts: On page 15, after line 18, insert a new section to be known as section 5:

"No part of the relief herein authorized shall be used for the control of the educational policies or control of religious teachings."

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. My amendment provides that none of the money appropriated can be used to control educational policies or to control religious teaching in occupied countries. Mr. Chairman, it does not seem to me there should be any objection to having this section added to the bill. I love my religion, I know what it would mean to me if I felt it was being interfered with, and I respect the religion of every other person. People should be allowed to pursue their religion as they wish. Our Constitution guarantees freedom of religion for America. Are we going to appropriate funds to be used to take this right away from others?

Under the U. N. R. R. A. agreement, it would be possible for persons administering U. N. R. R. A. to try to control the educational policies and religious activities in the occupied countries. Certainly we should not approve any such control.

The following, Mr. Chairman, is part of a letter from the Assistant Secretary of State and the United States member of the U. N. R. R. A. Council:

JANUARY 22, 1944.

MY DEAR MRS. ROGERS: In connection with the consideration of House Joint Resolution 192, you have asked me to write to you as to the participation by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in religious teaching and training.

In this connection you may recall our discussions at the hearings on the resolution concerning the extent to which U. N. R. R. A. would engage in educational work. In answer to your question on this point, I stated that the only mention of the subject of education in connection with U. N. R. R. A. is in paragraph 4 of section 2 of resolution 1, adopted by the Council at Atlantic City, where it is provided that among U. N. R. R. A.'s functions will be that of assistance in the procurement of material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions. This provision was inserted in the resolution at the suggestion of the member of the Council for China, and it was at no time intended that U. N. R. R. A.'s functions in this field would go beyond the assistance in the procurement of material equipment for the rehabilitation of institutions nor that it would be part of the functions of U. N. R. R. A. to engage in educational work per se.

The question of U. N. R. R. A.'s participation in religious work has never, so far as I know, been discussed in connection with this organization, and I can assure you that it will be no part of U. N. R. R. A.'s functions to engage in any activities of any kind in the way of religious training or teaching.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON,  
Assistant Secretary.

This letter is not enough. Mr. Acheson is only one member of the Council. U. N. R. R. A. will have great power in occupied and liberated areas. My amendment safeguards the people in those areas. It should pass. We want no part of financing a particular kind



of teaching for political purposes and a particular form of religion.

We must remember that the people in these occupied areas have been forced to go to schools they do not like. They have not been allowed to pursue their religious activities. They have been living in fear. Although the areas have been liberated, when this U. N. R. R. A. group comes in these persecuted persons will still live in fear. Our own member of the Council has assured me that it is not anticipated to control education or religion, but the Council has not said that. It is not in the agreement and it is not in this resolution. I want to make sure that this prohibition against any such control is in this authorization. Our men and women today are working and fighting for freedom of education, freedom of religion and freedom from dictatorship. I can see every reason why this amendment should be adopted.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this amendment. This is a sound proposal and should receive the support of every Member of the House. Now, when so much is being done by so many governments throughout the world to educate the people in the thousand and one ideologies that are floating about, a safeguard such as is proposed here is in order. If this amendment is adopted, I hope the word "education" will be made to include all propaganda such as our own Government is now putting out to reeducate the farmers and all other groups. I have followed the work of the National Resources Planning Board and read its voluminous reports. One of its main objectives is to get control of the educational system of this country.

Mr. OUTLAND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. OUTLAND. The gentleman referred a moment ago to the National Resources Planning Board. Is the gentleman aware that that particular board was killed by the action of this House several months ago?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Yes, the gentleman from Ohio knows all about that, but the spirit still lives. The machinery for the promotion of the objectives of the Planning Board is also still in existence.

Mr. OUTLAND. The gentleman mentioned that the National Resources Planning Board was trying to control education. Can the gentleman tell us where in that report that statement was made?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Yes. I cannot give the gentleman the exact page, but if he wishes me to put it in the RECORD I shall certainly do so.

Mr. OUTLAND. I shall be happy to have it there.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. If the gentleman had read those reports, he would not have asked that question.

Mr. OUTLAND. I have read them as much as has the gentleman. For proof of my statement that the Administration is attempting to get control of the educational system through such agencies as the National Resources Planning Board, I respectfully refer him to a speech I made on the floor February 8,

1943, particularly page 757 of that day's RECORD.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, some Members seem to think that this money will not be used to change religion and education. I want you to look at this evidence used in our own country, which was handed to me by a well-known writer on foreign affairs. It goes to show how our own American people are being hoodwinked by the vast propaganda machine operated through remote control by Stalin.

The Chetniks, you will recall, are the official army of the Yugoslav Government, which our American Government promised to return to power after the war as a reward for joining the Allies. The Partisans, you recall, are Stalin's military organization. Here is a photostatic copy of a photograph appearing in an article in the highly reputable New York Times. It shows the picture of a Yugoslav soldier in his uniform. It was published in 1941. It calls him a Chetnik soldier and tells how he is dying for his country.

Here, on December 22, 1943, 2 years later, they use the same photograph and call him a founder of the Partisan movement, which he could not have been if he was a Chetnik in 1941. They have not even changed his Chetnik cockade. If he were a Partisan in this picture he would be wearing a hammer and sickle.

That is propaganda. The propaganda takes one hero and, when the party line changes, the propaganda changes the headlines under the hero. That is the way they treat the heroes of yesterday.

I know many of the Members of this Congress, plenty of them, are well aware that this is a deadly bill. I know that you fear to vote against it because of the label of charity it bears. It is not charity. It may feed some people, but it provides for the starving people of Europe, the starving children of Europe, another war for them to fight.

When the American people know the truth, they have a mighty common sense, which is wiser than any officers they ever elect. Today they know they are not being told the truth, they know they do not have the whole truth, and they want you, their elected officers, regardless of risks, to find out the truth for them and vote your own convictions.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, I hope very much the committee will not adopt this amendment. It was brought up in the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and, according to my recollection, the question was thoroughly thrashed out there, and I believe there was but one vote for the proposal.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. The gentleman is incorrect. There were numerous votes for the proposal, and there was not very long to discuss it. I wish the Committee would accept it. I can see no harm in the amendment. Many of you want U. N. R. R. A. passed. This

strengthens the measure. I do not see why you are afraid to put it in. We have no right to control their religion or education. It is protection to these poor persons and to our own country. We want our religion. They have a right to theirs.

Mr. RICHARDS. These are my reasons: The agreement itself specifically states what U. N. R. R. A. is going to do. These funds are to be used for the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities.

If you are going into the negative angle of this thing and say that we shall not help educate people, then you must go into the question of what education really is. If you say there shall be no religious activities in U. N. R. R. A., you suggest without foundation that religious activities are intended. It would be just as well to go ahead and say you cannot use any of these funds to pay Hirohito's salary, or you cannot use any of these funds to promote the Communist ideology, or you cannot use any of these funds to do this, that, or the other. So you are opening up a dangerous field there. I think it would be extremely wise for the House of Representatives to hew to the words mentioned in the agreement itself, "through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts) there were—ayes 69, noes 109.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts demands tellers. As many as are in favor of taking the vote by tellers will rise and stand until counted. [After counting.] Five Members have risen, not a sufficient number, and tellers are refused.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MUNDT:

Add a new section at the end of the joint resolution, to be known as section 5, to read as follows:

"The authorization contained in this joint resolution shall expire at the conclusion of 2 years following the termination of hostilities on all fronts, unless specifically extended by an act of Congress."

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, throughout the discussion in the committee and throughout the debate in the House we have been considering this legislation as emergency legislation. All of the Government witnesses have insisted that this is intended only as emergency legislation. It is not the intent that it shall be all-time, permanent, continuing legislation, therefore, but, as the resolution now stands, there is no termination date, as there is in most emergency legislation which we have passed during this war emergency.

For that reason, my amendment will simply spell this out as emergency legis-



lation, the same as has been done in other emergency acts. The expiration date is a reasonable one, as the State Department suggests in the hearings, and is appropriate. Mr. Acheson suggested 2 years, and my amendment provides that 2 years after the conclusion of hostilities the authorization contained in House Joint Resolution 192 shall automatically expire.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. PHILLIPS. All of the people to whom I have spoken who represent these countries feel that one growing season is all that is needed to help these people help themselves. Does the gentleman not think that 2 years is too long?

Mr. MUNDT. The information before the committee was that one growing season was sufficient, insofar as crops are concerned, but that another year is probably needed to provide for the harvesting, distribution, and allocation of those crops, and the utilization of them. That is the reason for suggesting 2 years instead of 1, but they did anticipate the use of one growing season.

Mr. PHILLIPS. And the gentleman is making it 2 years from the end of war?

Mr. MUNDT. Two years from the end of hostilities.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. BLOOM. There does not seem to be any objection to this amendment on the part of the Committee. The amendment is satisfactory to the Committee.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the gentleman. This will simply identify House Joint Resolution 192 as a piece of emergency legislation and take it out of the category of continuing legislation.

As I stated in my discussion on January 21, this amendment to establish a 2-year time limit, following hostilities, retains in the hands of Congress where it belongs the decision as to whether anything permanent should be developed out of U. N. R. R. A. Unless Congress renews the authorization by specific act of Congress, the program will end with the expiration date which this amendment writes into the bill. As the bill now reads, it contains no expiration date but its passage would stretch the authorization to perpetuity and create an authority with all the permanence and finality of the Constitution of the United States or the Declaration of Independence. Such is not the intention of the committee nor the desire, I am sure, of the Congress and the country. By writing in the self-contained date of expiration contained in my amendment, Congress will be meeting its obligation by labeling as emergency legislation something which has come to us as emergency legislation and which is needed to meet emergency conditions. I am glad that the chairman of the committee [Mr. Bloom] has expressed his approval of the amendment and I trust it will have the emphatic approval of the Congress.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I desire recognition at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio, a member of the committee.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I rise to state to the Committee of the Whole, my deep disappointment that the majority floor leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack], has sought to inject a partisan note into this debate, where none was intended, has sought to make the matter a test of party strength, where none was intended, has sought to make an amendment which provides that "amounts appropriated under this resolution shall be expended by the Department of State, under the direction of the President," in some way a slight to the President. Throughout this debate, I have attempted to show that I was interested in getting ahead with this colossal task of making U. N. R. R. A. work, making it successful, and I have repeatedly risen to oppose amendments offered by those of my party when I felt they would not be helpful to the beneficent purpose we have in mind. And now at this stage of the legislation, to have a party challenge thrown into it, is to me very disappointing. When we leave this as we do in the resolution, as written, under the amendment which the Committee of the Whole has adopted, we are leaving it specifically under the direction of the President, and we are saying this—that Congress is tired of voting blank checks, that Congress is assuming its duties in this undertaking, which may last into the years—2 years after hostilities have subsided all over the world—into peacetime, that Congress is simply assuming its regular function of saying what department under the Executive should have charge of the appropriation. When the Congress takes that action, to call that a slap at the Chief Executive, to say that that would embarrass the functioning of U. N. R. R. A., to say that when we put it in the Department under the President, where the American member of the Council is located, and in the department that right now administers 26 appropriations for international bodies—to say that that in some way would inject a partisan note into it, is something that at least I oppose, and deny. I deny that that was the intention, and I aver that the very words of the resolution before us deny any such intention. Our endeavor all the time has been to keep this above partisanship, and keep it on a high level.

Mr. McCormack. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Yes.

Mr. McCormack. Will the gentleman please call attention to any remarks that I made along partisan lines? I particularly paid my respects to the gentleman from Ohio. If I made any appeal along partisan lines, I have no knowledge of it, and I did not intend it, and I am sure if the gentleman will read my remarks in the Record tomorrow he will see that I refrained from making any utterance which might be remotely considered as partisan.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Oh, I just heard the remarks made by the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, and the gentleman's appeal was that we should strike down this amendment because it was intended as a slight to the President.

Mr. McCormack. The gentleman misquotes me. If I am not mistaken I said that might be construed as such. There is a big difference between the word "intend" and that it might be construed as such.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Any argument before this body that implies that a provision that appropriations should be expended under the direction of the President could be considered as a slight to him, in view of what I said in my remarks yesterday, when I urged that of course we would not and could not take from the President his high duty and responsibility under this resolution—any attempt to say that such an implication could be construed into this amendment, or my remarks or vote in Committee of the Whole, in my judgment I respectfully submit is a partisan appeal.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I shall support this resolution, even though it calls for an authorization of more funds than I can understand could possibly be demanded. I want to say to the House, however, that as applications are made for funds that they will be given the most sincere and thorough consideration in the Committee on Appropriations, and I do not believe that any funds will be reported out by that committee which will not bear the test of keenest analysis. Nor do I believe that funds will be provided by that committee which are designed for any purpose other than real relief.

With reference to the amendment that was offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys] and adopted by the House, providing that the funds should be made available to the Secretary of State, the intolerable confusion that has resulted from the creation of so many agencies handling matters that have to do with foreign affairs was the thing that inspired me to support that amendment. I felt that if we did not make this provision, there would be created another agency. The State Department has, from time immemorial, been the representative of this Government in the handling of foreign affairs. Everyone throughout the world will know that and does know it, and it is the natural thing to do, rather than the unnatural thing to do.

I hope that the Congress will keep that amendment, which represents the natural thing to do, in the bill.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I think that my colleague from Ohio [Mr. Vorys], was unduly alarmed and unjustified in the attack which he made upon the majority leader of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack]. I heard the speech of the distinguished majority leader, and I do not think that it is susceptible of the construction placed upon it by the gentleman from Ohio. There was no attempt, either expressed or implied, to inject into it any partisan politics, and he was only defending the position which I think is the right one, that so far as this bill is con-



cerned, there should be, and is, no politics in it. And there has not been any partisan politics all the way through, and there should be none. To adopt this amendment embraced in the Vorys amendment takes away from the Chief Executive of the Nation the power that is vested in the Chief Executive under the Constitution and which, under this bill, should be so vested.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield.

Mr. McCORMACK. When I refreshed the recollection of my friend from Ohio, I recall that I said I would be taking the position I did without regard to who occupied the position of President of the United States.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. That is right. The gentleman said there was no politics in it. He was speaking of the President as the head of the Nation. Let me say this: There seems to be some misapprehension that if this amendment is not adopted there will be a new agency set up. The converse of that proposition is true. If this is turned over to the Department of State, there will have to be a new agency then set up within the Department of State. They will have to go about the administration of a business matter which the State Department is unprepared to deal with and never has dealt with. The Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, has begged our committee and has also, since the adoption of this amendment yesterday, expressed his great hope that the House would not adopt that resolution, because this Department is so busily engaged now in dealing with important matters of policy that he does not want to go into any matter with reference to the administration of a business matter, and this will be such a business matter.

With reference to whether or not there shall be a new agency, let me call your attention to the fact that if you do not want to create any new jobs, do not set up a new agency; vote down this amendment for this reason. We have now in the Federal Economics Administration the lend-lease. Lend-lease has the machinery, and they have the personnel that can do this very work. If you leave it with the President, naturally he will place it there where the machinery already is, whereas if you leave it to the Secretary of State there is apt to be another agency set up.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield.

Mr. KEEFE. When the gentleman speaks of the F. E. A., I believe it is, that is the agency headed by Mr. Leo Crowley; is that right?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. It is.

Mr. KEEFE. Am I correct in the assumption it is the understanding of the committee that, in the event the Vorys amendment is not adopted, the administration and allocation of those funds will be under the direction of Mr. Crowley as the appointed agent of the President?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I did not say that, but I suppose the President will use that agency and he will use other

agencies. He will not use only one agency.

Mr. KEEFE. As a matter of fact, is not the situation, as it is set up now, so that Mr. Crowley is to handle this situation?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I think he would be a very good man to handle it. His organization and machinery is already there. I think the President would use him and his agency, because that would be logical, since F. E. A. already has the machinery and the personnel to handle it.

Mr. KEEFE. I think it is a good place for it to go if Mr. Crowley is going to handle it himself.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I will say to the gentleman that he has the organization there already. I thank the gentleman for his contribution and his commendation of Leo Crowley, which I think is deserved.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield.

Mr. McCORMACK. May I call the attention of the Committee to the basic question involving the powers of the President of the United States? Assuming that those members who fear another agency do not want to have one, that is no reason for striking out "the President," when we know it naturally and properly belongs there. The proper amendment would have been to provide "to existing agency or agencies." Then you would have left it with the President, but it would have to be done through an existing agency or agencies instead of striking out "the President" and substituting a specific agency. This is a serious question. It does not involve any particular President, but the President of the United States. I ask the House on this fundamental question to realize what we are doing before the act is consummated.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield.

Mr. TABER. Is it not a fact that the American member of the council of U. N. R. R. A. is Mr. Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, who is already in the State Department, and that he would be the natural person to administer it?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Acheson is the member representing us on U. N. R. R. A. and he is a very able man. He does not want it in the State Department. He so testified before our committee, and he came here yesterday and asked me to have the House to take out the Vorys amendment because he thought that the Department of State would not be the proper place to administer it.

Mr. MORRISON of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I yield.

Mr. MORRISON of North Carolina. Mr. Acheson was in charge of it and he was placed in charge by the President of the United States, was he not, instead of this Congress?

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on amendments to the bill be concluded in 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, this bill provides for the authorization of the expenditure of \$1,350,000,000 as our share of contribution to the U. N. R. R. A. to be used for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction for people of countries when relieved from Axis domination. Forty-four countries, including England and Russia, are included in this group. The United States has agreed to furnish 50 percent of the funds.

Personally, I think India or at least that part where our armies are now located should be included under this bill. As a matter of fact, India is furnishing \$35,000,000 of the funds. She is entitled to benefits under this proposal to take care of her own starving people, especially in the vicinity of Burma.

Mr. Chairman, I have always felt the United States could accomplish much in reaching a more friendly understanding with the occupied countries of Europe and could do a real humanitarian act by contributing food, clothing, and medical assistance, especially to starving women and children in these countries. I am in favor of contributing as much money as we can afford for this purpose.

Mr. Chairman, when it comes to a question of rehabilitation and reconstruction, we should think carefully with respect to using our funds for that purpose. Of course, we could use money to clear away debris and give people a chance to obtain shelter, but to go on an extended program in an attempt to rehabilitate and rebuild for millions of people in foreign countries is too much for us to undertake.

Mr. Chairman, no nation in the world has been as generous to distressed humanity and to victims of misfortune as America. I am sure the American people want to do their share in helping the unfortunate and distressed in the Axis-oppressed countries of the world.

Mr. Chairman, the post-war world will be a distressed and a poor world to rehabilitate and to rebuild. It will be a gigantic problem. Let me say again, I think the American people would like to do their part.

Mr. Chairman, while we perform these great humanitarian acts, we must also realize there are responsibilities here in America that must be met. We must recognize, after all, the tragedy that America cannot produce enough of the vital necessities of life for the whole world. Mr. Chairman, while we are considering this legislation today, it is well for us to take stock of our own position and move cautiously with respect to the question of rehabilitation, restoration, and rebuilding in other countries of the world.



Mr. Chairman, I am informed there are further and additional plans under consideration. For example, I am advised our Government is giving consideration to sponsoring a great extensive agricultural program in Europe and Asia. I do not know the details of such plan or program, but if followed through it involves the expenditure of tremendous sums for which we would be responsible. Then, we have looming in the not too far distant future, a plan for a great international bank with a capitalization of more than \$20,000,000,000. One of these days we will have to determine how much stock we are going to be asked to take in that institution, and how much credit we will be expected to extend.

Mr. Chairman, as soon as this great struggle is over—and we hope and pray that it may not be too long—we will have tremendous rehabilitation and other problems of our own. We must take care of the millions of men and women in our armed forces. We must provide hospitalization and support for those who are incapacitated and jobs for those who can work. We must see that those who have been employed in our war industries are given a chance for employment. There are many other problems that will need to be worked out.

Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of reasonable expenditures to feed the starving and to clothe and provide medical help for the destitute people of Europe, but I do not think we ought to go on an extended program of rebuilding and rehabilitating the factories and plants in Europe when we are going to have all we can possibly do to get our own country on nearly an even keel.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FISH: On page 15, after the Mundt amendment, add a new section to be known as section 6: "No funds authorized or provided for in this bill shall be used for rehabilitation or reconstruction."

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, I believe that most Members of the House are in favor of that part of the bill that provides relief such as foodstuffs, medical supplies, fuel and the necessities of life. On the other hand, I believe that if you had a secret roll call, most Members of the House would be opposed to establishing a gigantic world-wide W. P. A. with our money for reconstruction or rehabilitation, and they are almost synonymous. There is a distinction without a difference. There is the difference between tweedledee and tweedledum. The bill speaks of rehabilitation, but "rehabilitation" as worded in this bill can well be construed to be "reconstruction." It can well mean the building, repairing, and reconstructing of factories in Europe and of textile mills, as one member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs testified before the Committee on Rules.

As it stands today unamended this bill, if passed in its present form, can well be and will be a gigantic glorified W. P. A. on a world-wide basis with our money. That is the one thing the American people do not want. I do not care whether they are Democrats or whether they are Republicans or whether they

come from the North or South, East or West. They want to feed the starving and to clothe them and give them fuel and medicinal supplies, but do not want to enter into a great, vast housing plan in Europe with the money of the American people. I hold in my hand an article from the New York Times of November 26, 1943, dated at Atlantic City when this whole matter was being considered. The article is headed, "Vast housing job studied by U. N. R. R. A." Under this bill as written, of course, the U. N. R. R. A. propose to go into a vast housing job to shelter millions and millions of people in Europe, when in Washington you read in today's paper that there is a serious and deplorable slum situation existing in our own back yard for which Congress is responsible. The wretched slum conditions exist in many American cities, yet we propose in this U. N. R. R. A. bill to rehabilitate Europe with hundreds of millions of dollars that will come out of the pockets of the burdened and already groggy American taxpayers.

The President of the United States stated that one-third of our people are ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clothed; yet we have written into this bill the power through rehabilitation to use our money on a great W. P. A. program all over the world. The U. N. R. R. A. will not, as the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] suggested, come to the Committee on Appropriations only for relief funds, nor can he, as he said, deal out only appropriations for relief but under the law must also provide appropriations for rehabilitation. Most of us are for relief, food, bread, milk, fats, and so forth; what I am trying to do is to have a vote on cutting out all semblance of rehabilitation and reconstruction, not to spend 1 dollar to build even a chicken coop in foreign nations with our money. That is the simple purpose of this amendment. If the resolution goes through unamended then the reaction against this bill as our citizens begin to find out that it is a glorified W. P. A. will spread over the country and the Members of Congress will be on the defensive when the people back home find out how their money is being spent. It will be said that we voted these huge sums for factories and housing and other buildings and lowered the standard of living of our own wage earners in America. So I offer this amendment as a matter of principle. I will not take further time because I know full well it will not be adopted, but I wanted to give the membership an opportunity to vote out all semblance of rehabilitation and reconstruction. I wish the amendment might be approved. If it is not approved this bill will be considered throughout the country as a world-wide glorified W. P. A. and once again the American people will become an international Santa Claus for foreign nations at a time when our national debt is mounting to \$250,000,000,000 and our Nation is approaching national bankruptcy.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from New York.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON: On page 15, add a new section as follows:

"No program of relief or rehabilitation or policy contemplated or proposed by U. N. R. R. A. shall be placed into operation, without it having first been submitted for approval to the Chief of Staff of the Army of the United Nations in charge of the area in which U. N. R. R. A. proposes to operate."

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, my purpose in submitting this amendment is that I feel there should be a closer cooperation between U. N. R. R. A. and the armed forces of our Allied armies. It will be recalled that at the close of the last war approximately \$4,000,000,000 worth of supplies, such as materials of all kinds and foods was sold to the government of France. Although France was unable to pay for these materials the point I am bringing out is that these supplies were left over and available in Europe at the close of hostilities. The same thing will follow the cessation of hostilities in this war.

We will have on hand, when the war is over, billions of dollars worth of goods of all kinds, both at home and abroad, which could be used in carrying out a program such as is outlined by U. N. R. R. A. As an illustration of surplus goods, may I cite you the instance of the sale in Detroit of several hundred thousand dollars worth of surplus machinery for a price so ridiculously low that criticism was voiced throughout the Nation.

This legislation permits the payment of our share either in cash or in kind and I am in favor of the use of this surplus material by the Army in making our payment.

I also wish to call the attention of the House to the fact that this legislation creates a golden opportunity for the setting up of a world-wide W. P. A. I predict that U. N. R. R. A., unless it is forced to submit to the Army all its policies and programs and obtain approval prior to there being placed in operation, that it will become a Mecca for all the broken-down social workers in the world. This element has ever believed that money comes as manna from heaven and that the supply is unlimited.

I believe that by making this organization accountable to the Army that we can prevent this. I believe that we have enough hard-headed, practical soldiers in the Army to prevent the setting up of relief Utopias by this misguided group. The actions of many Members of this Congress are motivated by the spirit of Christianity to assist the peoples of Europe. It is our desire, however, to assist them only to help themselves. I predict that unless this safeguard is taken and control remain with our armed forces, that the letters U. N. R. R. A. will mean "Universally Nefarious Relief Racket Administration." I believe that if this amendment is adopted, we can save the American taxpayer hundreds of millions of dollars through the use of surplus war materials and by taking advantage of the proven knowledge and administrative ability of our military leaders. If this amendment is adopted, I shall support this legislation, as I am confident, with



its adoption it will be impossible to create through U. N. R. R. A. a world-wide W. P. A. project.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON) there were—ayes 47, noes 110.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SMITH of Ohio: On page 15, after line 18 add a new section to be designated section 6 to read as follows: "This act shall expire on January 1, 1946."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I shall not take 5 minutes in which to discuss this amendment; it speaks for itself.

The adoption of this amendment would put the Executive on definite notice that we intend this to be strictly a temporary or emergency measure.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, in order that you may have before you the plan to be followed by the Rehabilitation Administration in disbursing the money that people of this country are called upon to contribute by the appropriation to be authorized by this bill, there is presented for your consideration the resolution that has been adopted by the U. N. R. R. A., taken from page 299 of the hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

#### APPENDIX I

The work of the U. N. R. R. A. Council was done in the first instance by four main committees and their subcommittees.

The Resolutions on Policy are contained in the following Appendix.

#### RESOLUTIONS ON POLICY OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE COUNCIL

##### PART I—GENERAL POLICIES

##### Resolution 2

A resolution relating to nondiscrimination (Reception No. 299)

##### Resolved—

1. That, in any area where relief and rehabilitation operations are being conducted through the employment, in whole or in part, of the Administration's resources, relief and rehabilitation in all its aspects shall be distributed or dispensed fairly on the basis of the relative needs of the population in the area, and without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief.

2. That, in determining the relative needs of the population, there may be taken into account the diverse needs caused by discriminatory treatment by the enemy during its occupation of the area.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SMITH of Ohio) there were—ayes 23, noes 108.

So the amendment was rejected.

Under the rule the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. O'NEAL, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee,

having had under consideration House Joint Resolution 192, to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization, reported the same back to the House with sundry amendments adopted in the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I demand a separate vote on the Vorys amendments, and ask that they be considered en bloc.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any other amendment? If not, the Chair will put them in gross.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendments on which a separate vote is demanded.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. VORYS of Ohio: On page 1, line 4, strike out the word "President" and insert the words "Department of State."

On page 14, line 25, insert after the word "expended" the words "by the Department of State."

On page 15, line 1, strike out the word "President" and insert the words "Department of State."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments.

The question was taken; and the Chair being in doubt, Mr. BLOOM asked for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk called the roll; and there were—yeas 175, nays 217, not voting 35, as follows:

[Roll No. 10]

YEAS—175

Allen, Ill.	Day	Hoeven
Andersen,	Dondero	Hoffman
H. Carl.	Douglas	Holmes, Wash.
Anderson, Calif.	Dworshak	Hope
Andrews	Eaton	Horan
Arends	Ellis	Howell
Arnold	Ellsworth	Jeffrey
Auchincloss	Elston, Ohio	Jenkins
Baldwin, N. Y.	Engel, Mich.	Jennings
Barrett	Fellows	Jensen
Bates, Mass.	Fenton	Johnson,
Beall	Fish	Anton J.
Bender	Fuller	Johnson,
Bennett, Mich.	Gale	Calvin D.
Bennett, Mo.	Gallagher	Johnson, Ind.
Bishop	Gavin	Johnson,
Blackney	Gerlach	J. Leroy
Boiton	Gifford	Johnson, Ward
Bradley, Mich.	Gilchrist	Judd
Brehm	Gillette	Kean
Brown, Ohio	Gillie	Kearney
Brumbaugh	Goodwin	Kilburn
Busbey	Graham	Kinzer
Butler	Grant, Ind.	Knutson
Canfield	Griffiths	Kunkel
Carlson, Kans.	Gross	LaFollette
Carrier	Gwynne	Lambertson
Carson, Ohio	Hagen	Landis
Carter	Hale	LeCompte
Case	Hall,	LeFevre
Chenoweth	Edwin Arthur	Lewis
Chiperfield	Hall,	McCowan
Church	Leonard W.	McGehee
Clason	Hancock	McGregor
Clevenger	Hartley	McLean
Cole, Mo.	Heldinger	McWilliams
Cole, N. Y.	Herter	Maas
Compton	Hess	Martin, Iowa
Crawford	Hill	Martin, Mass.
Cunningham	Hinshaw	Mason

Morrow  
Michener  
Miller, Conn.  
Miller, Mo.  
Miller, Pa.  
Monkiewicz  
Mott  
Mruk  
Mundt  
Norman  
Phillips  
Pittenger  
Plumley  
Poulson  
Powers  
Pracht  
Ramey  
Rankin  
Reece, Tenn.  
Reed, Ill.  
Reed, N. Y.

Rees, Kans.  
Robison, Ky.  
Rockwell  
Rodgers, Pa.  
Rohrbough  
Rowe  
Schiffer  
Schwabe  
Scott  
Shafer  
Short  
Simpson, Ill.  
Simpson, Pa.  
Smith, Maine  
Smith, Ohio  
Springer  
Stanley  
Stockman  
Sumner, Ill.  
Sundstrom  
Taber

Talbot  
Talle  
Taylor  
Thomas, N. J.  
Tibbott  
Towe  
Troutman  
Vorys, Ohio  
Vursell  
Wadsworth  
Weichel, Ohio  
White  
Wigglesworth  
Willey  
Wilson  
Wolcott  
Wolfenden, Pa.  
Wolverton, N. J.  
Woodruff, Mich.

NAYS—217

Abernethy  
Allen, La.  
Anderson,  
N. Mex.  
Angell  
Baldwin, Md.  
Barden  
Barry  
Bates, Ky.  
Eeckworth  
Bland  
Bloom  
Bonner  
Boren  
Bradley, Pa.  
Brooks  
Brown, Ga.  
Bryson  
Buckley  
Buffett  
Bulwinkle  
Burch, Va.  
Burchill, N. Y.  
Burdick  
Burgin  
Byrne  
Camp  
Cannon, Fla.  
Cannon, Mo.  
Celler  
Clark  
Cochran  
Coffee  
Colmer  
Cooley  
Cooper  
Costello  
Courtney  
Cox  
Cravens  
Cresser  
Cullen  
Curley  
Curtis  
D'Alesandro  
Davis  
Dawson  
Delaney  
Dewey  
Dickstein  
Dies  
Dilweg  
Dingell  
Domengeaux  
Doughton  
Drewry  
Durham  
Eberharter  
Elliot  
Ellison, Md.  
Engle, Calif.  
Fay  
Feighan  
Fernandez  
Fisher  
Fitzpatrick  
Flannagan  
Fogarty  
Folger  
Forand  
Ford  
Fulbright  
Fulmer  
Furlong

Gathings  
Gearhart  
Gibson  
Gordon  
Gore  
Gorski  
Gossett  
Grant, Ala.  
Green  
Gregory  
Hare  
Harless, Ariz.  
Harris, Ark.  
Harris, Va.  
Hart  
Hays  
Hebert  
Heffernan  
Hendricks  
Hoch  
Hollifield  
Hull  
Izac  
Jarman  
Johnson,  
Luther A.  
Johnson,  
Lyndon B.  
Johnson, Okla.  
Kee  
Keefe  
Kefauver  
Kelley  
Kennedy  
Keogh  
Kerr  
Kilday  
King  
Kirwan  
Klein  
Lane  
Lanham  
Larcade  
Lea  
Lemke  
Lesinski  
Ludlow  
Lynch  
McCord  
McCormack  
McMillan  
McMurray  
Madden  
Mahon  
Maloney  
Manasco  
Mansfield,  
Mont.  
Mansfield, Tex.  
Marcantonio  
May  
Meritt  
Miller, Nebr.  
Mills  
Monroney  
Morrison, La.  
Morrison, N. C.  
Murdock  
Murphy  
Murray, Wis.  
Myers  
Newsome  
Norrell  
O'Brien, Ill.

O'Brien, Mich.  
O'Brien, N. Y.  
O'Connor  
O'Hara  
O'Konski  
O'Neal  
O'Toole  
Outland  
Pace  
Patman  
Patton  
Peterson, Fla.  
Peterson, Ga.  
Pfeifer  
Philbin  
Poage  
Price  
Priest  
Rabaut  
Randolph  
Richards  
Rivers  
Rizley  
Robertson  
Robinson, Utah  
Rogers, Calif.  
Rogers, Mass.  
Rowan  
Russell  
Sabath  
Sadowski  
Sasser  
Satterfield  
Sauthoff  
Scanlon  
Sheppard  
Sikes  
Slaughter  
Smith, Va.  
Smith, W. Va.  
Smith, Wis.  
Snyder  
Somers, N. Y.  
Sparkman  
Spence  
Starnes, Ala.  
Stearns, N. H.  
Stefan  
Stevenson  
Stewart  
Sullivan  
Summers, Tex.  
Tarver  
Thomas, Tex.  
Thomason  
Tolan  
Vincent, Ky.  
Vinson, Ga.  
Voorhis, Calif.  
Walter  
Ward  
Wasielewski  
Weaver  
Welch  
Wene  
Whelchel, Ga.  
Whitten  
Whittington  
Wickersham  
Winstead  
Worley  
Wright  
Zimmerman

NOT VOTING—35

Andresen,  
August H.  
Bell  
Boykin

Capozzoli  
Chapman  
Dirksen  
Disney  
Elmer  
Gamble  
Granger  
Halleck



Harness, Ind.	McKenzie	Schuetz
Hobbs	Magnuson	Scrivner
Holmes, Mass.	Murray, Tenn.	Sheridan
Jackson	Norton	Treadway
Jones	O'Leary	Weiss
Jonkman	Ploeser	West
Kleberg	Ramspeck	Winter
Luce	Rolph	Woodrum, Va.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

General pairs:

Mr. Schuetz with Mr. Ploeser.  
Mr. Sheridan with Mr. Halleck.  
Mr. Bell with Mr. Jones.  
Mr. Weiss with Mr. Elmer.  
Mr. Hobbs with Mr. Dirksen.  
Mr. Woodrum of Virginia with Mr. Holmes of Massachusetts.  
Mr. Capozzoli with Mr. Scrivner.  
Mr. Magnuson with Mr. Jonkman.  
Mrs. Norton with Mrs. Luce.  
Mr. O'Leary with Mr. Winter.  
Mr. Chapman with Mr. Harness of Indiana.  
Mr. Disney with Mr. Gamble.  
Mr. Kleberg with Mr. Rolph.  
Mr. Ramspeck with Mr. Treadway.  
Mr. Granger with Mr. August H. Andresen.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question now comes on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, and was read the third time.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following motion to recommit, which I send to the desk.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentlewoman opposed to the joint resolution?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I am.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts moves to recommit the bill to the Committee on Foreign Affairs with instructions to that committee to report the same back to the House forthwith, striking out the figures "\$1,350,000,000" on line 5, page 1, of the resolution, and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$700,000,000."

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, on that I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to recommit.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 131, nays 261, not voting 35, as follows:

[Roll No. 11]

YEAS—131

Allen, Ill.	Carlson, Kans.	Fellows
Allen, La.	Carrier	Fish
Andersen,	Carson, Ohio	Gathings
H. Carl	Carter	Gavin
Andersen,	Case	Gearhart
August H.	Chenoweth	Gibson
Arends	Church	Gilchrist
Arnold	Clevenger	Gillette
Barrett	Cole, Mo.	Gillie
Bennett, Mich.	Compton	Graham
Bennett, Mo.	Cox	Grant, Ind.
Bishop	Cravens	Griffiths
Bradley, Mich.	Crawford	Gross
Brehm	Curtis	Gwynne
Brooks	Disney	Hall
Brown, Ohio	Dworschak	Edwin Arthur
Brumbaugh	Ellis	Heldinger
Buffett	Elmer	Hess
Busbey	Elston, Ohio	Hill
Butler	Engel, Mich.	Hoeven

Hoffman	Maas
Hope	Martin, Iowa
Horan	Mason
Howell	Miller, Nebr.
Hull	Miller, Pa.
Jenkins	Murray, Wis.
Jensen	Norman
Johnson,	Norrell
Anton, J.	O'Connor
Johnson,	O'Hara
Calvin D.	O'Konski
Johnson, Ind.	Pace
Johnson, Ward	Peterson, Ga.
Keefe	Phillbin
Kinzer	Phillips
Knutson	Plumley
Lambertson	Rankin
Landis	Reed, Ill.
LeFevre	Reed, N. Y.
Lemke	Rees, Kans.
Lewis	Rizley
Ludlow	Robison, Ky.
McCowan	Rockwell
McGehee	Rodgers, Pa.
McGregor	Rogers, Mass.
McWilliams	Russell

NAYS—261

Abernethy	Fisher	McCord
Anderson, Calif.	Fitzpatrick	McCormack
Anderson,	Flannagan	McLean
N. Mex.	Fogarty	McMillan
Andrews	Folger	McMurray
Angell	Forand	Madden
Auchincloss	Ford	Mahon
Baldwin, Md.	Fulbright	Maloney
Baldwin, N. Y.	Fuller	Manasco
Barden	Fulmer	Mansfield,
Barry	Furlong	Mont.
Bates, Ky.	Gale	Mansfield, Tex.
Bates, Mass.	Gallagher	Marcantonio
Beall	Gerlach	Martin, Mass.
Beckworth	Gifford	May
Bender	Goodwin	Merritt
Blackney	Gordon	Morrow
Bland	Gore	Michener
Bloom	Gorski	Miller, Conn.
Bolton	Gossett	Miller, Mo.
Bonner	Grant, Ala.	Mills
Boren	Green	Monkiewicz
Boykin	Gregory	Monroney
Bradley, Pa.	Hagen	Morrison, La.
Brown, Ga.	Hale	Morrison, N. C.
Bryson	Hall	Mott
Buckley	Leonard W.	Mruk
Bulwinkle	Hancock	Mundt
Burch, Va.	Hare	Murdoch
Burchill, N. Y.	Harless, Ariz.	Murphy
Burdick	Harris, Ark.	Myers
Burgin	Harris, Va.	Newsome
Byrne	Hart	O'Brien, Ill.
Camp	Hartley	O'Brien, Mich.
Canfield	Hays	O'Brien, N. Y.
Cannon, Fla.	Hebert	O'Neal
Cannon, Mo.	Heffernan	O'Toole
Celler	Hendricks	Outland
Clark	Herter	Patman
Clason	Hinshaw	Patton
Cochran	Hoch	Peterson, Fla.
Coffee	Holifield	Pfeifer
Cole, N. Y.	Holmes, Wash.	Pittenger
Colmer	Izac	Poage
Cooley	Jarman	Poulson
Cooper	Jeffrey	Powers
Costello	Jennings	Pracht
Courtney	Johnson,	Price
Cresser	J. Leroy	Priest
Cullen	Johnson,	Rabaut
Cunningham	Luther A.	Ramey
Curley	Johnson,	Randolph
D'Alesandro	Lyndon B.	Reece, Tenn.
Davis	Johnson, Okla.	Richards
Dawson	Judd	Rivers
Delaney	Kean	Robertson
Dewey	Kearney	Robinson, Utah
Dickstein	Kee	Rogers, Calif.
Dies	Kefauver	Rohrbough
Dilweg	Kelley	Rolph
Dingell	Kennedy	Rowan
Domengeaux	Keogh	Rowe
Dondero	Kerr	Sabath
Doughton	Kilburn	Sadowski
Douglas	Kilday	Sasser
Drewry	King	Satterfield
Durham	Kirwan	Scanlon
Eaton	Klein	Scott
Eberharter	Kunkel	Sheppard
Elliott	LaFollette	Simpson, Pa.
Ellison, Md.	Lane	Slaughter
Ellsworth	Lanham	Smith, Maine
Engle, Calif.	Larcade	Smith, Va.
Fay	Lea	Smith, W. Va.
Feighan	LeCompte	Snyder
Fenton	Lesinski	Somers, N. Y.
Fernandez	Lynch	Sparkman

Spence	Thomason	Weaver
Stanley	Tolan	Welch
Starnes, Ala.	Towe	Wene
Stearns, N. H.	Troutman	Whitten
Stewart	Vincent, Ky.	Whittington
Spillivan	Vinson, Ga.	Wickersham
Sundstrom	Voorhis, Calif.	Wigglesworth
Taber	Vorys, Ohio	Willey
Tarver	Wadsworth	Winstead
Taylor	Walter	Wolverton, N. J.
Thomas, N. J.	Ward	Wright
Thomas, Tex.	Wasielewski	Zimmerman

NOT VOTING—35

Bell	Jackson	Schuetz
Capozzoli	Jones	Scrivner
Chapman	Jonkman	Sheridan
Chipherfield	Kleberg	Sikes
Day	Luce	Sumners, Tex.
Dirksen	McKenzie	Treadway
Gamble	Magnuson	Weiss
Granger	Murray, Tenn.	West
Halleck	Norton	Winter
Harness, Ind.	O'Leary	Woodrum, Va.
Hobbs	Ploeser	Worley
Holmes, Mass.	Ramspeck	

Mr. BREHM changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Scrivner for, with Mr. Capozzoli against.

Mr. Jones for, with Mr. Jonkman against.

General pairs:

Mr. Schuetz with Mr. Ploeser.  
Mr. Sheridan with Mr. Halleck.  
Mr. Hobbs with Mr. Dirksen.  
Mr. Woodrum of Virginia with Mr. Holmes of Massachusetts.  
Mrs. Norton with Mrs. Luce.  
Mr. O'Leary with Mr. Winter.  
Mr. Chapman with Mr. Harness of Indiana.  
Mr. Ramspeck with Mr. Treadway.  
Mr. Bell with Mr. Chipherfield.  
Mr. Weiss with Mr. Day.  
Mr. Kleberg with Mr. Gamble.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk called the roll; and there were—yeas 338, nays 54, answered "present" 1, not voting 34, as follows:

[Roll No. 12]

YEAS—338

Abernethy	Brown, Ga.	Curtis
Allen, Ill.	Brown, Ohio	D'Alesandro
Allen, La.	Bryson	Davis
Andersen,	Buckley	Dawson
H. Carl	Bulwinkle	Delaney
Anderson, Calif.	Burch, Va.	Dewey
Anderson,	Burchill, N. Y.	Dickstein
N. Mex.	Burdick	Dies
Andresen,	Burgin	Dilweg
August H.	Butler	Dingell
Andrews	Byrne	Domengeaux
Angell	Camp	Dondero
Arends	Canfield	Doughton
Auchincloss	Cannon, Fla.	Douglas
Baldwin, Md.	Cannon, Mo.	Drewry
Baldwin, N. Y.	Carson, Ohio	Durham
Barden	Carter	Eaton
Barrett	Case	Eberharter
Barry	Chenoweth	Elliott
Bates, Ky.	Church	Ellison, Md.
Bates, Mass.	Clark	Ellsworth
Beall	Clason	Elston, Ohio
Beckworth	Cochran	Engel, Mich.
Bender	Coffee	Engle, Calif.
Bennett, Mich.	Cole, N. Y.	Fay
Bennett, Mo.	Compton	Feighan
Blackney	Cooley	Fellows
Bland	Cooper	Fenton
Bloom	Costello	Fernandez
Bolton	Courtney	Fish
Bonner	Cresser	Fisher
Bradley, Pa.	Cullen	Fitzpatrick
Brehm	Cunningham	Flannagan
Brooks	Curley	Fogarty



Folger	Kilday	Rankin
Forand	King	Reece, Tenn.
Ford	Kinzer	Rees, Kans.
Fulbright	Kirwan	Richards
Fuller	Klein	Rivers
Fulmer	Kunkel	Robertson
Furlong	LaFollette	Robinson, Utah
Gale	Landis	Rockwell
Gallagher	Lane	Rodgers, Pa.
Gathings	Lanham	Rogers, Calif.
Gavin	Larcade	Rohrbough
Gerlach	Lea	Rolph
Gifford	LeCompte	Rowan
Gilchrist	LeFevre	Rowe
Gillette	Lesinski	Russell
Gillie	Lewis	Sabath
Goodwin	Ludlow	Sadowski
Gordon	Lynch	Sasser
Gore	McCord	Satterfield
Gorski	McCormack	Sauthoff
Gossett	McCowan	Scanlon
Graham	McGregor	Schiffier
Grant, Ala.	McLean	Schwabe
Grant, Ind.	McMillan	Scott
Green	McMurray	Sheppard
Gregory	McWilliams	Sikes
Gross	Madden	Simpson, Pa.
Gwynne	Mahon	Slaughter
Hagen	Maloney	Smith, Maine
Hale	Manasco	Smith, Va.
Hall	Mansfield,	Smith, W. Va.
	Mont.	Snyder
Edwin Arthur	Mansfield, Tex.	Somers, N. Y.
Hall,	Marcantonio	Sparkman
Leonard W.	Martin, Iowa	Spence
Hancock	Martin, Mass.	Springer
Hare	May	Stanley
Harless, Ariz.	Merritt	Starnes, Ala.
Harris, Ark.	Merrow	Stearns, N. H.
Harris, Va.	Michener	Stefan
Hart	Miller, Conn.	Stevenson
Hartley	Miller, Mo.	Stewart
Hays	Miller, Nebr.	Sullivan
Hébert	Miller, Pa.	Summers, Tex.
Heffernan	Mills	Sundstrom
Hendricks	Monkiewicz	Taber
Herter	Monroney	Talbot
Hess	Morrison, La.	Talle
Hill	Morrison, N. C.	Tarver
Hinshaw	Mott	Taylor
Hoch	Mruk	Thomas, N. J.
Hoeven	Mundt	Thomas, Tex.
Hollfield	Murdock	Thomason
Holmes, Wash.	Murphy	Tibbott
Horan	Murray, Wis.	Tolan
Howell	Myers	Towe
Hull	Newsome	Troutman
Izac	Norman	Vincent, Ky.
Jarman	Norrell	Vinson, Ga.
Jeffrey	O'Brien, Ill.	Voorhis, Calif.
Jenkins	O'Brien, N. Y.	Vorys, Ohio
Jennings	O'Connor	Wadsworth
Jensen	O'Neal	Walter
Johnson, Ind.	O'Toole	Ward
Johnson,	Outland	Waslewski
J. Leroy	Patman	Weaver
Johnson,	Patton	Welch, Ohio
Luther A.	Peterson, Fla.	Welch
Johnson,	Peterson, Ga.	Wene
Lyndon B.	Pfeifer	Whitten
Johnson, Okla.	Philbin	Whittington
Johnson, Ward	Pittenger	Wickersham
Judd	Plumley	Wigglesworth
Kean	Poage	Willey
Kearney	Poulson	Wilson
Kee	Powers	Winstead
Keefe	Pracht	Wolfenden, Pa.
Kefauver	Price	Wolverton, N. J.
Kelley	Priest	Worley
Kennedy	Rabaut	Wright
Keogh	Ramey	Zimmerman
Kerr	Randolph	
Kilburn		

## NAYS—54

Arnold	Gearhart	Phillips
Bishop	Gibson	Reed, Ill.
Boren	Griffiths	Reed, N. Y.
Bradley, Mich.	Heidinger	Rizley
Brumbaugh	Hoffman	Robison, Ky.
Buffett	Hope	Rogers, Mass.
Busbey	Johnson,	Shafer
Carlson, Kans.	Anton J.	Short
Carrier	Johnson,	Simpson, Ill.
Clevenger	Calvin D.	Smith, Ohio
Cole, Mo.	Knutson	Smith, Wis.
Cox	Lemke	Stockman
Cravens	McGehee	Sumner, Ill.
Crawford	Maas	Vursell
Day	Mason	Whelchel, Ga.
Disney	O'Brien, Mich.	White
Dworshak	O'Hara	Wolcott
Ellis	O'Konski.	Woodruff, Mich.
Elmer	Pace	

## ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Lambertson

## NOT VOTING—34

Bell	Hobbs	Ploeser
Boykin	Holmes, Mass.	Ramspeck
Capozzoli	Jackson	Schuetz
Chapman	Jones	Scrivner
Chlperfield	Jonkman	Sheridan
Colmer	Kleberg	Treadway
Dirksen	Luce	Weiss
Gamble	McKenzie	West
Granger	Magnuson	Winter
Halleck	Murray, Tenn.	Woodrum, Va.
Harness, Ind.	Norton	
	O'Leary	

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Bell for, with Mr. Lambertson against.  
Mr. Schuetz for, with Mr. Jones against.  
Mr. Capozzoli for, with Mr. Scrivner against.

General pairs:

Mr. Weiss with Mr. Ploeser.  
Mr. Sheridan with Mr. Halleck.  
Mr. Hobbs with Mr. Dirksen.  
Mr. Woodrum of Virginia with Mr. Holmes of Massachusetts.  
Mrs. Norton with Mrs. Luce.  
Mr. O'Leary with Mr. Winter.  
Mr. Chapman with Mr. Harness of Indiana.  
Mr. Ramspeck with Mr. Treadway.  
Mr. Kleberg with Mr. Gamble.  
Mr. Celler with Mr. Jonkman.  
Mr. Magnuson with Mr. Chlperfield.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, I have a pair with the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. BELL. I voted "nay." I withdraw that vote and vote "present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## POST-WAR ECONOMIC POLICY AND PLANNING COMMITTEE

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 408), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed:

*Resolved*, That there is here established—

(a) A special committee to be known as the Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning (hereinafter referred to as the "special committee").

(b) The special committee shall be composed of 12 Members of the House of Representatives, 7 from the majority and 5 from the minority, appointed by the Speaker of the House.

(c) It shall be the duty of the special committee to investigate all matters relating to post-war economic policy and problems; to gather information, plans, and suggestions from informed sources with respect to such problems; to study the plans and suggestions received; to report to the Congress from time to time the results of findings made and conclusions reached. It is the sense and purpose of this resolution to make accessible to the Congress, through the special committee, the most complete information respecting post-war economic policy and post-war problems that is available, to the end that Congress may be advised respecting those problems and in a position to formulate solutions with respect to them which will result in the greatest contribution by the Congress to achievement of a stable economy and a just peace. It is intended that full authority to accomplish this general purpose shall be granted by this resolution.

SEC. 2. The special committee, or any subcommittee thereof, shall have power to hold hearings and to sit and act at such places and times, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, and to make such expenditures, as it deems advisable. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of said committee, and may be served by any person designated by him.

## SOLDIER VOTE BILL

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 412), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed:

*Resolved, etc.*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill S. 1285, to amend the act of September 16, 1942, which provided a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed four hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider without the intervention of any point of order as a substitute amendment for the Senate bill the provisions contained in H. R. 3982. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the same to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

## PROGRAM FOR THE REST OF THE WEEK

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I do this for the purpose of asking the distinguished majority leader what the program will be for the rest of the week.

Mr. MCCORMACK. The following matters will be brought up, but I am not stating them in the order in which they may be considered:

The conference report on the mustering-out pay bill.

A resolution relating to the Dies committee, which I understand is an appropriation of additional money for that committee.

The Colmer resolution to establish a post-war economic policy and planning committee.

House Resolution 406, from the Committee on the Judiciary, authorizing that committee or a subcommittee thereof to inquire into and investigate the conduct of two judges of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania.



rent information, it appears that large mixed-feed manufacturers have acquired stocks of protein at the expense and in discrimination of farmers and stockmen. We, therefore, recommend prompt reallocation of supplies on the basis of 1940 distribution.

#### STATES' RIGHTS

During an emergency period such as we are experiencing at the present time, we recognize the necessity of centralized control placed in the hands of the Chief Executive. Normally, however, it is our belief that in order to preserve the full functions of a democratic government and the American way of life, as much decentralization and local control should be left to the States and local units of government as possible.

#### STATE LAW COMPLIANCE

In the handling, distribution, and sale of feeds, seeds, fertilizers, nursery stock, and similar materials handled by Federal agencies, we strongly urge that the laws and regulations of the various States into which said commodities are moved be complied with.

#### BUTTER RATION POINTS

We favor the lowering of ration points for butter to the same level as so-called butter substitutes.

#### OLEOMARGARINE

Manufacturers are again putting forth efforts to repeal Federal taxes on oleomargarine, and we urge our Kansas congressional delegation to retain this ban on an inferior food substitute, as in the interest of public health, the dairy industry, and sound policy.

#### MEAT INSPECTION

There should be no relaxing of meat inspection during this period of emergency. Any relaxation would tend to increase the possibility of introduction and spread of dangerous, contagious, and infectious diseases through importations from foreign countries. We recommend that the inspection of meat, meat products, and byproducts of meat be carefully safeguarded during this period.

#### QUARANTINE RESTRICTIONS

Owing to the rapid transit of men and materials between various points in the world, extra vigilance must be exercised to guard against the dangers of introducing foreign insect pests and plant diseases, and hence we respectfully urge stringent inspection service in connection with the enforcement of all Federal quarantines.

#### PORTS OF ENTRY

We want to urge again that the ports of entry be eliminated.

#### KANSAS-COLORADO CASE

In the 15 decisions heretofore rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States involving the waters of interstate streams, the Court has announced and applied the principle that there must be an equitable division or apportionment of the benefits of an interstate stream as between the States affected. That has been denied by the Court in the recent Arkansas River decision by its action in dismissing the prayers of both States.

We insist that the sovereign State of Kansas rightly is entitled to an equitable part of the waters of the Arkansas River, for irrigation and other purposes. We believe the State should take such steps as may be necessary to protect its interests in this important matter, and that we should diligently press forward to a final solution of this problem.

#### FILLED MILK

Rather humanly, perhaps, manufacturers of so-called food substitutes are taking advantage of the necessities of war to promote their selfish interests, and we must be diligent in our opposition to these insidious campaigns, to protect the public health and welfare and the agricultural industry. We

must be watchful of the Kansas filled milk law which twice has been attacked and for the second time, just recently, upheld by the State's highest court.

#### FARM LABOR

So long as it appears that we must rely largely upon our own resources, we urge the closest cooperation with State and Federal agencies that are striving to effectuate the most practicable farm labor program for the State, and urge all draft boards to recognize agriculture as an essential industry.

#### PRICE BASIS FOR WHEAT

As Kansas is the premier wheat State of the Union, normally producing one-fifth of the wheat of the Nation, we protest the discrimination that O. P. A. has placed upon our wheat farmers in setting a full freight differential of 9½ cents per bushel between Chicago and Kansas City in establishing the present price ceiling on wheat at Kansas City, Mo. Normal trade practices in past years and the C. C. C. loan program reflect only about one-half of this freight differential between these two markets. Kansas wheat farmers face the possibility of losing \$5,000,000 on the estimated production for 1944 if the present price ceiling of \$1.61½, basis Kansas City, Mo., is maintained. We recommend that O. P. A. reconsider the basis for the Kansas City price ceiling on wheat as established January 1, 1944, placing it more in line with the past price differential that has existed between the Chicago and Kansas City markets.

#### REAL-ESTATE APPRAISAL

For 6 years, a plan of real-estate appraisal, initiated and developed by the county clerk, has been in operation in Trego County and which has to a marked degree removed inequalities in assessments and taxation, which for decades have been a chief complaint in the system generally followed in this State. We commend the Trego County plan as worthy of study.

#### APPRECIATION

We deeply appreciate the cooperation of those who have assisted in this meeting and its success, and are particularly grateful to the speakers for their excellent addresses, to the press for its generous reports, to the officials of the State of Kansas and city of Topeka for their courtesies, and finally to Secretary Mohler and coworkers for a constructive program and carefully arranged coinvention plans which were well carried out under difficult circumstances.

Dr. O. O. WOLF, *Chairman*,  
JOHN KEAS, *Atchison County*,  
B. M. OTTAWAY, *Franklin County*,  
CARLTON HALL, *Montgomery County*,  
HERMAN PRAEGER, *Barton County*,  
P. B. HARKINS, *Cheyenne County*,  
*Resolutions Committee.*

### Providing for Relief of Destitute People in Occupied Countries

#### SPEECH

OF

### HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1944

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Crowley admitted in the hearings that the United States has no veto on the power of U. N. R. R. A. to levy on American supplies. He answered the question asked by the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON].

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I thank the gentlewoman from Illinois for her contribution.

When we analyze this legislation to see where U. N. R. R. A. is going to get its supplies, we must necessarily look over the whole world, and we find there are a few limited countries that have surplus food products.

The main supplier is the United States. The second one is Canada, on a limited number of grains. The third one is Australia, and New Zealand may have a little essential food to supply the rest of the world. Possibly Brazil, with some native-grown products. Argentina is not in among the 44 United Nations, so apparently nothing will be secured from Argentina.

Mr. WADSWORTH. But purchases may be made in Argentina.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I note that the State Department is about to put sanctions on Argentina, or they are threatening sanctions, so I doubt very much if any of this money will be spent in Argentina.

So the main supply will come from the United States. The percentage advocated by the gentleman from New York, 90, to be spent here in this country may be too high; I do not know, but I think since we are appropriating most of the money and since we are supposed to supply a large percentage of the products as well, a large percentage of the money should be spent in this country with the American people. I am therefore supporting the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The gentleman comes from one of the greatest butter States in the Union. How much butter is in storage at the present time?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Approximately 235,000,000 pounds according to the best figures we can get hold of.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Suppose the war should stop within 90 or 120 days; what would happen to the butter price?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. It would probably be cut in two. The bottom would drop out of it because of the surplus.

Mr. CRAWFORD. What would happen to labor, the manufacturers of mechanical equipment and employees generally engaged in connection with the production of these products if there is not an export market for the agricultural surplus?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Unless it could be absorbed by the home market we would pile up such tremendous sur-



pluses in the United States that it would break the market. I want to say this; that the people from the cotton areas of the country should be interested in this amendment because cotton has now gone on a domestic basis and when the war stops, unless there is some outlet for relief purposes for the cotton produced in this country, we shall be left here with possibly fifteen to twenty or thirty million bales of cotton.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. No; I have only 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I am supporting this resolution with the hope that it will be distributed for relief purposes among the needy peoples of the world, especially in those countries that are being retaken from the Central Powers. I do not anticipate that one single group of people are going to have the benefit of all of this relief. I think all races, creeds, and nationalities should share alike, whether they be Jew, Gentile, Protestant, or Catholic, in the relief dispensed by U. N. R. R. A. So, having in mind that we are to help these needy peoples and doing our good Christian duty, I am supporting the resolution on that theory.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I am sorry; I cannot. As I have said, this is to be for these people irrespective of race or religion. No one particular group is going to be singled out for relief that is dispensed by U. N. R. R. A.

The American people have always been generous in giving aid to people in need in all parts of the world. I believe that most Americans want us to do our full share in providing temporary relief for the starving people of enemy occupied countries, as these countries are recovered from our enemies. But, in making commitments to other countries, we must not overlook our primary obligation to first consider the welfare of American citizens.

I would prefer to have the funds authorized for relief, in this resolution, spent through the Red Cross or some other American agency. U. N. R. R. A. is a political international organization clothed with tremendous power; subject to power politics and domination by larger nations and by power groups within the respective countries wherein relief is to be given. Those who dispense the relief food and other necessities under U. N. R. R. A. are in a position to force hungry and sick people to submit to their will in order to secure aid. Power politics can only lead to another war, and should have no place in a relief picture.

In supporting this authorization for relief of destitute people in occupied countries, I want it clearly understood that I am unalterably opposed to setting up a world-wide W. P. A. The relief provided should be given to all destitute persons, irrespective of creed, color, or race. All requests for funds by U. N. R. R. A. must be scrutinized by the Appropriations Committees of Congress before approved, and none of the funds provided are to be used against the interests of the people

of the United States, our form of government, or standard of living.

I am supporting this authorization purely on the basis of providing temporary relief for destitute people in countries occupied by our enemies. When other world-wide legislative proposals are submitted to Congress, I will consider each one on the basis of what is best for the interests of the American people. Such a yardstick will be my test for support or opposition to every proposal. With me the future welfare of the American people will always come first.

**Robert Bowman, of Kern County, Calif.**

SPEECH  
OF

**HON. ALFRED J. ELLIOTT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, January 25, 1944*

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, the Tenth Congressional District of California, leading first in producing food and fiber in the United States, now has produced the national president of the Future Farmers of America for 1943 and 1944 in Robert Bowman, of Buttonwillow, Kern County, Calif. The parents of Robert Bowman are to be congratulated on rearing such a fine outstanding son. The people of Kern County are justly proud of his achievements.

Robert Bowman was elected national president of the Future Farmers of America for 1943-44. He is 19 years old and is a Kern County, Calif., rancher. His father is a World War veteran and enlisted in the Navy after Pearl Harbor. Robert manages the home farm, which is located in the San Joaquin Valley. He has one of the outstanding purebred Berkshire swine breeding enterprises in that valley, in addition to alfalfa, cotton, dairy, and other projects. Robert was president of the Kern County Union High School F. F. A. chapter at Bakersfield. He was vice president of the San Joaquin regional F. F. A. organization comprising more than 50 chapters. In April 1942 he was elected president of the California Association of the Future Farmers of America.

He won the California State Future Farmers public-speaking contest in 1942 and placed fourth in the Pacific regional finals. He is a lecturer of the local grange and secretary of the Kern County Pomona Grange. He is also a member of the Farm Bureau in Kern County. While a student in high school, Robert took an active part in school activities, made good grades in his studies, and carried on a large supervised farming program as a part of his vocational agriculture work. He earned a total of more than \$2,000 from his farming activities while he was a student in high school. Since being graduated, Robert has devoted his full time to farming. He earned a labor income of \$3,824 from his farming program last year. Robert is continuing his farming activities while

serving as president of the Future Farmers of America, which is composed of more than 200,000 farm boys who are students of vocational agriculture in the public secondary schools. Robert is typical of the farm youth of today who believe in the future of farming and the ability of farm youth to do their part in building a better way of life on the farm. Last fall at the National F. F. A. convention, he was elected to the American Farmer degree, which is the highest degree attainable in that organization.

Other national officials of the F. F. A., who are visitors today in the Nation's Capital are: O. Beverly Roller, Weyers Cave, Va., first vice president; Ralph Salzman, Ashton, Ill., second vice president; Arthur E. Clifford, Bristol, Vt., third vice president; Robert Barthelmess, Miles City, Mont., fourth vice president; and Byron Freeman, Westboro, Mo., student secretary.

In closing, I would like to compliment Mr. Howard Dickson and his staff for their outstanding accomplishments in the F. F. A. of Kern County. This association is the largest agricultural vocational system in the United States.

I also want to compliment Mr. E. J. Johnson for his fine work. Mr. Johnson is the Federal agent of Agriculture Education representing 11 Western States and Hawaii.

### Rescue the Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. WILL ROGERS, JR.**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, January 25, 1944*

Mr. ROGERS of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington News:

#### RESCUE THE REFUGEES

Rarely has the President made a more desirable and popular move than his appointment of the Secretaries of War, State, and Treasury as a War Refugee Board to rescue as many as possible of Hitler's victims.

The fact that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved unanimously the Gillette-Taft-Baldwin-Rogers proposal for a similar board indicates how far this issue transcends partisan political or racial considerations. The object is purely humanitarian: To save the persecuted minorities who have escaped death but are in peril.

Though all minorities properly are covered by the President's order—political, as well as racial and religious—the largest number are the Jews. They have been singled out by the Nazis for mass extermination. An estimated 2,000,000 European Jews already have been wiped out. Perhaps 4,000,000 remain. They are homeless. Those who are not murdered outright, and who escape destruction by torture, face death by starvation and neglect.

The rescue job is difficult but by no means impossible, because many are still in the satellite countries. Thus when Sweden offered a temporary haven, 6,000 Danish Jews promptly got out. This week about 850 are being taken by ship from Portugal and Spain



# United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

SPEECH  
OF

**HON. DANIEL A. REED**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1944

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last four words.

Mr. Chairman, I understand when I was absent from the House engaged in conference on the tax bill, the very distinguished leader from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] made some observations in regard to a speech which I made on the floor, in which my friends tell me he intimated that I was interfering with the Christian people and their purposes insofar as this legislation is concerned.

I want it definitely understood, and I have said it before on the floor of this House, that I owe allegiance to no country except to the United States of America. I am more interested in what comes out of this war than I am about ordinary observations on this floor.

What I was trying to do was to point out that you have scrambled a great humanitarian process with certain economic problems that are going to plague us abroad in the future. When I say "economic problems," remember that the European countries each year for 20 years, have had government doles of some kind or other unemployment insurance, or what not, for 60,000,000 people. That is what they faced during a period of peace. I do not propose to support any legislation on this floor that is going to put into the hands of the ruler of any country, any dictator, whether he is an ally now or not, the power of saying to the subjected country of which he has control, "You will not get food for your babies or for yourself, unless you vote as I want you to vote in this plebiscite."

I am trying to prevent the Christian faith being attacked possibly destroyed by Communists.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] said on November 1, 1939:

Within the past few weeks, there came from Moscow itself the admission that Catholic priests were murdered, with the lying statement that they were resisting the Communist army. They were murdered in Christian Poland for the same reason that they have been murdered for 20 years in Soviet Russia, priests, ministers and rabbis, because they were messengers of God, doing the work of God on earth.

I would call the attention of the House to the fact that when the State, Commerce, and Justice Department appropriation bill for 1941 was under consider-

ation on February 7, 1940, which was to provide for the salaries of ambassadors and ministers, the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] offered an amendment to strike out the words "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

That shows that he then felt, as he must feel now, that the Christian organizations should still fear the attitude of Communist countries toward Christian churches and organizations in this country and in foreign countries.

These funds with which it is proposed to feed the destitute of Europe and Asia, which is under consideration today, should be handled, as I have said before, by the Christian organizations now operating and prepared to operate, wherever there are hungry and starving people to be fed. The money should not be made available to dictators, to make as a condition precedent to feeding those people, their willingness to sacrifice their independence, and support of a Communist regime. That is his indictment. I am trying to save the Christian religion all over the world from having to be dominated or disturbed by the work of this communistic society. I do not propose by my vote to put any implement of domination in their hands to carry on their subversive activities here, and we know they will do it. What I want to do is to put these funds, if we are going to legislate this way, into the hands of the services of the Christian organizations of this and other countries now organized, now in the field ready to carry on this work. Let us separate and unscramble this from the economic situation of drilling oil wells and building factories to compete with this country after the war. So I say to the gentleman from Massachusetts that every word I have said here is in the interests of the Christian faith and its organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

## Simplified Income-Tax-Return Form Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT**

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1944

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mr. O. B. Logan, of Tumbling Shoals, Ark. This letter is typical of many that I have received and expresses better than I can the essence of the complaints against too much red tape. The forms which must be filled out today are especially burdensome to the small businesses and I sincerely hope the Committee on Ways and Means will give particular attention to simplifying the income-tax reports. Likewise, I urge the various bureaus to give attention to this matter.

The letter follows:

TUMBLING SHOALS, ARK.,  
January 18, 1944.

Mr. J. W. FULBRIGHT,  
Congressman of the Third District.

DEAR MR. FULBRIGHT: I appreciate very much you writing me about the matter and it gives me a chance to discuss some of my problems and worries with you. And here are part of them. First, the unfair social security laws that require a man to have a number before he works and an employer can hire him, then an employer has to put up 4 percent against his 1 percent, and not that as much as the red tape that we employers have to contend with and a bunch of high-paid Government agencies coming around and checking our records and criticizing us and keeping us tore up all the time. And threatening us with heavy fines and making us feel as if we were under direct dictatorship and which we are in a sense. Then comes the withholding tax and all of its red tape. And some higher official checking on it. And then comes our complicated income tax with a million dollars' worth of red tape, and all of it put together makes a real burden on small employers, as well as the large businesses. I have put in since the first of the year my entire time away from my work trying to make out my 1943 report and not started good yet. And I am the kind of person that just wants what is right and do not mind paying taxes but hate to lose one-fourth of my time from my work and do not accomplish myself or the Government either a thing, and it is more than small businessmen can stand up under. So if there is one thing you can do to help relieve the situation it would be very much appreciated. I have written Mrs. CARAWAY, McLELLAN, and Mr. MILLS regarding same, and you will find many people complaining and howling.

Yours truly,

O. B. LOGAN.

## Entrance of Refugees Into the United States

SPEECH  
OF

**HON. EMANUEL CELLER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1944

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Breckenridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on November 26, 1943, and testified concerning House Resolution 350 and House Resolution 352. His testimony has been printed, and in reading that testimony I find therein so many faults and errors with reference to the subject matter of the resolutions in question that I deem it incumbent to point them out and highlight them. They indicate a culpability that cannot go by unnoticed. They must be corrected, because they caused grave and erroneous impressions in the minds of the committee members, and false notions in the minds of the public generally. They seem to indicate not only a lack of appreciation of the subject matter of the resolutions but seem to indicate that the gentleman, in questions in his testimony, went pretty far afield in



his desire to bolster his forced and false conclusions. A little research would have told him of his blunders. He deserves condign criticism. It indicates that he is no longer entitled to hold sway over refugees and visas. For example, he said, in his testimony as it appears on page 32, as follows:

We have been interested in refugees, and I think there has been some indisposition on the part of some officers to accept a thought that the American Government ought to specialize and make it particularly direct that we are interested only in the Jews. We have felt from the start that we could not exclude other persons from our governmental and official activities.

On page 45 appears the following as Mr. Long's testimony:

The State Department's policy, I think, must be that we cannot exclude persons from our sympathy and our sympathetic attention if they are not Jews.

No one asked Mr. Long or anyone connected with the State Department to exclude non-Jews. I think it is degrading and shameful that an official of our administration should imply, much less aver, that we intend to withhold aid from non-Jews. We are in favor of aid to all persons, but beyond that, and not as a substitute, we want a special and an extraordinary aid concomitant with especial and extraordinarily cruel treatment of Jews and all others threatened with death. No minority people are treated as cruelly as the Jew. All others are in a prison, but the Jew is in a death chamber. All others may with victory ultimately breathe free, but the Jew is in a charnel house—most of them already are in a sepulcher.

The gentleman from California [Mr. ROGERS], who is present in the Chamber, has offered one of the aforesaid resolutions providing extraordinary treatments for those who are being extraordinarily and cruelly treated. It calls for the establishment of a special board appointed by the President to find havens and refuge for the victims of Nazi tyranny. The President in his wisdom Saturday last, by Executive directive, set up the War Refugee Board, similar to the authority the gentleman from California [Mr. ROGERS] advocated, and the President stressed in an accompanying statement to his directive the very details that are embodied in the so-called Rogers resolution, and he asked directly and by inference that especial treatment be accorded the Jews, who are being heinously tortured and pillaged and plundered by Hitler and his Quislings.

Further, on page 22 of the testimony of Mr. Long we find the specific statement:

The point is made that the historic attitude of the United States in providing a haven to the oppressed has not been stopped. The State Department has kept the door open. It is perfectly screened. The door is open. \* \* \* There are vacancies on the list of quotas.

That is an astonishing statement and does not square with the facts. The "door is not open." It is on a tiny, a very tiny crack. For example, fewer immigrants entered during the past fiscal year than entered during the last 30

years. Not since 1863 have less immigrants come to our country. At a time when mass murders in Festung Europa were greatest, in 1943, when the doors of refuge should have been kept open, they were deliberately, practically closed. Only 5.9 percent of all immigrants admissible came in in that year. Nobody is asking for any change in the immigration statutes. We are asking changes in the impossible conditions and cruel, cold-blooded regulations that are laid down as to "screening" by the Department of State, and particularly by Mr. Long.

However, because of the richly deserved criticisms brought against Mr. Long, I am happy to state that those in authority in the Department of State are about to decree that Mr. Long shall no longer be in charge of refugees and visas. As proof positive of the blunder made by Mr. Long when he undertook to state what he thought was the attitude of the State Department with reference to refugees, we find a member of the Cabinet in a different Department, Mr. Biddle, the Attorney General, taking issue with him. Mr. Biddle emphatically and scorchingly took issue with Mr. Long. You can see how serious was the mischief. It is rare that a Cabinet officer challenges the statement of any Assistant Secretary. It is only done when a serious and dreadful error has been made.

Mr. Long has sought to give the impression that we had received in 10 years 580,000 immigrants and that most were Jewish refugees. The 580,000 mentioned by Long include visas authorized for quota, nonquota persons, and those in transit. Often a visa authorized is not issued. One issued is frequently not even used. Mr. Long, without even so much as "by your leave," bunched transients, visitors, and nonquota entrants and ordinary immigrants with refugees. He thus gave the impression that we gave sanctuary to 580,000. That was utterly false. Mr. Biddle explained that within the last 10 fiscal years the average number of quota and nonquota immigrants was only 26,647, although the annual quota was 153,774, and that in the year ending June 30, 1943, only 23,725 persons entered the country, 13,000 of them being nonquota. Mr. Biddle added:

During the same 10-year period the annual average number of persons emigrating from the United States was 24,000, leaving a net increase of 23,287 immigrants. Moreover, while in 1920 the aliens constituted 6.9 percent of the population in the United States, at the present time they comprise little more than 3 percent of the population.

In contrast to Mr. Long, Mr. Biddle gives facts, not fancy.

It is one thing for the Congress to pass acts with reference to immigration, and it is another thing for those in charge of the administration of the statute so to administer it as to deny the intent of Congress as embodied in the statute. Mr. Long, for example, set up all manner and kinds of conditions and restraints with reference to the applications for entering of immigrants, and among them he said that no one

shall be permitted entrance if the person intending to enter has relatives in Axis-controlled Europe, and he laid down as a condition precedent to entrance that the Interdepartmental Visa and Control Committee cannot permit entry if the intended immigrant has such a relative in Nazi-controlled Europe. Ipso facto, that regulation cut off well-nigh 90 percent of all potential refugees from Europe. Be advised that most refugees have some relatives in Axis-controlled Europe. That regulation in and of itself cut down immigration to the bone. Mr. Long had the hardihood to say that he was still adhering to the historic attitude of the United States as a haven for the oppressed. Frankly, the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor is supposed to hold up a light beside a golden door to welcome the tempest-tossed of all lands. If Mr. Long has his way, that light will have to be blotted out and the Statue of Liberty can no longer welcome in immigrants to this country.

Mr. Long ruled that the Interdepartmental Visa Control Committee could not give a reason for rejection of an application for a visa for a refugee. It takes months for applications to be acted upon. Five departments must report on each sponsor and each immigrant, whether the latter be in Europe or in this country or wherever he may be. The Departments involved are the State, War, Navy, and Justice Departments, and the F. B. I. Each Interdepartmental Visa Committee is composed of representatives from each of these five entities. It takes at least 6 months before the investigation is completed. A hearing is held. The sponsor for the immigrant or his lawyer appears and pleads. It takes months for a decision to be reached. Then no reason is given for a rejection of the application. If national security is involved, of course, no reason should be given, but if that is not in the case, why should not a reason for the turn-down be set forth so that, if possible, the causes of refusal of entrance might upon a renewed application be removed.

Further, no application can be renewed until 6 months have elapsed. If finally, in many instances the application, after all these vicissitudes, is granted, it is granted for a corpse. In every court a reason is given for an adverse decision. But before Mr. Long and his set-up everybody is kept in complete darkness. Furthermore, 50 percent of the judgments of the Interdepartmental Committees, the visa-control committees, have been reversed by the Presidential Board of Appeals, clearly indicating that in at least 50 percent of the cases which were controlled by Mr. Long, he was wrong, and that the application should have been granted and not turned down. These appeals consume more valuable time. Meanwhile Hitler's hangmen do not wait.

Mr. Long testified as follows, also on page 22:

Mr. LONG. In December 1941 most neutral shipping disappeared from the seas. Prior to that there had been neutral shipping, and



The discipline of holding the line against inflation is a pitifully small contribution when weighed in the balance against the stupendous sacrifices made by our boys on the fighting fronts. We are never going to get out of debt to our boys over there even when we do our part loyally, unflinchingly, and without grumbling. But—and here is the rub—if we on the home front don't carry through on our small assignment, we are heaping up obstacles against our armies at the front and against the armies of our fighting allies, prolonging the war and jeopardizing the chances of victory, increasing loss of American lives, and at the same time undermining the economic structure of peace after the war. Our boys over there will never forgive us if through our negligence we allow such things to happen.

The story of the ravages of inflation has been told so many times that the public tends to dismiss it as not only a familiar story, but as a familiar fairy tale. But let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, inflation is not a fairy tale. It has happened before—it is happening right now in China—and it can happen right now to us if we loosen the dikes just a little bit more.

George Washington found himself so weakened by the ravages of inflation in the Revolutionary War that he indignantly exclaimed that he was ready to hang the speculators and the profiteers on a gibbet five times as high as that from which Haman was hanged. During and after the last World War prices rose so high that our price level was more than doubled.

The other day I was reading the story of inflation in present-day China. Since Japan started the war against China, prices in some provinces of China have multiplied 250 times—25,000 percent. Just think of it—25,000 percent.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have a fair and practical program for holding the line against the vicious disease of inflation. That program was enacted by Congress in 1942 and entrusted to the executive branch of the Government for administration and enforcement. It calls for holding prices and the cost of living down and keeping wage rates down by limiting wage increases to the terms of the Little Steel formula. That whole scheme of economic stabilization is today threatened with break-down because too many of us, acting through pressure groups, are pushing to lift the ceiling on the particular things we sell while keeping it down on the things the other fellow sells.

All of us have the psychological excuse that some other fellow is being treated, or seems to be treated, more favorably than we are. In some cases, that is undoubtedly true. Given the complexity of the economic system, there is no practical scheme of economic stabilization that could ever be devised which would not have inequities here or there. Let me go further and say that in our whole social organization, in peace as well as in war, no system of rules, no system of laws, can be devised which will be perfectly fair to everyone. But laws are better for everybody than lawlessness, and laws work because everybody recognizes that his loyalty to law, his stake in society, is more important than the minor inequities that are inevitable under any system of laws.

If this attitude prevails in peacetime, how much more should it prevail in wartime? Just think of the stakes which each one of us has in the success of the war effort. Let everyone measure the injustices of which he complains by reference to his paramount stake in victory. Let all the pressure groups—businessmen, the farmers, and labor—ask themselves whether they wish to prolong the war and jeopardize victory by pushing for the rectification of their special grievances and the advancement of their special interests.

Even if we put aside our common stake in the war, even if we assume that the war is

safely won, all of us as complainants have to think of the economic effects of breaking the line against inflation. Justice Byrnes has stated—and the truth of his statement is not open to challenge—that while "holding the line may have caused some hardships here and there," yet "by and large there has actually been less economic hardship on the home front during the war than there was before the war." And it is also true that the chief complainants are not the few groups that have suffered absolute hardship from the war, but people who feel that their relative position has not been maintained—in other words, that their next-door neighbors have benefited more than they have.

Even if this is true—and in many cases the eye of envy distorts the picture—let everybody consider whether wrecking the defenses against inflation will in the long run improve their position. Today people may have their grievances, but they also know where they stand economically. Once things sweep into inflation, nobody knows where he stands. Nobody knows whether he can beat the game of inflation. And past experience shows that it is not the solid, hard-working citizen who usually beats the inflation game—it is not the hard-working farmer, nor the factory worker, nor the industrial producer, nor the salaried white-collar employee—it is none of these, but only the shifty and contemptible speculator who beats the inflation game.

Not only does the average man not gain but lose by inflation when it takes place. He loses a second time in the inevitable aftermath of deflation which ensues when the war ends and normal conditions of supply return. During inflation prices and wages chase one another upward, but during deflation they drive one another down. What is worse is that in the downswing of prices and wages, businesses go bankrupt, farms are foreclosed, and livelihoods are wiped out. Even the moderate inflation which we tolerated during the last war created serious ravages when the price bubble collapsed. We had a very severe industrial recession in 1921. Agriculture was so maimed by the post-war deflation that it did not recover for a decade—in fact it did not really recover until the present administration instituted its parity program for the farmers.

This time the ravages of deflation in the post-war period would be far more serious. Everybody knows that we are going to face a difficult problem in reemploying our soldiers and our demobilized war workers. If at the time of straining all our resources to meet this problem we have to deal with the problems resulting from the crash of inflated prices and wages, we may well find the post-war situation unmanageable. We may find the economy engulfed in the worst depression this country has ever seen—a depression which would make the depression of 1929-32 look like a picnic in comparison.

I have talked about the dangers of inflation without naming names and without apportioning blame among the various groups and lobbies. I have done so because I think all of us have been guilty. I think all of us have been seduced into complacency. We have been seduced into complacency by our success so far in the military conduct of the war and in the economic conduct of the war.

Because we have been successful in military operations and have had, thank God, relatively few casualties so far, we have tended to forget that a war was going on. And because the administration has so far managed the home front that our production has been the envy of the world and hardships to the folks at home have been surprisingly small, most of us think that there is no danger in rocking the economic and political boat.

I believe that this epoch of complacency will come to an end now that we are girding ourselves for a knock-out blow against Hitler and preparing a similar blow for the hosts of Tojo and Hirohito. The American people

have had their spree of dissension and bickering on the home front. I cannot believe that they will persist in their bickering in their competition to put private interest ahead of the national interest when our sons and brothers are summoned in great numbers to do or die for freedom. I am sure that we are not going to let them down and we are not going to let our country down.

## House Joint Resolution 192

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. PAUL W. SHAFER**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1944

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, the pending legislation, under which the Congress would authorize an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 for participation in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, is an attempt to push our Nation, under disguise, further into the field of international bribery.

Under the guise of humanitarian impulses, this proposal will entangle us in the maze of petty political squabbles of every nation in the world. I predict, on the basis of past performance, that within 5 years, or even less, after the launching of this gigantic enterprise, the United States will become the target of the bitterest attacks from all parts of the world. We will suffer execration from peoples and from governments to a degree which has never been known by any nation in the history of the world. The term "Uncle Shylock" will be as a sweet-smelling rose compared to the terms of opprobrium which will be heaped upon us.

With the billion and a quarter dollars which it is proposed to appropriate in this measure, we will buy a bitter broth for our people. The money which we are asked for, in the name of humanity and charity, will buy us distrust and will forfeit the good opinion of those whom we would seek to help.

Let it be clearly understood that this great and detailed organization which is set up under this proposal is a lopsided fraud. There are, or purport to be, 44 nations signatory to the agreement. They include great world powers and tiny governments, as well as some governments which are not in fact governments but merely exiled individuals. On the basis upon which the proposal is here presented, the United States would be one-fourty-fourth of those participating agencies. But on the basis upon which it is herewith proposed to appropriate, the United States would pay somewhat more than 66 percent of the moneys to be contributed by all of the 44 nations.

The thought necessarily occurs that if the United States is going into the international welfare business or, as the committee report terms it, an international community fund, why does not the United States step out in its own true form as a great government and appropriate and administer its own funds? There can be no valid reason why, if we



are to carry 66 percent of the load, we should hide behind 43 other governments and alleged governments.

If it is the will of Congress and of our people to spend money to help those left in distress in the wake of this horrible war, let us stand on our own two feet and do it ourselves. Let us have no subterfuge about it. Let us tell the peoples of the world frankly that we will meet their relief and rehabilitation problems for them, financially, and in supplying them the materials which they need. Then if we fail, and I fear that we are building up to a great failure, the responsibility will be ours, and if we succeed, ours will be the joy of a task well done.

We are told in the report on this measure that signing this agreement is a "milestone in the development of the foreign policy of the United States." It is exactly that, and it is a milestone which we shall regret ever having passed.

We are told that participation in this agency has already strengthened the bond between us and the nations associated with us in the prosecution of this war. If that is true, then our bonds with those nations are weaker even than I have thought them to be, and I have never thought them extremely strong.

Neither we nor any other nation can expect to obtain, or to maintain, the respect of fellow nations on the basis of bribery. That has been proven time and time again in the prosecution of this war, throughout the history of the United States, and throughout the history of nations older than we are.

This is another attempt, by pretty words and by laudable but impracticable methods to obtain deviously what could more satisfactorily be obtained by a forthright manner. Let us junk this and the other disguises which some would make us wear and step forward into the international field unafraid and clothed in our own habiliments.

And, Mr. Speaker, let me add just one more thought in the form of a prediction. That is, that within 1 year this world W. P. A., which is authorized in this bill, will be riddled with waste, inefficiency, and scandal. Mark my words.

The Army is already fitted to carry out the feeding of those nations which our troops will occupy. They have the money and the food to do that now. I cannot vote for an additional appropriation of such an amount as proposed here. After all, I owe my first allegiance to the people who I represent in Congress who will be called upon to suffer under such squandering.

#### A Constituent's Letter

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. ALFRED J. ELLIOTT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1944

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-

ord, I include the following letter from a constituent:

TAFT, CALIF., January 16, 1944.

Hon. A. J. ELLIOTT.

Dear Sir: Some time back Fulton Lewis, Jr., said some very nice things about the present Congress. He is close to the picture and should know, but I can't see it. What has been done about the antiquated railroad laws? Congress is still voting appropriations to pay the salaries of worthless bureaus and an excess pay roll on needed bureaus. But, worst of all, Congress is not writing a tax bill worth the name. What do you expect to do about all these war bills? Wait till the soldiers that fought the battles come home and let them pay the bills?

The wife and I have bought several thousand dollars' worth of War bonds, and I have a 50-percent pay-roll deduction for the purchase of bonds and was instrumental in making the company for which I work a 100-percent 10-percent organization. If Congress doesn't show signs of passing a ten- to fifteen-billion-dollar tax bill within the next 30 days, I am canceling my pay-roll deduction for bonds and turning all the bonds I have on hand in and start a campaign against bond buying.

It seems so senseless for the Government to be selling bonds at a time like this. There are billions of dollars competing for something to buy, causing the prices to go up. Why should the folks at home have any more than the fellows on the battlefields? They are doing the fighting. Why not those at home foot the bills? You had plenty of nerve at a recent oilmen's meeting in Bakersfield. Do you have the nerve to read this letter on the floor of the House?

Respectfully yours,

Z. H. BISSELL.

#### Pork Situation Causes Glut on Market

#### SPEECH OF

**HON. FRED C. GILCHRIST**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1944

Mr. GILCHRIST. Mr. Speaker, about a year ago farmers and stock raisers were importuned to raise an increased amount of hogs and were assured that a market price floor would be put upon them so that there would be a reasonable profit in this industry. Hog raisers were told that it was their patriotic duty to furnish meat and supplies for the Army and Navy and that this would aid the war effort and protect the lives of the boys who are at the front fighting for our liberty. These farmers accepted this situation and relied upon the statements that were made and the promises that were given and raised a large and unprecedented number of hogs in 1943. It is well that they did so. Their patriotism was splendid, and they felt that they were doing well for their Government and for their flag.

The War Food Administration and C. C. C. kept their promise in regard to the floor price and fixed such price at \$13.75 per hundred at Chicago. This was the basic price and farmers proceeded upon the assurance that they would get that basic price and were satisfied with it. But just now a serious complication has arisen concerning hog

raisers for they cannot sell their hogs. The packers will not take these hogs because there is a glut in the offering of them. We cannot sell our hogs. It is said that last week there were 11 miles of trucks bringing hogs to the market that were waiting to unload in the hog pens at Omaha. It was impossible for the packers to receive them, and I saw a letter today from a shipper of hogs saying that 4,000 of these hogs perished in that congestion because the packers could not accept them. Many of these farmers went home with their hogs, but some could not. There is and has been an enormous glut in the market, but those in charge predict that this will not last long and that the most serious part of it will soon be over.

But now an anomalous and strange thing has arisen. We must get permission to sell our hogs. We must apply to the War Food Administration for leave to sell hogs, and at the same time housewives cannot buy pork without paying a large amount of ration coupons in order to do so. It is a strange paradox. Producers cannot sell and consumers cannot buy. It costs money and time and expense for the producer to hold his hogs. When they are ready to go to the market they should go or he loses materially in feeding his animals after they are fit. He cannot keep them without loss and he cannot sell them without a permit. Remember that these are the very hogs he was urged to raise.

And on top of all of this the farmer is penalized 50 cents per pound if the hogs that he brings to the market exceeded 300 in weight. In other words, if the hog weighed 303 pounds instead of the limit—300 pounds—he was penalized and had to pay 50 cents per pound for the extra 3 pounds or \$1.50 on that particular hog. So this situation meant that the producer could not sell hogs without penalty if he kept them in addition to the loss that he will sustain in feeding them beyond the time which he ought to feed them. Mr. Speaker, it was a very sad and wicked situation. Members of Congress have been approached from the whole corn-hog area and we have been criticized because of a situation which we Congressmen could not and did not control. So then on last Saturday I secured an interview with the Honorable Marvin Jones of the War Food Administration and then went down to this interview with other representatives of the Iowa delegation including Mr. GWYNNE, Mr. JENSEN, and Mr. CUNNINGHAM, but these men represented the whole Iowa delegation, including Mr. LeCOMPTE, Mr. TALLE, Mr. MARTIN of Iowa, and Mr. HOEVEN. Also accompanying us were Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN, of Minnesota, and Mr. ANTON J. JOHNSON, of Illinois. We asked that relief be given us and our constituents.

We described to them the unfair and wicked conditions now existing in the large pork producing areas of which our section is the greatest. We urged them to take the points off of pork and to raise the weight support limit to 330 pounds on all hogs farrowed in 1943; and to immediately settle on a program for 1944 in order that hog raisers will know what to expect and plan accordingly for this year's crop of hogs.







Mr. Herman Shulman and Rabbi Irving Miller, of New York, representing the American Jewish Conference, have submitted to Government officials a number of concrete and specific plans dealing with the feeding and evacuation of Jews in Nazi-occupied territory.

"The conference, representing the organized responsibility of the American Jewish community, will place at the disposal of the new War Refugee Board the services of its commission on rescue and will make every possible contribution to facilitate the work of the new agency. The action taken by our President promises life to people who were otherwise doomed to destruction and will be welcomed by millions of Americans who have been deeply concerned with this pressing problem."

JANUARY 23, 1944.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT, laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

#### AMENDMENT OF THE WAR OVERTIME PAY ACT OF 1943

A letter from the Under Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the War Overtime Pay Act of 1943, relating to the payment of overtime compensation to Government employees, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Civil Service.

#### REPORT OF UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION ON CONTRACTS ENTERED INTO OR MODIFIED

A letter from the Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of contracts entered into or modified under authority of Public Law 46, Seventy-seventh Congress, for the period beginning October 1, 1943, and ended December 1, 1943 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Commerce.

#### REPORT OF UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION

A letter from the Secretary of the United States Maritime Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the Commission for the period ended June 30, 1943 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Commerce.

#### PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS OF A DEPARTMENT, COMMISSION, ETC.

Letters transmitting, pursuant to law, estimates of personnel requirements for the quarter ending March 31, 1944, for the Department of the Interior, the United States Civil Service Commission, and the Smaller War Plants Corporation (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Civil Service.

#### DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of papers and documents on the files of the Departments of War, Justice, Navy (2), and Labor; and the National Archives (2) which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and requesting action looking toward their disposition (with accompanying papers); to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

#### FEDERAL BALLOTS FOR SOLDIERS—PETITIONS FROM DETROIT

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I desire formally to present on behalf of my colleague [Mr. FERGUSON] and myself petitions which are at the clerk's desk.

They were gathered by various groups in the city of Detroit. Forty-five thousand signatures are requesting the Federal ballot for soldiers. I ask that the text of one petition be printed at this point in the Record and that the petitions be appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to lie on the table and the text of one of the petitions was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Whereas the right of all American citizens to vote is a sacred function of our democracy; and

Whereas over 11,000,000 American men and women, now in the armed services of our Nation, must be given every opportunity to exercise that right in the national elections in November 1944: Therefore

We, the undersigned, who have sons or daughters, husbands, wives, sweethearts, brothers or sisters in the armed forces, hereby petition the Congress of the United States to grant, without qualification, the opportunity to vote to our service men and women and to vote for Federal jurisdiction of such voting without the complications arising from State election procedure.

#### CONSUMER SUBSIDIES—PETITIONS

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I also formally present petitions with 250,000 signatures in favor of consumer subsidies. I ask that the text of one petition regarding consumer subsidies be printed in the Record, and that the petitions be appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to lie on the table and the text of one of the petitions was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### SUBSIDIES TO CONTROL PRICES AND INCREASE FOOD PRODUCTION

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Whereas subsidies are necessary to roll back and control prices; and

Whereas control of prices is necessary to prevent inflation; and

Whereas subsidies will act as an incentive to the farmers to increase the food production: Therefore

We, the undersigned, hereby petition the Congress of the United States to approve subsidies and vote down H. R. 3477 which prohibits subsidies by any Government agency.

#### PROHIBITION OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC DURING THE WAR—MEMORIALS FROM WISCONSIN

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference certain memorials signed by sundry citizens of Wisconsin remonstrating against the enactment of any prohibition legislation and ask that the heading of one of the memorials may be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the memorials were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and the heading of one of the memorials was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### PROTEST AGAINST PROHIBITION

JANUARY 17, 1944.

We are against prohibition. We do not want it to happen here again. We, the undersigned American citizens of the State of Wisconsin, protest against the Bryson bill (H. R. 2082) or any bill like it, which would deprive any part of the American people of the right to enjoy the use of alcoholic beverages as they are made today.

Sponsored by:

EMIL SIEVERT,  
Merrill, Wis.

#### TAX ON OLEOMARGARINE: NEED FOR PROTEIN MEAL — RESOLUTIONS BY KANSAS STATE DAIRY ASSOCIATION

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I received copy of the resolutions adopted a few days ago by the Kansas State Dairy Association at its annual meeting in Topeka, Kans., on January 12, in which the members of this association go on record in their opposition to pending legislation which would benefit the oleomargarine manufacturers at the expense of the butter producers. Also a resolution which asks that sufficient quantities of high protein meal in primary form be made available to the dairy industry. I ask that these resolutions be printed in the Record and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Whereas the oleomargarine manufacturers have through a united effort endeavored to take over the natural market of butter, at the same time the Federal Government has commandeered large quantities of butter for lend-lease purposes and for use of the Army and Navy and those invalidated home from the war, and these efforts have been resisted by our Senators and Congressmen: Be it

*Resolved*, That this association extend to Senator CAPPER, SENATOR REED, and Congressmen LAMBERTSON, WINTERS, REES, HOPE, CARLSON, and SCHVENER our most sincere thanks for the splendid, successful fight they have made in the interest of the general public welfare and Kansas dairymen.

Whereas it has become increasingly difficult to purchase vegetable protein meals in primary form which are so necessary for the economical production of dairy products needed to meet the goals set by the War Food Administration: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the W. F. A. take such steps as may be necessary to make available to the dairy industry sufficient quantities of high protein meal in primary form to meet the needs of the industry.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Appropriations:

H. J. Res. 208. Joint resolution making an appropriation to assist in providing a supply and distribution of farm labor for the calendar year 1944; with amendments (Rept. No. 634).

By Mr. McCARRAN, from the Committee on the District of Columbia:

S. 1641. A bill to amend the Code of the District of Columbia providing for the sale of fish of the shad or herring species, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 635);

S. 1657. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to empower the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to convey land" (approved April 28, 1922); without amendment (Rept. No. 636);

S. 1658. A bill to extend for 1 year the date of termination of Public Law 22, dated April 1, 1943, entitled "To provide for a temporary increase in compensation for certain employees of the District of Columbia government and the White House Police Force"; without amendment (Rept. No. 637); and

H. R. 3916. A bill to permit the construction and use of certain pipe lines for pneumatic tube transmission in the District of Columbia; with amendments (Rept. No. 638).



BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION  
INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. REED:

S. 1664. A bill to reestablish the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, to re-create the offices of the members of said Board, and to transfer functions of the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration from the National Housing Agency to said Board, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ELLENDER:

S. 1665. A bill to relieve certain employees of the Veterans' Administration from financial liability for certain overpayments and allow such credit therefor as is necessary in the accounts of Guy F. Allen, chief disbursing officer; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GURNEY:

S. 1666. A bill for the relief of Leonard Larson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri:

S. 1667. A bill to amend section 42 of title 7 of the Canal Zone Code; to the Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals.

By Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts:

S. 1668. A bill authorizing appropriations for the United States Navy for additional ship repair facilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

S. 1669. A bill to clarify the law relative to allowances for mileage of graduates of the United States Military Academy and transportation of their dependents on assignment to their first duty station and to the mileage allowance of persons entering the United States Military Academy as cadets; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

(Mr. THOMAS of Utah introduced Senate bill 1670, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BAILEY:

S. J. Res. 112. Joint resolution authorizing and directing the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior to conduct a survey of the marine and fresh-water fishery resources of the United States, its Territories and possessions; to the Committee on Commerce.

## ADULT EDUCATION EXTENSION PROGRAM

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to promote the welfare of the people by establishing a publicly supported adult education program stemming from the State universities and land-grant colleges, and so forth.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 1670) to promote the welfare of the people by establishing a publicly supported adult education program stemming from the State universities and land-grant colleges, by setting up a college and university adult education extension program separate from but supplemental to the cooperative agricultural extension service authorized by previous acts, thus making broadly available to community groups and individuals the full educational resources and research findings of these public institutions of higher learning, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

## HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in

the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

CONTINUATION OF COMMODITY CREDIT  
CORPORATION—AMENDMENT

Mr. O'MAHONEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 3477) to continue the Commodity Credit Corporation as an agency of the United States, to revise the basis of annual appraisal of its assets, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

WARTIME METHOD OF VOTING BY  
MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES—  
AMENDMENTS

Mr. REVERCOMB submitted an amendment and also an amendment in the nature of a substitute intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1612) to amend the act of September 16, 1942, which provided a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. HOLMAN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1612) to amend the act of September 16, 1942, which provided a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table, to be printed, and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. HOLMAN to the bill (S. 1612) to amend the act of September 16, 1942, which provided a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes, viz: At the proper place in the bill insert the following: "Provided, That the President by the exercise of this authority shall be deemed to disqualify himself thereby from being a candidate for any office to be affected by the administration of this act, should the President become disqualified from exercising the authority granted to him under this act, then and in that event, the ex-President of the United States who has most recently served as President shall exercise every and all authority which otherwise is granted the President under the language of this act."

FEDERAL REGULATION OF IMMIGRA-  
TION—ADDRESS BY SENATOR HOLMAN

[Mr. HOLMAN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address on the subject of Federal regulation of immigration delivered by him on Monday, January 24, 1944, which appears in the Appendix.]

FARM PRICES, FARM INCOME, AND PRICE  
CONTROLS—LETTER FROM CHESTER  
BOWLES

[Mr. CAPPER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter addressed to him by Chester Bowles, Administrator of the Office of Price Administration, relative to farm prices, farm income, and price controls, which appears in the Appendix.]

RED CROSS ACTIVITIES OF, AND TRIBUTES  
TO, MABEL T. BOARDMAN

[Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD

a sketch of the activities of Miss Mabel T. Boardman in the American Red Cross and a brief summary of tributes paid to her, which appear in the Appendix.]

TEXT OF RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

[Mr. TUNNELL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD the text of the resolution offered by Senator GREEN and unanimously adopted by the Democratic National Committee on January 2, 1944, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE SERVICE VOTE, EDITORIAL FROM  
NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

[Mr. GREEN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Service Vote," published in the New York Herald Tribune of January 25, 1944, which appears in the Appendix.]

WARTIME METHOD OF VOTING BY MEM-  
BERS OF THE ARMED FORCES—MESSAGE  
FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 386)

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which will be read.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Gillette	Overton
Andrews	Green	Pepper
Bailey	Guffey	Radcliffe
Ball	Gurney	Reed
Bankhead	Hatch	Revercomb
Barkley	Hawkes	Reynolds
Bilbo	Hayden	Robertson
Bone	Hill	Russell
Brewster	Holman	Shipstead
Bridges	Johnson, Colo.	Smith
Brooks	Kilgore	Stewart
Buck	La Follette	Taft
Burton	Langer	Thomas, Idaho
Bushfield	Lodge	Thomas, Okla.
Butler	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Byrd	McCarran	Tobey
Capper	McClellan	Truman
Caraway	McFarland	Tunnell
Clark, Idaho	McKellar	Tydings
Clark, Mo.	Maloney	Vandenberg
Connally	Maybank	Wagner
Danaher	Mead	Wallgren
Davis	Millikin	Walsh, Mass.
Downey	Moore	Wheeler
Eastland	Murdock	Wherry
Ellender	Murray	White
Ferguson	Nye	Willis
George	O'Daniel	Wilson
Gerry	O'Mahoney	

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] is absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. SCRUGHAM] is detained on official business.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER] and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] are detained on public business.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WALSH] is absent because of a slight illness.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] is absent on official business.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. AUSTIN] is absent as a result of illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-six Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

The clerk will read the message from the President of the United States.

78TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# H. J. RES. 192

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 26 (legislative day, JANUARY 24), 1944

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

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## JOINT RESOLUTION

To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

1       *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*  
2       *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3       That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to  
4       the President such sums, not to exceed \$1,350,000,000  
5       in the aggregate, as the Congress may determine from  
6       time to time to be appropriate for participation by the  
7       United States (including contributions in funds or other-  
8       wise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the  
9       work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Admin-  
10      istration, established by an agreement concluded by the  
11      United Nations and Associated Governments on November  
12      9, 1943, reading as follows:



1 "AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF  
2 AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

3 "The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized  
4 representatives have subscribed hereto,

5 "Being United Nations or being associated with the  
6 United Nations in this war,

7 "Being determined that immediately upon the liberation  
8 of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as  
9 a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof  
10 shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, cloth-  
11 ing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in  
12 the recovery of the health of the people, and that prepara-  
13 tion and arrangements shall be made for the return of  
14 prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the  
15 resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial  
16 production and the restoration of essential services,

17 "Have agreed as follows:

18 "ARTICLE I

19 "There is hereby established the United Nations Relief  
20 and Rehabilitation Administration.

21 "1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold  
22 and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake  
23 obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review  
24 the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings

1 and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its  
2 objects and purposes.

3 “2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the pur-  
4 poses and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

5 “(a) To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the  
6 administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in  
7 any area under the control of any of the United Nations  
8 through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and  
9 other basic necessities, medical and other essential services;  
10 and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the  
11 adequate provision of relief, the production and transporta-  
12 tion of these articles and the furnishing of these services. The  
13 form of activities of the Administration within the territory of  
14 a member government wherein that government exercises  
15 administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed  
16 by the member government for carrying out measures planned  
17 by the Administration therein shall be determined after  
18 consultation with and with the consent of the member  
19 government.

20 “(b) To formulate and recommend measures for indi-  
21 vidual or joint action by any or all of the member govern-  
22 ments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships and  
23 other procurement activities in the period following the cessa-  
24 tion of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and



1 activities of the Administration with the total movement of  
2 supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distri-  
3 bution of available supplies. The Administration may ad-  
4 minister such coordination measures as may be authorized by  
5 the member governments concerned.

6 “(c) To study, formulate and recommend for individual  
7 or joint action by any or all of the member governments  
8 measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of  
9 its experience in planning and performing the work of relief  
10 and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member  
11 governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recom-  
12 mendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a  
13 vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be re-  
14 ferred to any or all of the member governments for indi-  
15 vidual or joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the  
16 Central Committee and by vote of the Council.

17 “ARTICLE II

18 “MEMBERSHIP

19 “The members of the United Nations Relief and Re-  
20 habilitation Administration shall be the governments or  
21 authorities signatory hereto and such other governments or  
22 authorities as may upon application for membership be  
23 admitted thereto by action of the Council. The Council may,  
24 if it desires, authorize the Central Committee to accept new  
25 members between sessions of the Council.

1 “Wherever the term ‘member government’ is used in this  
2 Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the  
3 Administration whether a government or an authority.

4 “ARTICLE III

5 “THE COUNCIL

6 “1. Each member government shall name one representa-  
7 tive, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Coun-  
8 cil of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Adminis-  
9 tration which shall be the policy-making body of the Adminis-  
10 tration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select  
11 one of its members to preside at the session. The Council  
12 shall determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise  
13 provided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the  
14 Council shall vote by simple majority.

15 “2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not  
16 less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may  
17 be convened in special session whenever the Central Com-  
18 mittee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within  
19 thirty days after request therefor by one-third of the mem-  
20 bers of the Council.

21 “3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist  
22 of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist  
23 Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of  
24 America, with the Director General presiding, without vote.  
25 Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make



1 policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions  
2 shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee  
3 which shall be communicated promptly to each member gov-  
4 ernment. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by  
5 the Council at any regular session or at any special session  
6 called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The  
7 Central Committee shall invite the participation of the repre-  
8 sentative of any member government at those of its meetings  
9 at which action of special interest to such government is  
10 discussed. It shall invite the participation of the represent-  
11 ative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of  
12 the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affect-  
13 ing the provision of supplies are discussed.

14 "4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall  
15 consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
16 representing those member governments likely to be prin-  
17 cipal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The  
18 members shall be appointed by the Council, and the  
19 Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emer-  
20 gency appointments between sessions of the Council, such  
21 appointments to continue until the next session of the Coun-  
22 cil. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate and  
23 recommend to the Council and the Central Committee poli-  
24 cies designed to assure the provision of required supplies.  
25 The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with

1 the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting  
2 supplies.

3       “5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall con-  
4 sist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
5 representing member governments of territories within the  
6 European area and such other members of the Council rep-  
7 resenting other governments directly concerned with the  
8 problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area  
9 as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may au-  
10 thorize the Central Committee to make these appointments  
11 in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such  
12 appointments to continue until the next session of the Coun-  
13 cil. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall  
14 consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
15 representing member governments of territories within the  
16 Far Eastern area and such other members of the Council  
17 representing other governments directly concerned with the  
18 problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area  
19 as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may au-  
20 thorize the Central Committee to make these appointments  
21 in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such  
22 appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.  
23 The regional committees shall normally meet within their  
24 respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to  
25 the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect



1 to relief and rehabilitation within their respective areas.  
2 The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the  
3 Inter-Allied Committee on European Post-war Relief estab-  
4 lished in London on September 24, 1941, and the records  
5 of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for  
6 Europe.

7       “6. The Council shall establish such other standing re-  
8 gional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions  
9 of such committees and the method of appointing their mem-  
10 bers being identical to that provided in Article III, para-  
11 graph 5, with respect to the Committees of the Council for  
12 Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also estab-  
13 lish such other standing committees as it considers desirable  
14 to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council,  
15 to advise the Central Committee. For such standing techni-  
16 cal committees as may be established, in respect of particular  
17 problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, re-  
18 patriation, and finance, the members may be members of the  
19 Council or alternates nominated by them because of special  
20 competence in their respective fields of work. The members  
21 shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may au-  
22 thorize the Central Committee to make emergency appoint-  
23 ments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to  
24 continue until the next session of the Council. Should a re-  
25 gional committee so desire, subcommittees of the standing

1 technical committees shall be established by the technical  
 2 committees in consultation with the regional committees,  
 3 to advise the regional committees.

4 “7. The travel and other expenses of members of the  
 5 Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by  
 6 the governments which they represent.

7 “8. All reports and recommendations of committees of  
 8 the Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for  
 9 distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the  
 10 secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of  
 11 Article IV, paragraph 4.

#### 12 “ARTICLE IV

##### 13 “THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

14 “1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief  
 15 and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director  
 16 General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nom-  
 17 ination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The  
 18 Director General may be removed by the Council on recom-  
 19 mendation by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

20 “2. The Director General shall have full power and au-  
 21 thority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by  
 22 Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available  
 23 resources and the broad policies determined by the Council  
 24 or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office



1 he shall in conjunction with the military and other appro-  
2 priate authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for  
3 the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area  
4 occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations,  
5 arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary  
6 supplies and create or select the emergency organization  
7 required for this purpose. In arranging for the procure-  
8 ment, transportation, and distribution of supplies and serv-  
9 ices, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate  
10 with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and  
11 shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available  
12 by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may  
13 not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the  
14 Administration without the consent and unless subject to the  
15 regulation of the Director General. The powers and duties  
16 of the Director General are subject to the limitations of  
17 Article VII.

18       “3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the  
19 organization and direction of the functions contemplated by  
20 Article I, paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c).

21       “4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy  
22 Directors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his  
23 headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he  
24 shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his  
25 powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General,

1 or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General,  
2 shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities  
3 as shall be required by the Council and its committees, in-  
4 cluding the regional committees and subcommittees. Such  
5 Deputy Directors General as shall be assigned special func-  
6 tions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional  
7 standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it ad-  
8 vised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation program  
9 within the region.

10 "5. The Director General shall make periodic reports  
11 to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the  
12 progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall  
13 be made public except for such portions as the Central Com-  
14 mittee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United  
15 Nations, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests  
16 of a member government in such a way as to render it ques-  
17 tionable whether it should be published, such government  
18 shall have an opportunity of expressing its views on the  
19 question of publication. The Director General shall also  
20 arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activ-  
21 ities of the Administration within each region and he shall  
22 transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the  
23 Council, the Central Committee and the respective regional  
24 committees.



## 1 "ARTICLE V

## 2 "SUPPLIES AND RESOURCES

3 "1. In so far as its appropriate constitutional bodies  
4 shall authorize, each member government will contribute to  
5 the support of the Administration in order to accomplish  
6 the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). The amount and  
7 character of the contributions of each member government  
8 under this provision will be determined from time to time  
9 by its appropriate constitutional bodies. All such contribu-  
10 tions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

11 "2. The supplies and resources made available by the  
12 member governments shall be kept in review in relation to  
13 prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall  
14 initiate action with the member governments with a view to  
15 assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be  
16 required.

17 "3. All purchases by any of the member governments,  
18 to be made outside their own territories during the war for  
19 relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after  
20 consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as  
21 practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United  
22 Nations agency.

## 23 "ARTICLE VI

## 24 "ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

25 "The Director General shall submit to the Council an

1 annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary  
2 budgets as may be required, covering the necessary adminis-  
3 trative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of  
4 a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be  
5 allocated to the member governments in proportions to be  
6 determined by the Council. Each member government  
7 undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional  
8 procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its  
9 share of the administrative expenses so determined.

#### 10 "ARTICLE VII

11 "Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained,  
12 while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area,  
13 the Administration and its Director General shall not under-  
14 take activities therein without the consent of the military com-  
15 mand of that area, and unless subject to such control as the  
16 command may find necessary. The determination that such  
17 hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be  
18 made by its military commander.

#### 19 "ARTICLE VIII

#### 20 "AMENDMENT

21 "The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as  
22 follows:

23 "a. Amendments involving new obligations for member  
24 governments shall require the approval of the Council by a



1 two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member govern-  
2 ment on acceptance by it;

3 "b. Amendments involving modification of Article III  
4 or Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by  
5 a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of  
6 the Central Committee;

7 "c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by  
8 the Council by a two-thirds vote.

9 "ARTICLE IX

10 "ENTRY INTO FORCE

11 "This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to  
12 each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by  
13 that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

14 "ARTICLE X

15 "WITHDRAWAL

16 "Any member government may give notice of with-  
17 drawal from the Administration at any time after the expira-  
18 tion of six months from the entry into force of the Agreement  
19 for that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve  
20 months after the date of its communication to the Director  
21 General subject to the member government having met by  
22 that time all financial, supply or other material obligations  
23 accepted or undertaken by it."

24 SEC. 2. Amounts appropriated under this resolution  
25 shall be expended under the direction of the President pur-

1 suant to section 1 hereof. The President shall submit to the  
2 Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any  
3 such appropriations and of operations under the Agreement.

4 SEC. 3. In the adoption of this joint resolution the  
5 Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the  
6 policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilita-  
7 tion Administration at the first session of the Council, sum-  
8 marized in paragraph 11 of Resolution Numbered 12, and  
9 reading as follows:

10 "11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as  
11 the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief.  
12 No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated,  
13 but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the  
14 Agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are impor-  
15 tant, but not determining factors. They are consequences  
16 and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration  
17 cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment  
18 in the world."

19 SEC. 4. In expressing its approval of this joint resolution,  
20 it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds  
21 and facilities permit, any area important to the military  
22 operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine  
23 or disease may be included in the benefits to be made avail-  
24 able through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation  
25 Administration.



1        SEC. 5. The authorization contained in this joint resolu-  
2        tion shall expire at the conclusion of two years following  
3        the termination of hostilities on all fronts unless specifically  
4        extended by an Act of Congress.

Passed the House of Representatives January 25, 1944.

Attest:

SOUTH TRIMBLE,

*Clerk.*





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## **JOINT RESOLUTION**

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To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

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JANUARY 26 (legislative day, JANUARY 24), 1944

Read twice and referred to the Committee on  
Foreign Relations







LEGISLATION  
UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION  
ORGANIZATION

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. J. Res. 192

A JOINT RESOLUTION TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES  
TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE UNITED  
NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION  
ORGANIZATION

---

FEBRUARY 9 AND 10, 1944

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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# UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ORGANIZATION

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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1944

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met pursuant to call at 10:30 o'clock in the committee room in the Capitol, Senator Connally (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Connally (chairman), George, Wagner, Thomas of Utah, Murray, Green, Barkley, Guffey, Tunnell, Capper, La Follette, Vandenberg, White, Nye, and Davis.

Also present: Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State; Edward G. Miller, Jr., adviser, Liberated Areas Division, State Department; James A. Stillwell, adviser, Liberated Areas Division, State Department; Walter A. Chudson, principal economist, Liberated Areas Division, State Department; Francis B. Sayre, diplomatic adviser to the Director General of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; Abraham H. Feller, general counsel, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; James G. Johnson, Jr., office of the general counsel, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; John Ferguson, chief counsel, Liberated Areas Branch, Federal Economic Administration; Alfred E. Davidson, assistant general counsel, Federal Economic Administration.

(The joint resolution under consideration, H. J. Res. 192, is as follows:)

[H. J. Res. 192, 78th Cong., 2d sess.]

**JOINT RESOLUTION** To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President such sums, not to exceed \$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate, as the Congress may determine from time to time to be appropriate for participation by the United States (including contributions in funds or otherwise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and Associated Governments on November 9, 1943, reading as follows:

## “AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

“The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto,

“Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war,

“Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing, and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resump-



tion of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services,

"Have agreed as follows:

#### "ARTICLE I

"There is hereby established the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects and purposes.

"2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

"(a) To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services. The form of activities of the Administration within the territory of a member government wherein that government exercises administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed by the member government for carrying out measures planned by the Administration therein shall be determined after consultation with and with the consent of the member government.

"(b) To formulate and recommend measures for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships and other procurement activities in the period following the cessation of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and activities of the Administration with the total movement of supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distribution of available supplies. The Administration may administer such coordination measures as may be authorized by the member governments concerned.

"(c) To study, formulate, and recommend for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of its experience in planning and performing the work of relief and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recommendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be referred to any or all of the member governments for individual or joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the Central Committee and by vote of the Council.

#### "ARTICLE II

##### "MEMBERSHIP

"The members of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be the governments or authorities signatory hereto and such other governments or authorities as may upon application for membership be admitted thereto by action of the Council. The Council may, if it desires, authorize the Central Committee to accept new members between sessions of the Council.

"Wherever the term 'member government' is used in this Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the Administration whether a government or an authority.

#### "ARTICLE III

##### "THE COUNCIL

"1. Each member government shall name one representative, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which shall be the policy-making body of the Administration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one of its members to preside at the session. The Council shall determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise provided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the Council shall vote by simple majority.

"2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may be convened in special session whenever the Central Committee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within thirty days after request therefor by one-third of the members of the Council.

"3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, with the Director General presiding, without vote. Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee which shall be communicated promptly to each member government. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by the Council at any regular session or at any special session called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The Central Committee shall invite the participation of the representative of any member government at those of its meetings at which action of special interest to such government is discussed. It shall invite the participation of the representative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affecting the provision of supplies are discussed.

"4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing those member governments likely to be principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate, and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies designed to assure the provision of required supplies. The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting supplies.

"5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the European area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The regional committees shall normally meet within their respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect to relief and rehabilitation within their respective areas. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the Inter-Allied Committee on European Post-war Relief established in London on September 24, 1941, and the records of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for Europe.

"6. The Council shall establish such other standing regional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions of such committees and the method of appointing their members being identical to that provided in Article III, paragraph 5, with respect to the Committees of the Council for Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also establish such other standing committees as it considers desirable to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council, to advise the Central Committee. For such standing technical committees as may be established, in respect of particular problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, repatriation, and finance, the members may be members of the Council or alternates nominated by them because of special competence in their respective fields of work. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. Should a regional committee so desire, subcommittees of the standing technical committees shall be established by the technical committees in consultation with the regional committees, to advise the regional committees.

"7. The travel and other expenses of members of the Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by the governments which they represent.

"8. All reports and recommendations of committees of the Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 4.



## "ARTICLE IV

## "THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

"1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The Director General may be removed by the Council on recommendation by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

"2. The Director General shall have full power and authority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available resources and the broad policies determined by the Council or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office he shall in conjunction with the military and other appropriate authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area occupied by the armed forces of the United Nations, arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary supplies and create or select the emergency organization required for this purpose. In arranging for the procurement, transportation, and distribution of supplies and services, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the Administration without the consent and unless subject to the regulation of the Director General. The powers and duties of the Director General are subject to the limitations of Article VII.

"3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the organization and direction of the functions contemplated by Article I, paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c).

"4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy Directors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General, or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General, shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities as shall be required by the Council and its committees, including the regional committees and subcommittees. Such Deputy Directors General as shall be assigned special functions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it advised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation program within the region.

"5. The Director General shall make periodic reports to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall be made public except for such portions as the Central Committee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Nations, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests of a member government in such a way as to render it questionable whether it should be published, such government shall have an opportunity of expressing its views on the question of publication. The Director General shall also arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activities of the Administration within each region and he shall transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the Council, the Central Committee and the respective regional committees.

## "ARTICLE V

## "SUPPLIES AND RESOURCES

"1. Insofar as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall authorize, each member government will contribute to the support of the Administration in order to accomplish the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). The amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies. All such contributions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

"2. The supplies and resources made available by the member governments shall be kept in review in relation to prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall initiate action with the member governments with a view to assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be required.

"3. All purchases by any of the member governments, to be made outside their own territories during the war for relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United Nations agency.

## "ARTICLE VI

## "ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

"The Director General shall submit to the Council an annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be allocated to the member governments in proportions to be determined by the Council. Each member government undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its share of the administrative expenses so determined.

## "ARTICLE VII

"Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary. The determination that such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be made by its military commander.

## "ARTICLE VIII

## "AMENDMENT

"The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as follows:

"a. Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it;

"b. Amendments involving modification of Article III or Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the Central Committee;

"c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote.

## "ARTICLE IX

## "ENTRY INTO FORCE

"This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

## "ARTICLE X

## "WITHDRAWAL

"Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of six months from the entry into force of the Agreement for that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve months after the date of its communication to the Director General subject to the member government having met by that time all financial, supply or other material obligations accepted or undertaken by it."

SEC. 2. Amounts appropriated under this resolution shall be expended under the direction of the President pursuant to section 1 hereof. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any such appropriations and of operations under the Agreement.

SEC. 3. In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the first session of the Council, summarized in paragraph 11 of Resolution Numbered 12, and reading as follows:

"11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the Agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world."

SEC. 4. In expressing its approval of this joint resolution, it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by



famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

SEC. 5. The authorization contained in this joint resolution shall expire at the conclusion of two years following the termination of hostilities on all fronts unless specifically extended by an Act of Congress.

Passed the House of Representatives January 25, 1944.

Attest:

SOUTH TRIMBLE, *Clerk.*

(Mr. Acheson requested, and without objection was granted, permission to insert herein a communication from Secretary Hull to Chairman Connally, in which he states his support of this resolution, the communication being as follows:)

FEBRUARY 8, 1944.

The Honorable TOM CONNALLY,

*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,*

*United States Senate.*

MY DEAR SENATOR CONNALLY: I understand that House Joint Resolution 192, a bill to authorize appropriations to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is now before your committee. I wish to endorse this bill and strongly commend it to the favorable consideration of the committee.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement itself was carefully worked out after consultations with Members of Congress, and especially with the Foreign Relations Committee and with the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. This agreement, as you know, was signed on November 9, and the first meeting of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration council was held at Atlantic City. The council elected a distinguished American, the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, to be Director General of the Administration. It laid the groundwork for the organization of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and adopted sound and useful resolutions on the policies which it should follow. It now remains for this organization to begin its important operations. All the 44 united and associated nations are joining in its work, and I know that Congress will wish the United States to play its proper part. As the President said, " \* \* \* it is hard for us to grasp the magnitude of the needs in occupied countries.

"The Germans and the Japanese have carried on their campaigns of plunder and destruction with one purpose in mind: That in the lands they occupy there shall be left only a generation of half-men—undernourished, crushed in body and spirit, without strength or incentive to hope—ready, in fact, to be enslaved and used as beasts of burden by the self-styled master races.

"The occupied countries have been robbed of their foodstuffs and raw materials, and even of the agricultural and industrial machinery upon which their workers must depend for employment. The Germans have been planning systematically to make the other countries economic vassals, utterly dependent upon and completely subservient to the Nazi tyrants. \* \* \*

"It is not only humane and charitable for the United Nations to supply medicine, food, and other necessities to the peoples freed from Axis control; it is a clear matter of enlightened self-interest and of military strategic necessity."

The broad plans growing out of the Moscow Conference, which Congress has so warmly endorsed, will need the work of this great organization to insure, in the words of the Four-Nation Declaration, "a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace" so that we may proceed to our announced purpose of "maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments."

It is as essential to be prepared for the emergency which will follow the end of war as it is to be prepared for the great operations which will bring the victorious peace. This organization must begin its work close upon the heels of the armies of the United Nations, not only to assure that the liberated peoples will live and be strengthened for the tasks of peace but to assure that the end of the fighting brings peace and not disorganization and further conflict. An instrument of great promise has been forged for this purpose by all the United and Associated Nations. That instrument is ready; the task is imminent. I earnestly recommend that the Congress authorize the funds for full and effective participation by this country.

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order, please.

At our last session the committee voted to proceed today with hearings on H. J. Res. 192, commonly called the U. N. R. R. A. resolution. We have present this morning Assistant Secretary of State Acheson, who is prepared to testify on the measure.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. DEAN ACHESON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

The CHAIRMAN. I assume, Mr. Acheson, that you would probably like to proceed first with a general statement and then submit to questioning and cross-examination following that?

Mr. ACHESON. Just as the committee wishes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the approved procedure, and it is usually the better way; so you may go ahead, Mr. Acheson, in your own way, with a general statement, and then the committee will interrogate you.

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the committee has before it H. J. Resolution 192, which has been passed by the House. This is a resolution which authorizes the appropriation to the President of such sums, not to exceed \$1,350,000,000, as Congress may determine from time to time to be appropriated for participation by the United States in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and Associated Governments on November 9, 1943. The agreement is then set forth in full in the joint resolution.

The joint resolution concludes with three sections. The next one (sec. 2, p. 14) says that amounts appropriated under this resolution shall be expended under the direction of the President, pursuant to section 1, and the President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports.

The next section (sec. 3, p. 15) says that in the adoption of the joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at Atlantic City, which is then quoted. That policy states that rehabilitation is not to be regarded as the beginning of reconstruction, but it gives a narrow interpretation of what "rehabilitation" is.

Section 4 (p. 15) then says that in expressing its approval of the joint resolution it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits made available through the Relief Administration. That was put in by the House. All of these concluding sections were put in by the House in amendments on the floor.

Section 5 (p. 16) says that the authorization contained in the joint resolution shall expire at the conclusion of 2 years following the termination of hostilities on all fronts.

Senator WHITE. May I ask what text you are reading from?

Senator VANDENBERG. It is the same one you have.

Mr. ACHESON. This is the resolution introduced in the Senate on January 26, "read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations."



Senator VANDENBERG. The trouble the Senator is having is that he was looking at the articles as you read their numbers in the agreement rather than in the bill.

Mr. ACHESON. I am sorry, Senator White.

Senator WHITE. I could not square the numbers you mentioned with the numbers appearing in the form of the resolution.

Mr. ACHESON. I see. The ones which I have been reading begin at the bottom of page 14 and over on the top of page 15, Senator White.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we can ask, there, since the Secretary is right on it, what is the meaning of the "devastated area" and "places of famine"? Would you mind giving an interpretation of what that paragraph means?

Mr. ACHESON. That is an amendment which was introduced in the House by Mr. Mundt, of South Dakota, and it arose out of the question as to whether India was one of the liberated areas within the meaning of the resolution. In an exchange of correspondence between Mr. Mundt and myself I had taken the position that the agreement refers to "liberated areas," that is, areas now occupied by the enemy, which are to be freed by the Army—that that was the purpose of the organization of U. N. R. R. A. Mr. Mundt and many of his colleagues on the floor of the House wished to make the recommendation that, the language being reasonably flexible, it should be extended to include areas such as India, here there is a famine even though it is not a "liberated area" in the sense that it has not been occupied by the enemy and freed by the United Nations. That was the purpose of that section.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. India is not mentioned in the article, is it?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir. No, there is no country mentioned in it.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Is the amendment broad enough so that the organization could extend its activities to any place in the world where there was a famine condition and where there was need for help from the outside?

Mr. ACHESON. It was my contention, Senator, that it was not, and that we should not do that.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. But I mean the amendment—does the amendment make that possible?

Mr. ACHESON. If the amendment is adopted by the Congress I believe that it would give the recommendation of the Congress of the United States that that should be done. In drawing this agreement we had attempted to restrict it to a particular purpose, realizing well, we thought, that the Congress of the United States would not wish to undertake to grant relief anywhere in the world but would be willing to cooperate in the relief of particular areas which had suffered in an outstanding way from the war by reason of the occupation of the Germans and the Japanese.

Senator BARKLEY. How does that amendment, adopted on the floor, affect the agreement itself among the nations?

Mr. ACHESON. It does not affect the agreement, Senator Barkley. It merely means that if the United Nations organization should use its funds for this purpose it would be in accordance with the wish of the Congress of the United States.

Senator VANDENBERG. Would that language undertake to relieve Great Britain of its responsibilities in India?

Mr. ACHESON. Oh, no; no, Senator.

Senator VANDENBERG. I mean its relief responsibilities in India.

Mr. ACHESON. No. We had pointed out before the House committee that we thought there was no necessity for this organization's undertaking work in India because in the first place India was not a liberated area——

Senator VANDENBERG. Far from it.

Mr. ACHESON. Right. And in the second place, India has sufficient funds to obtain the foods which are necessary. The difficulty is not in lack of funds but in lack of transportation.

Senator VANDENBERG. Yes.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. The amendment has a lot of safety clauses in it so that the amendment is not in any sense broad.

In expressing its approval of this joint resolution——

I am reading the amendment, am I not?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

Senator THOMAS of Utah (reading):

It is the recommendation of the Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

That means, as I understand it, that if, for instance, India is being used as a military base by the United States or by the United Nations, and India is, therefore, part of the military objective, these funds could be extended to India if it were deemed that they should be extended to India. Does it mean any more than that?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir; that is all it means.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Have I stated it pretty well?

Mr. ACHESON. I think you have stated it correctly, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. But is it or is it not, though, effective? We are parties to this agreement. We do not say we authorize this. We say we recommend it. To whom do we recommend it? To the U. N. R. R. A. organization?

Mr. ACHESON. To the U. N. R. R. A. organization, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Has it authority to do this under our general act?

Mr. ACHESON. The view of Mr. Mundt in the House was that the language did not clearly prohibit the use of funds in India. He thought that my interpretation of the language was too restrictive. Therefore, this expresses the view of the Congress, if it is adopted, that the other interpretation should be taken, and, of course, that would carry very great weight.

Senator BARKLEY. Would it induce people to make application for relief who otherwise would not?

Mr. ACHESON. I think it would, Senator Barkley.

Senator BARKLEY. Do you think that is a good policy to be pursued by Congress, of going out and inviting people to hold out their hands? We have probably enough relief to grant, anyway, among those we know we are compelled to deal with.

Mr. ACHESON. That is just the view which I took in the correspondence which is in the records of the hearings before the House, but the



House thought otherwise; and if that is the desire of the Congress, it would not be opposed by the State Department.

Senator TUNNELL. How far does the word "rehabilitation" go? Just what is the meaning of it in your opinion?

Mr. ACHESON. Senator Tunnell, that was the subject of resolutions at Atlantic City, one of the most important of which has been set forth in this House amendment to the bill itself. That is found on page 15.

Senator TUNNELL. Yes. What I was looking at was—

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief.

I was just wondering whether "rehabilitation" has reference there entirely to relief of sections, or just what is meant by that.

Mr. ACHESON. There are two fairly clear places, one in the agreement and one in the resolution, where that is dealt with. If you turn to the bill, on page 3, section 2 of the agreement, under article I, it says:

Subject to the provisions of article VII, the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

(a) To plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services—

That is generally what is regarded as "relief." Then it goes on:

and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

That is what has been regarded as "rehabilitation." In other words, if it is wiser and better and more efficient to produce the relief articles and services in the country rather than to import them, the organization has the authority to do that.

Senator TUNNELL. What is your idea then of the word "reconstruction"? Does that mean the reconstruction of buildings?

Mr. ACHESON. That is something which is altogether beyond the scope of this organization. That is a rebuilding of the devastation of the war, and with that this organization has nothing to do.

Senator TUNNELL. I see.

Senator WHITE. In the draft of the legislation, or in the agreements that have been worked out by the adhering nations or the nations that are forming part of this organization, is there anything which authorizes relief within occupied territories?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir; not while they are still occupied by the enemy.

Senator WHITE. This organization deals only with countries that have been liberated?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Senator WHITE. And the people thereof?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir; entirely.

Senator VANDENBERG. On the question asked by Senator Tunnell, might it not also be stated for the record, Mr. Secretary, that in the preamble the language was rewritten and changed from the original form in a further effort to restrict the scope and to be sure that we were dealing solely with relief?

Mr. ACHESON. That is quite correct, Senator Vandenberg; and perhaps it might be proper for me to state on the record now the proceedings leading up to this draft, so that you may have it before you.

Senator VANDENBERG. Yes; but I want to observe that some things that are not in the draft are just as important as some of the things that are, in its interpretation.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Senator VANDENBERG. We took out some language which might have been misleading in its enthusiasm.

Mr. ACHESON. That is entirely correct.

Mr. Chairman, I might say briefly as to the history of this document, the history begins in September 1941 when the European exiled governments met in London under the aegis of the British Government and created the Interallied Postwar Requirements Committee. That was in September 1941. That committee went to work and worked for 2 years before this agreement came into being. The purpose of that committee was to try to work out in advance the needs of the European countries as they would exist at the termination of hostilities.

When the committee was formed the United States was not a member of it. After it had been working some time an observer was attached to it, and toward the end of its existence that observer became a member.

Senator GREEN. You mean, for this country?

Mr. ACHESON. For this country; yes, Senator.

The Soviet Government also was not a member of the London committee. After we got into the war, that is, in the beginning of 1942, the Soviet Government made a proposal to the British Government and to this Government that that committee, which had been staffed entirely by a branch of the British Government, was not truly international in character and it ought to be succeeded by an international organization with an international staff to which all members of the United Nations belonged.

The United States Government thought that was a good suggestion and went to work on it, and in the summer of 1942 and the spring of 1943 a draft of an agreement to bring that about was worked out. That was put out for public discussion in June 1943. You will remember at that time, Senator Connally, you asked Secretary Hull to come up before a subcommittee of this committee, which he did, and after that discussion, that subcommittee worked with Mr. Francis Sayre, who was then in the State Department, and myself, on the draft agreement.

The draft agreement was subject to many criticisms. Many of those were made by the subcommittee of this committee. The ones that you gentlemen did not think of, some of the foreign countries did; so as a result of all of the discussion we went all over that draft very carefully with the subcommittee of this committee, and there it was substantially rewritten in two major respects: one, as Senator Vandenberg has said, in the preamble; and in the section which I have just read, which is article I, paragraph 2, the scope of the activities was very much more specifically stated and more restrictedly stated. Everything which might look like reconstruction or long-term rebuilding was taken out.



Furthermore, in articles V and VI there was a complete rewriting of those articles to make it clear that there was no commitment and could be no commitment to participate in this work without the authorization of the constitutional bodies in each country which had the authority to do that. So that the document as rewritten merely set up machinery to accomplish the purposes of relief and such rehabilitation as was incident to relief. What was to be done with that machinery was entirely within the power of the constitutional bodies of the member countries.

That agreement was signed by the 44 countries on the 9th of November, and immediately the Council provided for in the agreement assembled at Atlantic City. I might say that the machinery which was set up was a Council consisting of one member each from the 44 countries. That Council was divided into certain constitutional committees with the power to create other committees. One was what is called the Central Committee, which is made up of the four great powers, and that was given a restricted authority between sessions of the Council to lay down policy decisions, which then have to be communicated to the other member governments, and immediately on the meeting of the next session of the Council those have to be brought before it and acted upon; but it gave somebody authority to make policy decisions during the recess of the Council.

The other committees are a committee on supplies, which is provided for, a committee for Europe, and a committee for the Far East. Since then under the powers granted in the agreement there have been other technical committees set up, one on finance, one on health, one on welfare, one on industry, one on agriculture, and one on what is called "displaced persons." Those are the people who have been driven from their homes and are in some part of the world other than the place where they belong. That is what you might call the policymaking or legislative side of the organization.

Then provision is made for the executive side, and that provides that all the authority on the executive side is vested in the Director General. He has the authority to appoint his staff, and he takes all the action on behalf of the organization. The agreement then goes on to say that the contributions of funds or supplies which are to be made and the contributions for administrative expenses are in the hands of the constitutional bodies in each country.

Then there is another section which says that the Director General is to make continuous surveys of the supplies available and of the needs for them, and that all the liberated countries before they make any purchases outside of their own boundaries will notify and consult with the Director General. That is to bring about a unification of supplies so that there will not be duplication.

Now, that is the agreement, and as I say, that agreement was worked out after thorough discussion with the subcommittee of this committee, which led it to believe that all commitments on the part of this country are in the hands of Congress, that no one had undertaken to commit the United States to any act, and that therefore the issue as to whether this was a treaty had been removed from discussion.

Senator VANDENBERG. Mr. Acheson, at that point I would like to have the record show the language in article V, because I think it is

very important. The only actual obligation which we accept in a financial sense is set out in article V, is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. Article V and article VI, which has to do with the administrative expenses; yes, sir.

Senator VANDENBERG. And, in each instance, quoting from the text—

The amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies.

In other words, we are accepting no fiscal obligation under this agreement except as the obligation is specifically accepted by acts of appropriation by the Congress, is that correct?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct, Senator Vandenberg.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to say at this point that the committee is under great obligation to Senators Thomas, Green, and Vandenberg, who were members of the subcommittee and who worked out with the State Department the final draft as described by Secretary Acheson. That is correct, is it not, Mr. Acheson?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct—very correct, indeed, sir. We got the greatest help from those Senators, and I think that the agreement was greatly improved by the work which we did together.

Senator VANDENBERG. I think it also ought to be said that the State Department was amazingly cooperative, almost without precedent.

Senator BARKLEY. I think it ought to be said also that other Senators agreed pretty well with that conclusion.

Mr. ACHESON. Going forward with the history of this matter, Senator Connally, after the document was signed the Council met at Atlantic City to organize the machinery, lay down the general procedural rules, elect the officers, and make recommendations to the various member governments. That session took 3 weeks, and I think it was a very successful session. A great deal of extremely hard work was done. Practically every question was unanimously agreed to. There were some matters on which votes were taken, but I can recall only two matters, and they were minor matters, in which the result was not unanimous.

Senator BARKLEY. I would like to take occasion right there to say that in consideration of the novelty of this venture, the number of nations represented, and the interests which all of them had to consider, I think this conference at Atlantic City accomplished its work in an almost incredibly short time and with almost unanticipated success; which shows that a lot of intelligent "spadework" must have been done before they met. I would like to compliment all of those who were involved in that session for the very fine work which they did and the speed with which they did it.

Mr. ACHESON. The main lines of work, Mr. Chairman, at the Atlantic City conference, were first of all to make it clear to everybody that the scope of the work of this organization was within the restricted field which had been agreed to with the members of the subcommittee of this committee. There were at the outset some representatives in Atlantic City who had some expectation that the work was going to be broader than had been agreed and it might go into the general work of reconstruction. After a week or so of discussion it was the unanimous sense of everyone that that would not be successful and that the



greatest chance of success was to keep the work restricted so that it dealt with relief plus the rehabilitation of those facilities which are incidental to relief; and a series of resolutions was gotten up to be a guide to the Director General on that matter; and I will come back to those in a minute.

The next important step which was taken in Atlantic City was to make very clear that nothing that this organization did should in any way interfere with the conduct of the war or the organization which had been devised for the supply of the war. Those conclusions were made also very clear in resolutions; and I will come to those later on if the committee wishes.

Senator VANDENBERG. Will you just amplify that at the moment, Mr. Secretary, and state where and when it is that the Army leaves off and U. N. R. R. A. begins in the course of a military movement?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir. In the first place, the matter of authority is made clear in article VII of the agreement which appears on page 13 of the resolution. That provides:

Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary. The determination that such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be made by its military commander.

That makes it perfectly clear that this organization does not enter any area in any capacity whatever until the military commander of that area invites it to come in.

The CHAIRMAN. Would not the term "military command" be broad enough to cover any naval command, also?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir; that is meant to include them.

The CHAIRMAN. You are using it in a general sense, not in a military sense?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir. It does not refer to the Army as against the Navy.

Senator VANDENBERG. It means the armed forces?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, the armed forces, in whichever branch of the service it may be.

In other words, in order to bring this organization into activity, the military commander has to invite the organization into the area. When he invites the organization into the area, he lays down the conditions under which it can operate, and he maintains the control and supervision.

Senator WHITE. Article VII says:

Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary.

In your thought are those words, "without the consent," equivalent to an affirmative invitation?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir; he cannot come in, as the agreement says, "without the consent." The Director General might take the initiative and go to the military authorities and say, "May I come in?"—they always have the power to say no—or they may ask him to come in if they wish him in. They may take the view that they do

not want him in at all while the Army is in control, and that he will come in when they get through. The thing has to be left flexible because the conditions in different areas will be different.

Senator WHITE. I think you started off with an "invitation," and I wondered whether the invitation and this language "without the consent" were the same things?

Mr. ACHESON. I think they have the same effect, Senator White.

Senator VANDENBERG. Is there any general pattern involved in the time schedule when the Army gives over to U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. ACHESON. The Army's desire, as the Army will tell you, is to get rid of the civilian-supply job just as soon as it possibly can. For general planning purposes they have assumed that 6 months after they land in any area they will be ready to turn that area over to somebody else for supply purposes. Now, that is very rough indeed. In some areas that will be true; in other areas, such as Italy, it has not been true because the operation has gone in such a way that the military are not in a position to allow any civilian agencies into that theater of war.

Senator VANDENBERG. During that period, as I understand it, the Army takes the responsibility for whatever relief and rehabilitation is essential at the moment, is that correct?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Senator Vandenberg. The Army is in complete command and it does whatever it thinks is necessary from the military point of view.

Senator VANDENBERG. Do they do that out of military funds?

Mr. ACHESON. I think they will have to answer that. I cannot.

Senator VANDENBERG. They do not do it out of your funds, anyway?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir; not out of U. N. R. R. A.'s funds.

Senator VANDENBERG. You do not know whether there are any figures available as to what that primary period of relief is already costing?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir; I do not know about that at all. That would be a military matter.

The CHAIRMAN. It is only contemplated that the Army will do such work of that general nature as may be necessary from a military standpoint, is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. As I understand the position, the military having gone into an area are charged both under international law and international morality with the taking care of the people in the area. Whatever is necessary to do that is the responsibility of the armed forces, and of course one of our great complaints against the Axis is that they have not discharged that responsibility. When they have taken over an area they have allowed the people to starve to death. We think that is both illegal and immoral, so that it is the duty of our forces when they conquer a country or liberate a country or invade a country to see that the primary duty of reasonable care of the population is performed. This work also has a direct military bearing. Food and clothing is brought in partly to discharge the legal and moral responsibility, and partly to be sure that they do not have riots and difficulties in the rear of the troops.

Other similar activities the Army has to perform in order to carry out its fighting activities. For instance, if they find the harbor blocked or wrecked they have to fix the harbor so that they can land



troops and equipment. If railroad bridges are blown up they have to fix those so that they can move their troops. Similarly with roads. Similarly with sewerage and matters of that sort.

Senator VANDENBERG. For instance, with Sicily as an example, who is looking out for these primary relief and rehabilitation responsibilities in Sicily right now?

Mr. ACHESON. That is the concern of the military forces.

Senator VANDENBERG. They do it with their own funds, so far as you know?

Mr. ACHESON. I would prefer to leave that for General Hilldring when he appears.

The CHAIRMAN. You have of course under this resolution no responsibility or supervisory authority over the Army so long as it is operating within its sphere, is that right?

Mr. ACHESON. That is an understatement. The civilian agencies have no authority of any sort, Senator Connally. In fact, U. N. R. R. A. takes no step without permission of the Army.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked that question in view of what you had just been saying about your idea of what the Army probably would do, and its responsibility.

Mr. ACHESON. Then, there is another aspect in which the military operation has to be protected from any interference, which does not deal with the area occupied, and that is the machinery for supply in other parts of the world, and the resolutions and the agreements make it clear that so far as acquiring materials is concerned the relief organization must go to those agencies which the fighting nations have established to control supply and production in order to get supplies, and those agencies will see to it that the supplies made available are coordinated with supplies necessary for military operations, the supply of other civilian needs in this country and in other countries which are not within the scope of the liberated areas.

In other words, in the field of food, if this Administration wishes food it has to go to what is known as the Combined Food Board, which is made up of the representatives of the War Food Administration of the United States, the British Ministry of Food, and the Canadian Ministry of Food. Those three men will indicate the possible sources of supply for any relief needs of food; then, when those sources of supply are indicated, the Director General has to go, if it is the United States, to Judge Marvin Jones, or, in England, to Colonel Llewellyn, or, in Canada, to Mr. Gardiner, and work out with him such supplies of food as will not interfere with the war needs. Now, all of that has been carefully provided in the resolutions of the U. N. R. R. A. Council so that the elaborate machinery set up by the fighting nations to assure supply for the military forces and the civilian populations will not be interfered with by the procurement of supplies for relief needs, but the relief needs will be worked in as part of the over-all requirements.

I will come back to any one of these matters in greater detail, as the committee may wish.

Then the third important step was to devise some recommendation to the member governments in the field of finance. It was necessary to get funds in order to operate this organization. How should that be worked out? That was the subject of many weeks of discussion and culminated in the financial resolutions. The financial resolutions

set up a plan which is briefly described by saying that it was recommended that governments, no part of whose home territory had been invaded, should make contributions, so we divided the countries into two classes for the purpose of this recommendation.

One is, those countries, those parts of the 44 nations whose home territory had not been invaded. In the other class were those whose territories had been invaded. As to those whose home territory had not been invaded it was recommended that they should contribute a nonrecurrent contribution, in such installments as they wished to make, equal to 1 percent of their national income for the year ending June 30, 1943. I will come back to some of it in a moment.

It was thought that the countries which had been invaded would bear such a colossal burden of relief anyway that they would not be in a position, or they certainly could not say now that they would be in a position, to contribute to the relief of other countries; but a provision was inserted that if it should be found after they got back into their territories that they could make a contribution to the relief of other countries they should do so.

Then it was also provided that any liberated country which was in a position financially to pay for the supplies which it needed by way of importation, that country should pay for them; in other words, that the funds of this organization made up by these contributions should be used to supply goods to those countries which had no financial resources in terms of foreign exchange to buy goods outside their borders.

Senator VANDENBERG. Suppose a country was temporarily or partially invaded, what is the effect of the rule?

Mr. ACHESON. If its home territory was partially invaded it is not in the contributor class. That of course relates primarily to China and the Soviet Union.

Senator VANDENBERG. Would an air raid be an invasion?

Mr. ACHESON. No, sir. No; it means invaded and occupied by the enemy.

Senator BARKLEY. It is invaded, no matter whether it is part of its territory or all of it; is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In that event your other provisions would apply?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If they were able to provide funds to secure supplies, then this agency would be under no obligation to do so; isn't that right?

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct. If they are able to pay for their supplies, this organization will do everything it can to help them get the supplies and see that their share is a fair share, that they do not get too much or too little, but it will not finance the purchase; they will finance the purchase, themselves.

The purpose of that was clear from several points of view. The organization should not use funds for countries which do not need financial help. It was also desired to make the fund go just as far as possible. Then there are also provisions in the plan which permit the Director General in dealing with countries which do not have foreign exchange to sell to them the goods which he procures for them in return for their local currency and with that local currency to pay all his expenses within that area. That again will greatly

take a financial burden off the contributing countries. It means that services and transportation and warehousing and things of that sort can be paid for in these liberated areas by the proceeds of imported goods which are sold to them by the relief organization in terms of their own currency.

Now, coming back to the contribution of the countries not invaded, there were many weeks of discussion as to what formula should be picked out. It was finally decided to recommend the formula of 1 percent. That seemed to give the best criterion of the ability of the various countries to contribute goods and services, which is really what they are contributing. Several other criteria were suggested. One was an increasing scale depending on the per capita wealth of a country. That was put forward as being in accord with the principles embodied in progressive income taxation. It was pointed out that that was not going to be workable because it immediately raised arguments as to what the progressive steps should be. It would probably end up with not more than three countries being in the first class—New Zealand, the United States, and somebody else—and it was subject to all those difficulties, and that one was removed.

Senator VANDENBERG. Mr. Secretary, have you a schedule available showing, out of any given total budget, what the allocation of the contributions would be under this formula?

Mr. ACHESON. I have some figures which have been gotten up on national incomes, Senator, and they will roughly show you.

Senator TUNNELL. I started to ask. Probably you are stating what I was about to ask. I was going to ask if the total income meant the income of the Government or of the whole people?

Mr. ACHESON. No; it means the income of the country, of the whole people.

Senator GREEN. What we want is the percentages of the total sum spent which would be allocated to the respective countries.

Mr. ACHESON. I will discuss that right now. The determination of national income is left to each country. There is no attempt made by this organization to tell any country what its national income is. Some of the countries have a regular, prescribed formula for determining that, and it is determined and announced each year; other countries do not have, and will have to compute it themselves. It was roughly estimated, since we do not have the latest figures for more than a few countries, and we do not have any figures for many countries, that probably the total contributions on the 1 percent plan, if everybody contributed 1 percent of their national income, would not exceed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  billion dollars, and might not exceed \$2,000,000,000; it might be slightly over \$2,000,000,000.

The latest figures that anybody has been able to obtain show national income of about \$187,000,000,000 for 11 countries. Those are the only ones for which we have figures. Of course the largest one of all is the United States, because it has by far the largest national income of any country and indeed more than all the other countries in U. N. R. A. put together. The national income of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1943, as announced by the Department of Commerce, was \$135,150,000,000, so that its contribution on that basis would be \$1,350,000,000.

Senator VANDENBERG. Out of what total?



Mr. ACHESON. That is out of the total here we have of 187 billion.

Senator VANDENBERG. No; I mean the total U. N. R. R. A. budget.

Mr. ACHESON. There is no total budget, Senator, because we just do not know what the funds are going to be. The total amount which we might get would be somewhere in the neighborhood of \$2,000,000,000. Of that, \$1,350,000,000 would be the contribution of the United States.

Senator VANDENBERG. That is what I was getting at.

Mr. ACHESON. The national income of the United Kingdom as stated in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech about 10 days ago when the House of Commons acted on this proposal is a little less than \$32,000,000,000 at the current rate of exchange.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just for the United Kingdom; it excludes the dominions, does it?

Mr. ACHESON. That excludes the dominions. That is the United Kingdom and what is known as the Colonial Empire. So that their contribution would be in the neighborhood of \$320,000,000. Expressed in terms of pounds, the British Parliament has authorized a contribution of £80,000,000, or about \$320,000,000. That is a little more than 1 percent; they took the next round figure.

The best information we have on Australia is that its national income expressed in terms of dollars at current rates for the year 1942-43 would be \$3,938,000,000—approximately \$4,000,000,000.

Senator VANDENBERG. That makes their share what?

Mr. ACHESON. That makes their share about \$40,000,000.

The income of Canada for 1943 as stated in an address by Mr. Brooke Claxton, who was the alternate delegate for Canada at the Atlantic City Conference, was 7½ billion American dollars, which would make their contribution \$75,000,000.

The national income of New Zealand has been merely estimated. From the best official figures we could get through our mission it would be in the neighborhood of 1½ billion dollars for 1941-42, which would make their contribution \$15,000,000.

The Bank of Brazil reports the national income of Brazil as \$3,240,000,000 for 1941. That is not a Government figure, and whether it is correct or not we cannot possibly tell. Then we have much smaller incomes for various years for three or four other Latin-American countries which do not come from official sources but from the writings of economists.

These figures are referred to simply for the purpose of giving the committee a general idea in comparative terms of the relative sizes of the national incomes of the various countries. As I mentioned, the only countries for which we have any figures for 1943 are the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada. The figures which I have given for the other countries are based on estimates for earlier years and there undoubtedly has occurred an increase in the incomes of those countries roughly corresponding to the increase in national income which this country has experienced as a result of the war. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that all of the figures which I have given for the various countries have been converted into dollar figures on the basis of rates of exchange prevailing at the present time. Consequently, the figures in dollars are not necessarily indicative of the actual purchasing power in the terms of commodities of the contribution of any particular country. Thus for example, the figure of

\$320,000,000 as the contribution of the United Kingdom is based on the prevailing official rate of exchange. Actually, the value of the £80,000,000 contribution which has been voted by the House of Commons in terms of supplies from within the United Kingdom may be greater than \$320,000,000. Consequently, the figure of \$187,000,000,000 which I have given as the total national income of these 11 countries is subject to these very important considerations.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Russia?

Mr. ACHESON. We have no figures on that.

The CHAIRMAN. She is a party.

Mr. ACHESON. Russia would not be a contributing country under the 1 percent formula because its territory has been invaded.

That is the outline of the financial scheme. It provides for contributions from a certain group of countries, of which the great proportion will come from the United States, the United Kingdom, and the British Dominions. That is where the bulk of the contributions come from, the greatest of all, of course, coming from the United States.

Senator VANDENBERG. The total of the British Empire, according to your figures, would be about \$450,000,000?

Mr. ACHESON. I have left India out of that because that is a very special problem. The income of India is large. The total income is estimated to be somewhere in the neighborhood of \$12,000,000,000, I think it is. Am I right about that?

Mr. CHUDSON (principal divisional assistant, Liberated Areas Division, Department of State). It is about 12 billions.

Mr. ACHESON. About \$12,000,000,000? So on that basis the contribution would be \$120,000,000. However, the situation of India, while not absolutely unique, is different from almost any other, because although the income of the country is high, the population of the country is great, and the per capita income is extremely low indeed; therefore a contribution on the 1-percent basis would bear with extreme difficulty and hardship upon India, and it is very doubtful whether it could possibly be done, so I have not mentioned India's income. What India will do I do not know. As you know, at the present time India is in the grip of a very devastating famine, and it may properly feel that most of its available resources are necessary to relieve that very terrible situation of its own.

But that gives you, I think, a pretty correct outline of the contribution side of this scheme.

Senator TUNNELL. I had just one more question, if I might ask you. On page 15 there is a definition of rehabilitation, and it states that the definition is as defined in the preamble of the agreement. I see at the end of that paragraph, on page 2, there is the expression, "restoration of essential services." I was wondering what that was intended to cover. That is on page 2 of the joint resolution. What does that mean?

Senator VANDENBERG. It is more than that, Senator. It is "urgently needed."

Mr. ACHESON. "The resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services." That is spelled out somewhat. The "essential services" here referred to are such services as sewerage, water, heat—that sort of thing.

Senator TUNNELL. I see.

Senator VANDENBERG. Before you get away from the financial problem, Mr. Secretary, I want to refer to the question of administrative expenses. I assume the same rule applies to the payment of administrative expenses.

Mr. ACHESON. The administrative expenses, which are dealt with under article VI of the agreement, are also dealt with in the financial plan, and they have been distributed differently. That distribution has been made on a basis by which the United States would pay much less than the relative amount of its total contribution to the total assets of U. N. R. R. A. A budget has been approved for the first year in the amount of \$10,000,000. That is the total administrative expense of the organization. That was allocated on the basis of a different formula, which leaves the American contribution at \$4,000,000, provided the Congress of course wishes to do it; so that, whereas on the basis of the total American contribution to the total contributions to the operations of U. N. R. R. A., the administrative contributions would be somewhere in the neighborhood of  $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ ; it is now, under this other plan, 4.

The purpose of that was that it was thought necessary, and the other countries were willing to agree, that every country should bear some part, and a substantial part, of the administrative expenses, and that therefore a percentage contribution was desirable and necessary.

Senator VANDENBERG. If Congress became critical at any time of the administrative set-up and thought it was extravagant or improvident, I assume that under the terms of article VI, since each member government undertakes to make its contribution only "subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure," the administrative problem would also be entirely within congressional control insofar as our share of sustaining it is concerned.

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct. Congress would have complete power at any time to stop its contributions or to lay down the conditions as to their uses.

Senator VANDENBERG. I constantly emphasize that point, Mr. Chairman, because it was one upon which our subcommittee put major emphasis in indicating the change in the character of the document.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the committee is pretty well advised as to the policy that underlay the action of the subcommittee, and that was to make it clear that at all times it was under the control of the Congress so far as funds were concerned. Is that right?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Now, I think Senator Tunnell had a question.

Senator TUNNELL. No. I asked my question. Thanks.

Mr. ACHESON. Unless the committee wishes to go into particular questions, it might be helpful to go back a little bit to discuss the nature of the work, the problem that exists for this organization to do, and how it is proposed that it should do it.

There are three great problems with which U. N. R. R. A. has to deal. One is the problem of the deficit supplies to be sent into those countries which do not have foreign exchange and the related problems of examining the requirements of all liberated areas, including those which will finance their own relief imports, in the interest of bringing about an equitable distribution of available supplies to and among



all liberated areas. The second one is the tremendous problem of what is called the displaced persons. There are some 20,000,000 people in Europe and more than 40,000,000 in Asia, who have been driven by the war away from their usual abodes, and the problem of dealing with that colossal mass of humanity which is uprooted, getting them back to where they belong, and taking care of them while they are being brought back, is a terrific problem.

The CHAIRMAN. In Asia, are those principally in China?

Mr. ACHESON. In China, and down through the Malay Peninsula; a great number of people who were driven out of Malaya and Singapore, Burma and China and the Philippines—all over the Far East, and in the Dutch islands, too.

Very closely associated with the question of those people is the question of public health. If those 60,000,000 and more people begin to stream back to their homes in the best way they can when an armistice comes, the chances of their taking every known disease into every known part of the world is just overwhelming, and some preventive medical work has got to be done to prevent typhus and all the other diseases that follow in the train of war from being brought by these refugees all over the face of Europe and Asia. Those are the 3 great problems.

On the supply question, as I said, the resolutions and the agreement itself have closely restricted U. N. R. A. and its work of relief and such rehabilitation as is incident to relief. The resolution spells that out in perhaps even more detail.

There is a brown-covered book called First Session of the Council of the United Nations, Selected Documents, which I believe each member of the committee has, and the first resolution, No. 1, over on pages 28 and 29, takes up this question of rehabilitation in items 3 and 4, and tries to hold down to a narrow scope the interpretation of that word. Items 1 and 2 deal with relief supplies and relief services. Those are pretty simple and fairly clear.

It comes to "Rehabilitation supplies and services," and it says:

Materials (such as seeds, fertilizers, raw materials, fishing equipment, machinery and spare parts) needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas, and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.

Then, item 4, "Rehabilitation of public utilities and services":

So far as they can be repaired or restored to meet immediate needs; such as light, water, sanitation, power, transport, temporary storage, communications, and assistance in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions.

The whole purpose of item 3, "Rehabilitation supplies and services," is to enable the first crop or the first catch, if it is in the fishing industry—the first one or two—to be put in the ground and harvested, so as to take off the back of the rest of the world the necessity of supplying food or fish or clothing and that sort of thing. The greatest problem of all is to have these countries get back to producing their own food. The amount of food which you can transport in ships will only be a small fraction of the needs of a country; that will not keep any part of the population alive. The important thing is to get them as they were before, back to their own farming operations.

Probably 80 or 85 percent of the food that the people of these areas will have to eat will come out of their own soil. So far as food is

concerned, it is the deficit below a subsistence diet that they cannot produce until they get back on their feet which will be the relief contribution of U. N. R. R. A. In addition, as I have pointed out, some of the countries will finance the importation of their own relief imports. The rehabilitation work is as I have said getting these crops in the ground, getting those fish caught, and getting them distributed.

Then, the rehabilitation of the public services. There, the whole emphasis has been put on repair for immediate use. There is no idea that U. N. R. R. A. is going to rebuild electric light plants or railways, but there may have to be and probably will have to be some quite extensive repair jobs or temporary things done so that the sewerage systems will work again or that the gas system will work or the water systems, and so forth.

This "assistance in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions" was one of the things in which the Chinese were most interested, and that deals solely with helping them to get the material equipment for teaching, which is entirely lacking in China now. There is no idea of rebuilding universities or high schools or of interfering with educational policies.

Senator WHITE. May I interrupt you there?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Senator WHITE. I have been looking at this section 3 on page 15 of the resolution, in which we apparently adopt a declaration found in your agreement, and we apparently adopt with approval paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12. Then there appears in the text of the resolution the language of paragraph 11 of Resolution 12. As I understand it, it undertakes to limit the definition of "rehabilitation" to relief. It says:

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief.

I take it that is an effort to limit your activities to relief, but I have just turned to this Resolution 12, and I wonder where we stand with respect to the balance, the other preceding 10 sections or 10 paragraphs of Resolution No. 12. I will read from section 1 on page 40 of the brown-covered book:

Rehabilitation \* \* \* of public utilities and services, so far as they can be repaired and restored to meet immediate, basic needs, such essentials as light and water, power, transportation, and communication.

Then it goes on and says

These needs include rehabilitation of essential relief industries, such as those which provide food, shelter, clothing, medical supplies.

That seems to me to be somewhat general and to go far beyond the problem of relief; but going over the articles, paragraph 6 on page 41, it starts out and says

It should be the policy of the Administration to help those countries whose industries can be rehabilitated for production of relief and rehabilitation goods urgently required in other liberated areas.

Then, going down into 8, it says

It is recommended that the Administration should, in consultation with the governments or recognized national authorities concerned and the appropriate international coordinating authority, assist liberated areas in restoring the transport and communications system to satisfactory working condition; it should also help to restore equipment, repair shops, workshops, shipyards, etc.

I am wondering just where we stand with relation to those matters to which I have just referred. Is it contemplated that all activities of the sort mentioned in the first 10 paragraphs of Resolution No. 12 will come within the scope of relief, and that they may be undertaken?

Mr. ACHESON. We had very much the same discussion that we are having now, Senator White, in the House committee, and I said to the House committee that as the agreement itself recites, and as I think most of these paragraphs state, the activities to which you refer are to be carried on so far as they are incident to the production of relief goods or relief services or the transportation of relief goods or services.

Senator WHITE. As it stands, it seems to me to go far beyond that.

Mr. ACHESON. It was not intended to. For instance, you referred to paragraph 6, which says:

It should be the policy of the Administration to help those countries whose industries can be rehabilitated for production of relief and rehabilitation goods urgently required in other liberated areas.

That is qualified by "urgently required."

Senator WHITE. I think that comes very close to the definition which appears in paragraph 11, but when you go down to 8, I do not just see how "restoration" of transport and communications facilities and helping to restore workshops and repair shops and shipyards of one sort and another can be deemed to be contributing to relief, except as it offers an opportunity for work; and if that is to be your test, "opportunity for work," why of course there is no limit.

Mr. ACHESON. It certainly was not the intention, and this reference here to shipyards, work shops, repair shops, and that sort of thing was in the minds of those who wrote it for the purpose of fixing up the equipment with which these people could go ahead and fish or transport or do what they had to do in the relief field. Furthermore, I should like to draw the committee's attention to the fact that in the first unnumbered paragraph of Resolution No. 12, the substance of the resolution is specifically made subject to the provisions of Resolution No. 1, relating to the scope of the activities of the Administration, so that if any question of interpretation should arise the precise terms of Resolution No. 1 would govern as to the scope of the functions of U. N. R. R. A. in the field of rehabilitation. But, as I say, we had this same discussion in the House as to whether the language of all of these paragraphs comported entirely with my interpretation of them, and the House committee put in this section 3 of the joint resolution. They picked out section 11 of Resolution 12 of the U. N. R. R. A. Council as summing up in the way which they thought was most desirable the policy to be followed, so they wished that to be put in the joint resolution in order to serve notice on U. N. R. R. A. that they interpreted all these resolutions in the way in which section 11 states it and the way I had stated it at the hearings, which would be a pretty fair indication that we would trust that our contribution would be used along those lines and not along the broader lines which I had disclaimed and which the U. N. R. R. A. Council has attempted to disclaim; so I think the purpose was to emphasize what you have emphasized, Senator White, and to indicate to U. N. R. R. A. that that is the way this Government would expect it to perform.



Senator VANDENBERG. Mr. Secretary, referring to page 28 of the Selected Documents, are there any of those relief supplies and relief services now furnished by the American Red Cross?

Mr. ACHESON. I cannot speak with real knowledge on this subject, but I should doubt whether at the present time the Red Cross is distributing any of these items anywhere in the liberated areas unless it is possibly doing it as the instrumentality of the Army in some area in which the Army is using a branch of the Red Cross for Army purposes.

Senator VANDENBERG. Is there any conflict between U. N. R. R. A. and the traditional historical service of the Red Cross?

Mr. ACHESON. No; I should think clearly there was not. It is possible that there might be in some one phase, but there is not in the conception of this organization. The Red Cross at no time has undertaken, and I think I am correct in saying that it does not wish to undertake, large-scale relief. It is not equipped to do it, and it does not want to do it. What it is interested in is in the medical aspects of relief, the medical services, and the care of children and old people.

Senator VANDENBERG. Would there be any conflict at that point between U. N. R. R. A. and the American Red Cross?

Mr. ACHESON. No; I do not think there would. The U. N. R. R. A. agreement itself provides that any organization working in any territory shall do so with the consent and the approval of the Director General, and it is up to him therefore to get together with all these agencies and work out with each one what its appropriate job is.

Senator VANDENBERG. Has there been any sort of complaint at any time from the American Red Cross regarding the scope of U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. ACHESON. Not that I know of.

Senator VANDENBERG. Mr. Secretary, you said that this authorization of \$1,350,000,000 is an over-all estimate and is expected to measure the final contribution which we have to make; is that correct?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, Senator; that is our hope and expectation, and it has been put in in the way it has so that if we are wrong in that we have to come back to the Congress and raise this whole question all over again from the bottom up.

Senator VANDENBERG. What immediate appropriations will be requested?

Mr. ACHESON. That is a matter which does not fall immediately under me. Mr. Crowley, at the hearings before the House, stated that he believed that the immediate request that would be made would be for \$500,000,000, to go until the end of this fiscal year. I think that that view has got to be revised. That statement was made in December, and I believe that Mr. Crowley, himself, believes it has to be revised at the present time.

It was then hoped that the matter would be through and the funds would be available some time in January. It now seems quite clear that they may not be available until well into April. It also seems reasonably clear that the Congress will not be sitting extensively during the summer.

Senator VANDENBERG. I wish of course that was as clear to me as it seems to be to you.

Mr. ACHESON. I was trying to throw out some hope—and that therefore probably the wiser course is to ask either for the whole amount or for an amount which would be estimated to go through to the end of the next fiscal year.

Senator VANDENBERG. That is the figure I would be very much interested in. Is there any discussion of what the figure will be to go through to the end of the next fiscal year?

Mr. ACHESON. I am not able to give you that now, Senator. Nobody can give it to you very accurately. Of course it all depends on what happens to the war in Europe. If by any chance the war in Europe should come to a sudden end, then a very large part if not all of this would be needed in the next fiscal year.

Senator VANDENBERG. My point is that if you are going to require \$500,000,000 for 6 months, then you would require a billion and a half dollars for 18 months, and that would only go to the end of the next fiscal year, and you are a way, way over your \$1,350,000,000 limit in 18 months.

Mr. ACHESON. I do not think it works in quite that way. The need for the funds now is not that U. N. R. R. A. in the next 6 months is likely to be in very many areas, but it must begin committing, there must be orders placed, and goods must be put into production, and that cannot be done so far as the United States is concerned without congressional appropriation. It may be that the goods will not be needed for a year or for 8 months, but they must be procured or contracted for at the present time or as soon as possible, and if the funds are not available no commitments can be made by the United States agency which will handle the funds, and therefore the question is, How much can it get under order or under contract now.

It was thought that contracts might be placed for an amount up to \$500,000,000 by the end of this fiscal year, although perhaps none of that would be distributed and only a relatively small portion actually delivered in the form of supplies.

Senator VANDENBERG. Are we making any contribution to U. N. R. R. A. and its administrative budget during this formulative period?

Mr. ACHESON. We are not, Senator, and that is one reason why I hope it will be possible to act with some expedition. We have taken the attitude, which I think is the correct one, that this matter has been laid before the Congress; now, therefore, while it may be within the legal power to turn over some funds to U. N. R. R. A. for administrative expenses, that should not be done until the Congress has expressed itself on the whole matter. Whether or not there is power to use the President's emergency fund I do not know.

At any rate, it is not proposed to use it until the Congress has acted upon this resolution. If the Congress acts upon the resolution then appropriation requests will be made, and it may be at that time that someone will consult with the Appropriation Committees and ask whether they would be willing to have an advance payment made so that we can go in on the administrative expenses. Already, other countries which are members of U. N. R. R. A. have contributed a million dollars or more to the administrative expenses, and if Congress approved of this we would like to be in a position as soon as possible of taking our part in carrying the administrative expenses of the Administration.

Senator VANDENBERG. That is the statement I wanted you to make, because I think it is the final demonstration of the integrity of the whole cooperative effort between the Congress and the State Department in connection with this whole undertaking.

Senator TUNNELL. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to ask another question. I am attracted by the word "shelter," and I see that that has been dealt with in Resolution No. 13. Do you think that there is any danger of the fund being used under that word "shelter" for accommodations of a more permanent though not necessarily final character to the extent of building homes?

Mr. ACHESON. That word was put in there, Senator, for that very purpose. In all the early drafts they had "housing" and various expressions of that sort, and at the urgent request of some of us those words were taken out and a word was put in, "shelter," which we thought carried the connotation of the most temporary sort of things.

Senator TUNNELL. Certainly less than "housing"?

Mr. ACHESON. Very much less; yes, sir. The purpose is not to do any permanent building. This is temporary accommodations for people who are just out in the weather.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Is there anything further you care to submit, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. ACHESON. I think that pretty well covers it. If the members of the committee wish to raise any other points, I would be glad to go ahead, or come back tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator George? Senator La Follette? Senator Wagner?

Senator WAGNER. I should have asked this long ago when you were dealing with the countries in which the military authorities are now in control of civilian and military matters, on the question of finances. Of course, money will have to be used in exchange for goods and all that sort of thing. What money have we provided, or what money is the military authority providing in a case of that kind? Are they notes, or is it our money? Just what is it, and who is doing it?

Mr. ACHESON. You mean during the military period?

Senator WAGNER. Yes.

Mr. ACHESON. I can only refer to that by hearsay. I have not been connected, my duties do not run in that sphere, but I understand that in north Africa and in Italy the original currency which was used was an American currency, a form of dollar, and that there was then introduced a military lire, which was used, and that now to a very large extent the currency of the country, which has been coming back into circulation, is being used; but I cannot speak with authority on that, Senator.

Senator WAGNER. Very well.

The CHAIRMAN. The Army has funds that it employs. I do not know what the details are, but it has been doing it. I presume they furnish supplies, probably, through the Quartermaster, or somewhere.

Senator WAGNER. We are talking about the currency, now, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. They have got Army currency in Sicily and in north Africa.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know what it is.

Senator WAGNER. I understand there is considerable confusion because some German money has got in there too—lire. They have used lire in and through that country.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, yes; the Germans in the north, of course, are printing large amounts of it.



Senator WAGNER. Yes. It is circulating down below, too, is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes. Some of it is getting through the lines, I believe.

Senator VANDENBERG. Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether we should have a witness on it, but at least I would like to have an inquiry addressed to the War Department.

The CHAIRMAN. There is an Army representative who is supposed to be here today. He is not here, yet.

Mr. ACHESON. He said he would hold himself in readiness to come over right at the moment you wanted him.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is agreeable to the committee, I would suggest that we wait until tomorrow to call him. We would be glad to have him here at 10:30 in the morning, at this committee room.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Senator VANDENBERG. And I wish he would try to provide any available figures to show the relief costs under the Army during the interim period.

Mr. ACHESON. I will tell him your wish.

May I ask for permission to insert at the beginning of my testimony a communication from Secretary Hull to you, Mr. Chairman, in which he states his support of this resolution?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that may be done.

Is there anything further, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. ACHESON. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much. We have all been enlightened by your testimony.

(Whereupon, at 12 m., the hearing on H. J. Res. 192 was adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, February 10, 1944, at 10:30 a. m.)

# UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ORGANIZATION

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THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1944

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment at 10:30 a. m. in the committee room in the Capitol, Senator Connally, chairman, presiding.

Present Senator Connally (chairman), George, Green, Barkley, Tunnell, La Follette, White, and Vandenberg.

(The committee resumed its hearing on H. J. Res. 192.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

We have here, this morning, General Hilldring, representing the General Staff. He will testify with respect to the Army's activity and the taking over by the relief organization after the Army relaxes its military control.

## STATEMENT OF MAJ. GEN. J. H. HILLDRING, GENERAL STAFF, WAR DEPARTMENT

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a general statement, or how do you wish to proceed, General Hilldring?

General HILLDRING. I am prepared, Mr. Chairman, to proceed on the answers to the two questions that I was informed I would be called upon to answer. One was the question as to whether or not in the opinion of the War Department there would be any interference on that part of U. N. R. R. A. with military operations. The War Department's opinion is, with respect to that question, that there will not be any interference with the military operations or with the military aspects of civil affairs, including relief and rehabilitation, by United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The other point on which I was informed I would be asked to comment was whether or not U. N. R. R. A. would be of assistance to the Army in any respect. To that I would like to say that it is the attitude of the War Department that its part in relief and rehabilitation is in the wake of battle; its responsibility arises from two fundamental requirements, one under international law, which visits upon the military commander a responsibility for the security of the civilian populations uncovered by the military operation; the other factor is directly operational in nature, and that is that civilian populations uncovered, and the administration of these populations, shall not be permitted to interfere with the military purposes of the operation. For those reasons we feel that there is a direct military necessity initially for the Army's having control of civil affairs. However, the

instant there is no longer any military necessity for this civilian control the War Department feels that we should relinquish civil affairs, including relief and rehabilitation; and at that moment we feel there should be a civilian agency to which we can turn over relief and rehabilitation.

Senator VANDENBERG. Has that happened anywhere as yet in any of the war theaters?

General HILLDRING. It has not, Senator, yet happened, except that in north Africa from the very beginning there was a considerable amount of relief and rehabilitation undertaken by civilian agencies, though it was not a transfer of that activity from the Army to the civilian agencies.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Just how did that work, General? Did the civilians work under the direction of the Army?

General HILLDRING. Initially. At this time, Senator, the Army control over those activities has practically vanished. There is only a shred of connection today between the military command in north Africa and the relief operations in north Africa.

Senator VANDENBERG. What were those civilian units?

General HILLDRING. Now, sir, I do not know that I am a competent witness on that. Governor Lehman is here, and Mr. Acheson, and they represent the U. S. civilian agencies, and if it is satisfactory with you I would rather have them answer that question.

Senator VANDENBERG. The particular thing that interests me is the nature and extent and cost of the relief and rehabilitation while it still is lingering under the jurisdiction of the War Department. Have you any figures in respect to that?

General HILLDRING. Perhaps my answer will not be completely satisfactory, Senator, but I can tell you now all that the War Department is in a position to say on the subject. With respect to the Army participation in relief and rehabilitation, it is a modest program. It has for its purpose the placing of the civilian populations in repose. The program consists of simple items, such as food, soap, drugs, and a little fuel, plus those items which we introduce to reduce the relief load. For example, in Italy, in addition to the items I have mentioned, we have introduced seed and fertilizer for the purpose of reducing the amount of flour that we will have to procure in this continent—that is, purchase and ship to Italy. That we call rehabilitation in the Army.

With respect to the whole cost of this program in Europe, plans have been completed and have been integrated with our allies' program and are now before a committee of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. The program has not as yet been approved by the Combined Chiefs of Staff. The United States responsibility with respect to it is now being prepared in the budget office of the War Department for presentation to the Bureau of the Budget; and I think, as you gentlemen know, until we have accomplished both of those objectives, an officer of the War Department cannot say, for a number of reasons, how much a particular project is going to cost. But I think I can indicate, Senator, in this way, that it is a simple and a modest program.

We have been in Italy now for several months. We have been in an area which has always been dependent on outside sources for a great amount of the necessities of life, particularly food. It had undergone the ravages of war, so the native food supplies are un-



usually low. I have the figures with respect to what relief and rehabilitation under the Army has cost, from July through the 10th of January—last month. The total cost of the American portion of the whole relief program—it is a combined operation, as you know—is \$21,000,000.

However, I want to make this point clear, sir, that while we have shipped into Italy \$21,000,000 worth of relief supplies, over 95 percent of those supplies have been fed into normal commercial channels; we have in other words sold them, introduced them into the Italian economy, but have received for over 95 percent of it lire credits to the United States; so less than 5 percent of that \$21,000,000 represent a relief cost as I think relief is generally understood.

Senator VANDENBERG. Is that \$21,000,000 the joint Anglo-American share, or is it our share?

General HILLDRING. That is our share; sir.

Senator VANDENBERG. What is the British share?

General HILLDRING. I am sorry; I do not know, Senator. I would like to introduce that into the record. I can get the figures and introduce them. I haven't got them, I am sorry.

Senator VANDENBERG. All right.

(The information requested is as follows:)

The British share of relief supplies shipped to the theater up to January 10, 1944, has consisted largely of coal and petroleum, which are important both to the civilian economy and the military in the operation of railroads, ships, trucks, busses, power plants, and other essential utilities. For these reasons dollar or pound sterling figures for the United Kingdom civilian contributions are not available because of the impossibility at present of segregating the military use from the civilian use. It is a fact, however, that the United Kingdom has supplied 165,000 tons of coal for this theater, valued at approximately \$1,150,000.

The United Kingdom has also contributed during this period small miscellaneous items of chemicals for soap manufacture and approximately 35,000 tons of seed potatoes, whose value is on the order of \$2,000,000.

Senator VANDENBERG. Does this relief that you have provided in—let us say—Sicily put the population on a reasonable subsistence basis?

(Answered off the record.)

You say you have been paid in lire credits?

General HILLDRING. Yes, sir.

Senator VANDENBERG. How much is that worth?

General HILLDRING. May I ask you a question, now, sir? As we see this, there are two phases to this program, Senator. There is the cost of the procurement of the supply, which is a responsibility in part of the Army and in part of the Foreign Economic Administration during this military period, and there is the question of the ultimate cost of this project. With respect to the ultimate cost we look to the Treasury Department as our advisers on that, and if that is satisfactory to the committee I would rather have a Treasury official tell the committee the procedure by which the ultimate cost of this relief will be assessed as between the United States and the United Kingdom and the Italian Government. We are keeping complete books on this operation, Senator, and it is our present thinking that we, the soldiers, will not make the final settlement as to the ultimate cost of this. I do not know whether that is clear or not.

Senator VANDENBERG. Yes, I think so. I assume what you mean is that the value of the reimbursement will depend upon the ultimate peace settlement and the determination of accounts at that time.

General HILLDRING. Yes, sir; that is what I mean.

Senator VANDENBERG. I am interested in the fact that you say you have been able to do this at least superficially through the regular channels of trade to the extent of 95 percent. Would you conceive it to be possible to handle European relief on that sort of basis indefinitely?

General HILLDRING. Again, sir, I will be making a statement as to Government policy that the War Department has gotten from the economic agencies of our Government. It is our policy, it is the policy of our Government, that we soldiers are following, that we will to the greatest extent possible dispose of these relief supplies in normal trade channels and with the least cost to us; and the fact that we have been able to do as well as we have in Italy has been more or less surprising to us; a little higher percentage has gone into commercial trade than we anticipated before we went in there.

Senator VANDENBERG. It is surprising to me, too. I think it is a very fine record. Of course your lire credit is a bookkeeping account. It is a little different from an ordinary commercial transaction, is it not?

General HILLDRING. I have some soldier ideas on that, Senator, but I do not think I am competent to speak as an expert on the point.

Senator VANDENBERG. All right. What would be the average period, if there is any pattern, that the Army would normally desire to maintain control of relief and rehabilitation behind the lines before turning it over to the civilian agencies? Is there any pattern?

General HILLDRING. Yes, sir. If you will allow, sir, that it is going to depend more on the progress of the military operation than on any other one factor, and that there will be a considerable variation from any given number of days or months dependent upon the rapidity with which we move forward, I can say that for purposes of planning both on the Army side and on the civilian side we have taken a period of 6 months as being for planning purposes the time of military responsibility.

If we were to get a sudden collapse in any particular quarter where there was not any hard fighting that period would be considerably reduced.

Senator TUNNELL. I would like to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Senator Tunnell.

Senator TUNNELL. In your commercial transactions in Italy for instance with whom do you deal?

General HILLDRING. We have established in Italy, sir, an allied military government, as you know. It is a combined Anglo-American Government. It is the present sovereign of the territory. The shipments of relief supplies go to that government. That government has a relief agency which operates for it, which transfers, sells, these relief supplies to dealers in Italy in these various commodities. The Government itself through its financial agency keeps the books on these transactions.

Senator TUNNELL. Does the Army get any money?

General HILLDRING. For the part that we sell, we get money for every pound we dispose of, through trade channels.

Senator TUNNELL. But you sell on credit also to this agency, I take it?

General HILLDRING. Relief supplies that are needed, that it is not possible to sell for cash into the economy, we handle as a relief problem, Senator; and we handle that just as we handle relief in this country, by direct issue to those that need the relief.

Senator TUNNELL. Is any part of the 95 percent what you would class as "relief" in that sense?

General HILLDRING. No, sir; the 95 percent plus that I mentioned before is not relief. That is the amount of the relief goods that we have brought in there, Senator; that we have sold for money, for lire.

Senator TUNNELL. And what proportion of that is on credit to the agencies?

General HILLDRING. No part of it, sir.

Senator TUNNELL. No part of it?

General HILLDRING. No part of it, sir.

Senator TUNNELL. That is all I wanted to know. Thanks.

Senator VANDENBERG. Let me ask you one other figure. What is the total population served by this investment of \$21,000,000 from July to January?

General HILLDRING. We started in with just a toehold at Licata, sir, and we have worked up in the 7 months to about a third of 40,000,000 people.

Senator VANDENBERG. The weighted average would be what; about ten or fifteen million people?

General HILLDRING. I do not have those figures, but we could get them, Senator. It could be computed, I think. I haven't got them at my fingertips. It has, as I said, progressed as the operation has progressed, until now we have about one-third of the Italian population uncovered.

(The information requested is as follows:)

Supplies for civilian relief leaving United States ports up to January 10, 1944, were valued at approximately \$21,000,000. This is not to mean that all of these supplies were consumed during this period. A substantial percentage of these supplies during this period were en route, in warehouses, and in the indigenous distributive system.

The numbers of people to be relieved varied progressively from 0 to 12,500,000 during this period. If the progression were constant we could assume that we had relieved, for a period of 6 months, a number of people represented by an average of 0 and 12,500,000 or 6,250,000. The progression, as you know, has not been constant.

The determination of the number of civilians being relieved at any given period is further complicated by the movements of a frightened population. Furthermore stocks on hand in the theater were adequate to relieve the population for several months, but once exhausted the tempo of relief shipments from outside the Mediterranean necessarily increased. It will be a number of months before reports sufficiently detailed can be compiled in the theater as to give an indication of the actual cost of relief per person.

Senator VANDENBERG. What I am obviously trying to find is a basis for ultimate comparison as to the relative economy of relief administered by the Army and relief subsequently administered by U. N. R. R. A.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator La Follette.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. General, in this figure of \$21,000,000, do you include the sums spent on repair or rehabilitation of utilities or other facilities?



General HILLDRING. We have made extensive repairs in Italy, Senator, to ports and to other utilities such as railroads, in the interest of furthering the operation; that is, made by the commanding general there to further his military operations. Those we do not consider relief outlays because they were not made for the benefit of the Italians, they were made in order that we could get our troops supplied and our troops ashore and forward.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. You do not take any factor into consideration then as to the effect of any rehabilitation or repair on the relief in reducing the relief load? In other words, you do not do it for that purpose?

General HILLDRING. We do not do it for that purpose.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. It is solely a military consideration which governs your expenditures in that field?

General HILLDRING. That is right, sir; and we do not, during the military period, as a relief proposition, go into any reconstruction of the economy of the country. That is something that we do not get into, at all, Senator. We do not have any projects which deal with the reconstruction of the economy of the country.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. But to the extent that military requirements determine your decision to rehabilitate or repair facilities or hospitals or things of that kind, to that extent it will relieve the burden of U. N. R. R. A. when it comes in behind you?

General HILLDRING. That is correct, sir; and there is another factor, there—and this we did after the last war, but I think it will be better organized this time—to adjudge, when the operation is past, what benefit has accrued particularly in a hostile area through these purely military installations. A good example of that is Naples. Certainly Naples is going to have been benefited by the operational installations that are there. That is out of my field. That is not a relief matter, but it will certainly be judged at some time in the future and evaluated.

The CHAIRMAN. General, may I ask you this question? I think the committee is particularly interested in the relationship that will exist between the Army and U. N. R. R. A. You said earlier in your testimony that there would be no interference by U. N. R. R. A. with your operations?

General HILLDRING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That would work the other way around, would it?

General HILLDRING. Yes, Mr. Chairman; the reverse will be true.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Army in an operation moves on and has no further imperative military necessity for doing anything in an area, then U. N. R. R. A. would come in, is that right?

General HILLDRING. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So long as the Army is operating in a given territory, it is necessary, of course, for the commander in the field to maintain control over that area; isn't that right?

General HILLDRING. That is right; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not want U. N. R. R. A. coming around much until that period was passed; is that right?

General HILLDRING. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further on your general statement that you want to say, General?

General HILLDRING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator George, do you have any questions?

Senator GEORGE. No; I have no questions, except I would like to know a little bit about how U. N. R. R. A. comes in. Does it come in as an ancillary arm of the Army? Does it take over the civil government in the occupied area, or does it just confine itself strictly to relief? Putting it the other way around, what do you do to restore that area to the local civil government, if there is one, when you get out? Do you turn it over to U. N. R. R. A., or do you turn it over to the authorities?

General HILLDRING. Part of that question, Senator, I would like to leave for Secretary Acheson and Governor Lehman. That is, the U. N. R. R. A. aspects of it. It seems to me it would not matter whether the military government still existed over an area or whether an indigenous government had taken over; in either instance it would be possible for U. N. R. R. A., or such agency as the civilian authority and the Congress had selected, to take over the administration of relief.

It would be possible for the Army to turn over relief and rehabilitation to that agency even before the establishment of the indigenous government. There would not be any problem involved there. I will give you an example. Today, in Sicily, if it were decided that relief and rehabilitation in Sicily could be turned over to a civilian agency, I think it could be done even though the military government still operated in that area.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, the practical operations of the military government are about civilian, are they not? When the military government moves in, it does not necessarily supersede all the civil authorities; the head of the military government will either find these officials agreeable and keep them, or throw them out, and he tries to permit the local government to operate in all these normal functions to the greatest possible extent, does he not?

General HILLDRING. That is right, sir. We utilize the existing government to the maximum possible extent, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. There would be no occasion for U. N. R. R. A. to take over any governmental functions at all, would there?

General HILLDRING. I should not think so, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It would operate in that area in contact with the military government?

General HILLDRING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not see why there would be any occasion for it to assume any governmental functions as distinguished from relief.

General HILLDRING. I am giving you my view, and Governor Lehman, here, would probably like to say a word on that, but I do not see, myself, that it constitutes any problem. I think it could be done in either case, under the military government or under the indigenous government.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Barkley?

Senator BARKLEY. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any other Senator have a question? Senator Green? I beg your pardon.

Senator GREEN. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you, General, very much, indeed.

General HILLDRING. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has the pleasure of having Governor Lehman here this morning. The committee will be very glad to hear you, Governor. We are considering this bill that you are going to administer. It ought to be helpful to have your general views on the subject.

**STATEMENT OF HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN, DIRECTOR GENERAL,  
UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINIS-  
TRATION**

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I have the privilege of reading a brief statement to start with?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am happy to have this opportunity to discuss with your committee the problem of providing relief for victims of war in areas liberated from the Axis, with particular reference to the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration—U. N. R. R. A. I am speaking to you as Director General of that organization.

I know how deeply interested you are in this field. I understand that members of your committee played a most important part in helping to formulate the U. N. R. R. A. agreement, which was signed in the White House on November 9, 1943, by representatives of the 44 member governments, and that you have been kept in close touch with current developments ever since last summer. I believe that you have had opportunity to examine the resolutions on policy and other important documents embodying the decisions made by the U. N. R. R. A. Council at Atlantic City and that you have discussed these matters with Mr. Acheson and other representatives of the Department of State.

In view of these facts I do not propose in this statement to dwell at length on a description of U. N. R. R. A., its purposes, policies, or methods of operations. These matters have already been dealt with in my statement before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, copies of which are before you; page 119 of the hearings. Instead I will attempt at this time to discuss briefly a few of the more important questions relating to U. N. R. R. A.'s work and particularly to its relationships to other existing organizations.

First let me devote myself briefly to the question of "Why an U. N. R. R. A.?" Why is it necessary or advisable to have an international organization to deal with the relief problems arising out of this war?

Here as elsewhere difficult questions affecting many peoples or many nations can best be met by the democratic method of frank, open discussion between qualified representatives of the various interested elements. None of the problems discussed at Atlantic City was confined in its application to a single nation; they are problems of profound interest to all. That being so, the full generous cooperation needed for their effective solution can and will be obtained only if all those nations affected have an opportunity to participate in the decisions reached. There was such participation at Atlantic City, and that fact is reflected in the thoughtful policies adopted by the U. N. R. R. A. Council. This participation, I may add, was fulfilled



without in any way impinging upon the rights of the sovereign nations which are its members.

This opportunity for face-to-face discussions in which many nations, large and small, can take part did not come to a close, moreover, with the end of the Council meeting at Atlantic City. Under the terms of the agreement, as implemented by the Council resolutions, a number of standing committees of the Council have been created, which I have already found to be of invaluable assistance in advising me in my work as Director General.

Thus, the answer to "Why an U. N. R. R. A.?" is that U. N. R. R. A. provides a continuing mechanism for international cooperative action in bringing to bear the resources and accumulated experience of the non-Axis world upon a problem of too great complexity and magnitude to be handled in any other way.

I turn now to the question of "What are U. N. R. R. A.'s objectives?" Does it represent some vast impracticable plan for settling all the ills of the world, or at least all those ills resulting from the war? The answer is "No." U. N. R. R. A. is first and last a temporary relief organization designed to provide the victims of Axis aggression with the basic necessities of life in order to enable them to take the first steps on the road back from the terrible destruction to which they and their homelands have been subjected. The agreement, the resolutions on policy, and indeed all the member governments recognize it as such.

What then is encompassed in the "rehabilitation" aspects of U. N. R. R. A.'s operations? The basic answer to that question is of course contained in the agreement which is U. N. R. R. A.'s charter of authority. Article I, section 2 (a) of that agreement provides that "so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief" U. N. R. R. A. is to facilitate in areas receiving relief the "production and transportation" of those articles which constitute the basic necessities of life. This is the scope of U. N. R. R. A.'s rehabilitation work—facilitating the production and transportation of relief articles so far as necessary for the adequate provision of relief.

Rehabilitation along these lines is vitally necessary if U. N. R. R. A.'s relief work is to be effectively performed and if the period of U. N. R. R. A.'s activities is to be kept to a minimum. By sending in seed and fertilizer U. N. R. R. A. can hasten the first crop after liberation and thus reduce the desperate need for food which the Axis armies leave in their wake. By sending in small amounts of critical equipment and spare parts it may be possible to put a transportation system back into effective operation so that the surplus food supplies of the rural communities within the liberated areas can be brought to bear upon the starvation which will be rampant in the cities. In this way; that is, through the provision of "rehabilitation" supplies, U. N. R. R. A. can accomplish its fundamental objective of helping the liberated peoples to help themselves and perhaps even to assume their share in the relief of other areas subsequently liberated.

Taking upon one more question I would like to speak briefly on "What will U. N. R. R. A. have in the way of an administrative organization?" Does U. N. R. R. A. envisage the creation of a vast international bureaucracy which will take over and perform at great administrative expense functions which can and should be performed by others? The answer is that in the agreement and throughout the

resolutions on policy it is contemplated that U. N. R. R. A. and the Director General as its executive authority, will utilize the services and facilities of any other agencies or organizations which have the necessary experience and personnel. As Director General, I assure you, as I have assured the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, that I shall make a constant effort to avoid and prevent any overlapping or duplication of functions with agencies and facilities already in existence.

Translating this general statement into more concrete terms, let me take by way of example the handling of supplies needed by U. N. R. R. A. Resolution No. 1, relating to the scope of U. N. R. R. A.'s activities, provides—part III, section 3—that the Director General—will make use wherever possible of the established national agencies concerned with the procurement, handling, storage, and transport of supplies.

Again, in the distribution of supplies, U. N. R. R. A.'s policy is, to quote from the resolution relating to relief distribution policies—Resolution 7, section 6—that—

use should be made to the maximum practicable extent of normal agencies of distribution (governmental, commercial, cooperative).

Similarly, with reference to the voluntary relief societies, U. N. R. R. A.'s policy is—Resolution 9, section 2—

to enlist the cooperation and seek the participation of appropriate foreign voluntary relief agencies, to the extent that they can be effectively utilized in relief activities for which they have special competence and resources.

I want to lay particular stress on this point—that U. N. R. R. A. will take the fullest advantage of the experience, the personnel, the organization, and the warm enthusiasm of these agencies. I do so because I feel it essential that they and U. N. R. R. A. work together as a harmonious team. True as it is that the task is too large for voluntary relief alone, it is equally true that U. N. R. R. A. could not perform its task effectively without the full assistance of the existing voluntary relief agencies of the United States and of the other nations of good will throughout the world.

The horrors which the Axis Powers have inflicted on so large a proportion of the human race are too well known to require repetition here. All men are aware of the magnitude and complexity of the task which lies before us; this also I need not elaborate before this committee.

Before concluding, however, I should like to refer briefly to the sagacity and practical common sense with which the governments of the united and associated nations, through U. N. R. R. A., have moved forward to meet this great task. This committee, with its wide knowledge of international matters, the committee which is responsible for Senate Resolution 192, should find this of paramount interest. These are the factors of practical cooperative action which stand out with respect to U. N. R. R. A.

The pooling of the resources of the free world makes it unnecessary for one or two nations to carry the whole burden.

The participation of all nations gives each a voice in deliberations and a stake in a successful outcome.

The delimitation of the sphere of activity of U. N. R. R. A. to relief and such rehabilitation as is essential to relief insures that first things will come first, that consideration of the problems of long-range recon-

struction, important as they are, will not dissipate the energies of an organization which has before it other problems of pressing urgency.

Finally, the spirit of reasonable and practical cooperation which the representatives of the governments displayed at Atlantic City, and which their governments have shown since, demonstrates an unparalleled readiness to make this organization effective.

All this is an augury for the future from which all of us can take hope and satisfaction.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator George, have you any questions?

Senator GEORGE. No, I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator La Follette?

Senator LA FOLLETTE. I may have some later. I reserve.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Green?

Senator GREEN. At the bottom of page 2, Governor, you use an expression—I do not know whether it is significant or not—instead of speaking of the United and Associated Nations, you speak of the “non-Axis world,” which is more comprehensive. Is there a distinction in your mind?

Mr. LEHMAN. The reason for that is that of course the conference at Atlantic City and U. N. R. R. A. itself could not speak for the Axis nations. This is an organization that exists exclusively of them.

Senator GREEN. I understand that, but in other places you have used other expressions—“the United and Associated Nations”—and here used the expression “the non-Axis world,” which is more comprehensive.

Senator BARKLEY. That refers to the resources and the accumulated experience of that world in the aiding of U. N. R. R. A., I suppose in solving this problem.

Senator GREEN. If there were other nations than the Associated.

Senator BARKLEY. Well, there are some neutral nations that are not necessarily Axis and not necessarily a part of the United Nations, that have not declared war upon Germany or Japan.

Senator GREEN. I am asking the Governor.

Senator BARKLEY. I do not want to interpret the Governor's language but it seems to me that that refers to the resources and the experience of these other nations.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, were there not nations represented at Atlantic City that were not in the United Nations? Were there not some nations represented there that have not broken off with the Axis?

Mr. LEHMAN. The only nation that was represented there which was not a United Nation or Associated Nation, was Denmark, which appeared there in the role of an observer. Of course, Senator Green, provision is made in the agreement for the admission under certain conditions of other nations—neutral nations.

Senator GREEN. I understand that, but I did not know there was any significance in the use of such a term.

Mr. LEHMAN. No, I do not think there was any such significance.

Senator GREEN. In one place you put it actively “the United Nations and Associated Nations,” while in this place, which is the only place I have known of its being used in any document of the kind, it is “non-Axis,” which includes everyone who does not belong to the Axis. It takes in the whole world with the exception of three nations, I suppose, or half a dozen Nations.



Mr. LEHMAN. I was putting of course the Axis nations in one compartment and the non-Axis nations in another. There was nothing particularly significant about it. We may draw on the resources of other nations that are not members of U. N. R. R. A., in connection with supplies. Although Argentina is not a member of U. N. R. R. A., it has recently declared, as a member of the International Wheat Council, that it is prepared to make available a substantial tonnage of wheat for relief. I suppose also that countries like Switzerland, Turkey, and Sweden, which are not United or Associated Nations, may also be of considerable assistance to U. N. R. R. A. before our operations are over. Their resources and their experience in relief work will undoubtedly be drawn upon.

Senator GREEN. I suppose ultimately you may draw on the resources of Axis Nations.

Mr. LEHMAN. It is quite possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Vandenberg?

Senator VANDENBERG. Governor Lehman, I assume it is quite clear that you are speaking now as the spokesman of this international authority and not as a representative of the Government of the United States.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct.

Senator VANDENBERG. So far as the Government of the United States is concerned, in respect to its contacts with U. N. R. R. A., it would deal through the American members of the organization?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is right—the American member of the Council.

Senator VANDENBERG. That would be Dean Acheson?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Major stockholders usually have some influence, do they not?

Senator VANDENBERG. As the spokesman for the international authority, U. N. R. R. A., itself, would you care to comment on section 4 of the pending resolution, on page 15, which was introduced into the resolution, as I understand it, by the House, and which contemplates a possible broadening of the jurisdiction and responsibility of U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. LEHMAN. The only thing I can say about that is the following—that it was realized that the resources of U. N. R. R. A. at best would be limited, and therefore the Council at its meeting in Atlantic City decided through its resolutions to limit the scope of U. N. R. R. A.'s work and the area of its operations rather than to undertake activities which U. N. R. R. A. could not possibly carry through because of its limited resources. That, I believe, was the reason for the action at the Atlantic City conference, which directed the activities of U. N. R. R. A. to the relief of the victims of war in those countries which had been liberated from Axis occupation. The Council is the only body which could change the policies that were adopted at Atlantic City. Of course, any recommendation by the Congress of the United States would receive most serious consideration.

Senator VANDENBERG. Is the Council the large body or the small body?

Mr. LEHMAN. The Council is the large body. The Council is composed of representatives of the 44 member nations. That meets once every 6 months, or rather at least twice a year.

Senator VANDENBERG. What do you call the smaller interim group?

Mr. LEHMAN. The Central Committee.

Senator VANDENBERG. The Central Committee would have no authority to adopt a recommendation of this nature?

Mr. LEHMAN. Whatever the Central Committee would adopt, would be subject to confirmation by the Council, at its next meeting, under the agreement.

Senator VANDENBERG. In voting, in the Central Committee or in the Council, as I read the formula, each nation has one vote; is that correct?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct.

Senator VANDENBERG. Each signatory has one vote?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct.

Senator VANDENBERG. Governor Lehman, it seems to be quite clear in the text of the agreement that there is a very clear purpose to draw a sharp line of distinction between "relief" and "rehabilitation" as such in this operation, and that you are intending to confine yourself, and U. N. R. R. A. is intending to confine itself, exclusively to relief except insofar as contingent rehabilitation contributes to relief, is that correct?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct. I believe there is an absolute prohibition adopted by the Council with regard to the undertaking of what might be described as "permanent reconstruction" activities. That was certainly the intention.

Senator VANDENBERG. Do you think that in the supplementary resolutions which were adopted at Atlantic City, there was any broadening of that contemplation, and that perhaps we may have excited some ultimate aspirations we do not intend to satisfy?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not think there was any such intention.

Senator VANDENBERG. It seems to me that the language of Resolution No. 12, which Senator White, of Maine, referred to at some length yesterday, might imply quite an expansion of the formula which we have just discussed; for instance, in paragraph 8 on page 41 of the printed booklet:

It is recommended that the Administration should, in consultation with the governments or recognized national authorities concerned and the appropriate international coordinating authority, assist liberated areas in restoring the transport and communications system to satisfactory working condition; it should also help to restore equipment, repair shops, workshops, shipyards, and so forth.

You do not read that as a broad rehabilitation commitment?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not, because I take into account the paragraph 11 on the same page, which described the limitation, reading as follows:

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the agreement.

Senator VANDENBERG. I agree with you that paragraph 11 seems to come back to our original concept. It is your opinion that that concept is substantially established in the objectives of the signatory powers to this agreement?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do feel that way, Senator Vandenberg. The reason for the inclusion of some of the words that you have pointed

out—I mean the reference for instance to shipyards and the repairing of shipping—was roughly this: There certainly is no intention whatsoever for U. N. R. R. A. to go into the construction of ships for commercial purposes or anything akin to that. There may be situations, however, in the case of certain countries like Norway and Greece, where a great part of the transportation must be done by means of small coastwise ships that ply between one port and another or between the mainland and the islands as in the case of Greece. In many cases that would be the only means of transporting relief supplies and, therefore, authority was given, under the resolution which you have read, to undertake work of that sort if it was necessary and if it could be tied down to the need of transporting goods for relief purposes.

Senator VANDENBERG. As long as you are unequivocally committed to that objective, I am not worried about what happens, but I should hate very much to have the U. N. R. R. A. pattern mislead any of our friends around the world into thinking that Santa Claus is arriving.

Mr. LEHMAN. I quite agree with you.

Senator VANDENBERG. That would be very unfortunate.

Mr. LEHMAN. I agree with that.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, indeed.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Governor, it is true, is it not, that at the outset of this meeting at Atlantic City there were representatives who felt that the scope of the activities of the contemplated organization should be extended to rehabilitation per se?

Mr. LEHMAN. I think there is not much doubt that at the outset of the meeting many people felt that U. N. R. R. A. should have a scope beyond that which was finally accepted. That point of view, however, was changed by a realization on the part of the governments represented there that the resources at the disposal of U. N. R. R. A. would be limited to an extent that would not make anything possible but the barest kind of rehabilitation work needed in connection with the relief operations.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. May I say that in reading resolution No. 1, which really covers much of the same ground as covered in resolution No. 12, it seems to me that the language employed is very much more restrictive and clear than the language employed in resolution No. 12, and therefore the question arose in my mind as to whether or not resolution No. 12 was intended and has the effect of placing the organization on record as extending and enlarging the phraseology, the language, and the purposes outlined in resolution No. 1.

Mr. LEHMAN. I am quite certain that that was not the intention, Senator. I believe that resolution No. 1 really was considered by the governments represented at Atlantic City as representing the scope and the area of the work to be undertaken by U. N. R. R. A.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. But these resolutions have priority I assume in the order of their adoption, and I cannot quite understand why it was necessary to adopt resolution No. 12 if resolution No. 1 really outlined the purposes and future policies of U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. LEHMAN. Resolution No. 12 was considered to cover industrial rehabilitation in more specific detail but always within the scope defined by resolution No. 1. Resolution No. 1 was formulated by the special working committee of the U. N. R. R. A. Council which was



set up at Atlantic City to deal with "general policy." All of the other resolutions were deemed to cover special policies within the framework of the general policy laid down in resolution No. 1 and, of course, in the agreement itself. I think resolution No. 12 simply summarizes the various resolutions adopted there insofar as they relate to industrial rehabilitation.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. On the contrary, it would seem to me that it enlarged them. For example, on page 28 of this first session pamphlet or document it says:

3. Rehabilitation supplies and services: Materials (such as seeds, fertilizers, raw materials, fishing equipment, machinery, and spare parts) needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas, and such technical services as may be necessary for these purposes.

4. Rehabilitation of public utilities and services: so far as they can be repaired or restored to meet immediate needs: such as light, water, sanitation, power, transport, temporary storage, communications, and assistance in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions.

If you turn over to page 40, I do not want to burden the record, but you will read paragraph 4:

It is recommended that pools be created of materials such as processing materials, machine tools, mobile power units, maintenance equipment, industrial machinery of both standard and special types, and spare parts.

Paragraph 8:

It is recommended that the Administration should in consultation with the governments or recognized national authorities concerned and the appropriate international coordinating authority, assist liberated areas in restoring the transport and communications system to satisfactory working condition; it should also help to restore equipment, repair shops, workshops, shipyards, etc. It is recommended that a pool of transportation equipment both fixed and mobile should be created either from stocks manufactured overseas \* \* \*, and so forth.

It seems to me on reading the portions of resolution 12 that it certainly has the effect and does employ much broader language, which is subject to a much wider scope, for the activities of U. N. R. R. A., and I would like to get your comment on that, Governor.

Mr. LEHMAN. Senator, I think you have got to read these various paragraphs which you have quoted in connection with the first paragraph of resolution 12 and in connection with resolution No. 1.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. That is what I was trying to do.

Mr. LEHMAN. The first paragraph of this resolution No. 12 provides, you will note, that the paragraphs which you have read are approved "subject to the provisions of resolutions Nos. 1 and 17 of this session." You take for instance paragraph 4—

It is recommended that pools be created of materials such as processing materials, machine tools, mobile power units, maintenance equipment, industrial machinery of both standard and special types, and spare parts.

That pool however is intended to be used for the effectuation of the activities that are set forth in resolution No. 1 and for no other purpose. In order to do the various things which are set forth in resolution No. 1 there will have to be some supplies of this type. Those supplies will be very difficult to get. It will take many, many months, in some instances, to obtain them, and therefore it was decided that a pool should be set up, so far as it is practicable to set it up, to effectuate the purposes of resolution No. 1, a pool which

might be shifted from one area to another as the situation changes I do not think the purpose goes beyond that.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. May I ask one further question? As I understand it, you are the Director General. Is that purely an executive function? Will the ultimate determinations of policy under these various resolutions be in your hands or in the hands of the Central Committee, or the Council?

Mr. LEHMAN. The Director General is the executive administrative head of the organization. He is obviously subject to the policies that have been adopted by the Council, itself. The interpretation of those policies rests in the hands of the Director General. There is no question but that the policies can be changed by a meeting of the Council, and at least temporarily changed by the Central Committee if an emergency should arise between sessions of the Council, subject to confirmation by the Council at its next regular meeting.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. But for the sake of argument, if the Council should ultimately put a much broader interpretation on resolution 12 than you now place upon it, it would be, as I understand it, your duty to carry that out; you would not be the person who would determine the policy.

Mr. LEHMAN. A great deal of discretion rests in the Director General with regard to the activities to be undertaken. The Director General, I think, would obviously be controlled by the policies that are adopted, but those policies were deliberately limited in order to make practicable the application of the limited resources which are or will be at the disposal of U. N. R. R. A. I would like to point this out, also—that the policies adopted by the Council must in all cases be within the terms of the limitations set out in the preamble and in the other clauses of the agreement. The agreement is, of course, the basic, constitutional document delimiting all of U. N. R. R. A.'s policies.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. My questions are not intended to indicate any other motive or desire than that there shall be no misunderstanding, either so far as Congress is concerned or insofar as the members of U. N. R. R. A. are concerned, as to what is to be the scope and extent of its activities.

Mr. LEHMAN. Senator, I understand that, and I want to say very frankly that in all probability there will be close borderline cases where decision will have to be made by the Director General as to whether activities which have been proposed come within the purview of Resolution No. 1. All I can say to you is that so far as I am concerned, and speaking as Director General at the present time, I will intend, do intend, to be guided by the spirit and letter of Resolution No. 1.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. In other words, Governor, it must be conceded that powerful arguments can be made that general rehabilitation helps to reduce the relief load, and it seems to me inevitable that the countries concerned are going to press for the broadest possible interpretation of these resolutions; because to the extent that general rehabilitation can be related to the relief problem, to that extent the country is materially benefited; and it seems to me of the utmost importance that there shall not be any misunderstanding in the Congress nor among the representatives of governments in U. N. R. R. A. as to the scope of these activities.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think what you have said is perfectly true, and I will concede further that it is extremely difficult to write an exact definition of "rehabilitation" for one purpose or another. All I can say to you is that I intend, as Director General, to adhere to the spirit and letter of resolution No. 1. There may be differences of opinion as to what constitutes the category in which a particular activity should be placed.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. That is all.

Senator VANDENBERG. I assume that the implications of article V in the agreement are clearly understood by all the signatory powers to indicate that there is no commitment of this Government except as measured by subsequent appropriations of the Congress of the United States, and if they understand that they will avoid some of their misunderstandings.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think there is a full realization of that on the part of the governments.

Senator VANDENBERG. Governor, there is one thing I forgot to ask you that I wanted to ask. You heard the War Department testifying about the sale of relief and rehabilitation supplies. Would U. N. R. R. A. contemplate dealing entirely on a basis of gift or would it contemplate dealing pursuant to the War Department pattern on a basis of sale where possible?

Mr. LEHMAN. It would certainly intend to proceed along those lines in two directions. One is that those countries that have available resources either in the form of gold or in the form of convertible exchange will be expected to pay for their supplies. Several of the countries have already publicly stated that it was their intention to do so. In the case of those countries which have not the means of paying through gold or convertible foreign exchange, it is intended to use commercial channels for distribution to as large an extent as possible. On this point, I should like to refer you to section 6 of Resolution No. 7, which I quoted from a moment ago in my opening statement. In those cases, of course, payment would be made in local currency, not in the form of foreign exchange.

As a matter of fact, in north Africa that procedure was followed pretty closely. A great many of the goods which were distributed there were distributed through commercial channels, and reimbursement was secured. It very definitely is intended to use the commercial channels wherever possible.

Senator VANDENBERG. Any reimbursements would go where—into the revolving funds of U. N. R. R. A., or would they be set aside for rebate to the contributors?

Mr. LEHMAN. I am not quite sure that I understand your question, Senator.

Senator VANDENBERG. We are talking now about an over-all budget of \$2,000,000,000, speaking loosely, as I understand it, for U. N. R. R. A. If you are going to have reimbursement on a substantial portion of your operations, and if the reimbursement inured to U. N. R. R. A., you would have a revolving fund which would give you much more than \$2,000,000,000 with which to operate?

Mr. LEHMAN. When I talk about \$2,000,000,000, I do not include the amount paid by the countries that are in a position to pay for their supplies in gold or foreign exchange. As a matter of fact, the



greater part of those payments in all probability would not flow through U. N. R. R. A. at all; they would be paid directly either to the commercial concerns that provided the goods, or in the event that they were procured by national agencies, to the national agencies of the supplying countries. I want to make it very clear that when I talk about \$2,000,000,000, I have in mind that is the net amount which will be applicable for use in relieving the populations of those countries that are not able to pay themselves.

I think I should add, too, and I believe that this is the answer to your specific question, that in the case of those countries where payment is made in local currency, that will be made available to U. N. R. R. A. for certain specific purposes. Under section 19 of Resolution No. 14, which is U. N. R. R. A.'s financial plan, the proceeds of the local currency cannot be taken out of the country except with the approval or the consent of the government concerned. That money will be used in carrying on further work of relief and rehabilitation within their country, or, with the consent of that country, in the procurement of relief supplies for shipment to other areas in which activities will be carried on.

Senator VANDENBERG. Do you think you have any sound basis for anticipating that this job can be done for \$2,000,000,000 net?

Mr. LEHMAN. I certainly would not want to give any guaranty to that effect, Senator. I think the amount involved will go a long ways to do the job, but I have no figures which would justify my making any authoritative statement one way or another, and I believe that the money that will be in hand will have to be doled out, used with great care, great discretion, in order to do the job.

Senator VANDENBERG. How did you arrive at your \$2,000,000,000?

Mr. LEHMAN. I cannot tell you how the Council arrived at \$2,000,000,000, but frankly I believe that that was estimated as the amount that the member governments would be willing, and in a position, to contribute. They arrived at the formula of 1 percent of the national income of these countries for the year ending June 30, 1943, as a fair, reasonable, and realistic and practicable approach. It is estimated that that will bring in approximately \$2,000,000,000.

Senator VANDENBERG. There is no thought, is there, in U. N. R. R. A., or especially among its members other than America, that this 1-percent assessment is going to be an annual affair?

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not think so.

Senator VANDENBERG. Then there is no realistic relationship between the \$2,000,000,000 and the job—it is just a good figure which represents what you thought you could get for the undertaking?

Mr. LEHMAN. Senator, I do not think it is possible to give a realistic estimate of what may be needed. There are too many unknown factors.

Senator VANDENBERG. I do not think it is possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Tunnell, do you care to ask a question?

Senator TUNNELL. I would like to ask, have there been particular territories already turned over to U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. LEHMAN. No; there have not been. The predecessor organization, O. F. R. R. O., did some work in north Africa, but there is no work being done by U. N. R. R. A. today in any of the governments. We have no people for instance, as General Hilldring testified, in Italy, and we will send only such persons into other territories that are liberated as the Army consents to or invites to come in.

Senator TUNNELL. Your work is entirely in the future?

Mr. LEHMAN. The work is in the future, except in the preparation, and we are going ahead very energetically on that.

Senator TUNNELL. I notice one of the things set out in your statement, as to delivery of fertilizer. That is rather a heavy article to deliver. Is it your idea to take that from the eastern continent, or deliver it from here, or do you know?

Mr. LEHMAN. I cannot answer that question, but I think one of the most important activities of rehabilitation which can be carried on by U. N. R. R. A. or by the military is that of rehabilitating agriculture. I believe that even the harvesting of the first good crop will make a difference in the relief needs of a country, and the time element, of course, will come into the picture very greatly. Sometimes it may be possible to start agricultural rehabilitation promptly. At other times there may be a loss of many months, or maybe even a year, but I believe that one of the very important activities to be carried on by both the military in the first instance and by U. N. R. R. A. thereafter is the rehabilitation of agriculture, which will, in time, take off a great part of the impact, I believe, from the relief needs.

Senator TUNNELL. That would include seed, fertilizer, and machinery, I suppose, to some extent?

Mr. LEHMAN. Some machinery; yes, sir.

Senator TUNNELL. That is all I have to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator La Follette.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Governor, as I understand it you were elected by the Atlantic City meeting as Director General?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is right.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Do you have complete control over the personnel of the organization?

Mr. LEHMAN. Complete control? Yes, sir.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. In other words, there was no understanding as to your deputies or anything of that kind?

Mr. LEHMAN. None at all, except that I voluntarily announced my belief that in order to make this organization a success its administrative organization should be truly international in character.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. How have you proceeded to implement that?

Mr. LEHMAN. I have proceeded to select a number of non-Americans to fill important positions. The Senior Deputy Director General is British.

Senator VANDENBERG. Will you put his name in the record at this point?

Mr. LEHMAN. It is Sir Arthur Salter.

The Deputy Director General in charge of the Bureau of Supplies is an American, Mr. Roy Hendrickson. The Deputy Director General in charge of the Bureau of Areas is a Russian, Mr. Menshikov. He was at Atlantic City. The Director of the Industrial Rehabilitation Division is a Czech, Mr. Anton Fried. The Deputy Director General in Charge of the Secretariat is a Chinese, Dr. Kuo. I will not go all through the list, but there are a number.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. That is enough. You have tried to make it representative?

Mr. LEHMAN. I have tried to make it representative and shall continue to try to make it representative; but the Director General has to assume responsibility for the selection of the personnel.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Thank you.

Senator VANDENBERG. Have you set up an information service typical of that which we have connected with all other agencies?

Mr. LEHMAN. No; we have not set up any as yet. We have a Public Relations Division for the purpose of acquainting people both through the press and through other means with the work that is being done. This will of course be important because U. N. R. R. A. is an international organization, and it will be necessary to keep the people of the liberated areas and of the rest of the world informed as to what U. N. R. R. A. is doing.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, I am much interested in your testimony about the extent to which this organization might go as between rehabilitation and reconstruction. I hope very much you will adhere rigidly to that idea. It seems to me that the Congress and the country want to extend the temporary relief in these areas, but neither favors any large expenditure looking toward reconstruction in the broad sense.

Mr. LEHMAN. I agree with that.

The CHAIRMAN. Many of these countries when liberated and their populations freed from restraint would accomplish a great deal through their own efforts and industry in reconstruction, and in the tapering off of rehabilitation. It would stimulate those activities if they knew that they could not expect this organization to come in and take over. We have had that experience in our own country here.

Mr. LEHMAN. We certainly are going to follow the policy, as far as it is possible to follow it, of helping people to help themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, about selling through commercial channels, is it not true that in many areas the necessity for relief arises not because of the essential poverty of the country or the people but on account of the lack of goods, they just have not been able to get them? In those areas your organization could secure supplies and then channel them out through the normal commercial agencies; is that right?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is our intention, Senator Connally. I think that in many countries the great difficulty is going to be in the supplies and the shortage of supplies.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that not true in north Africa?

Mr. LEHMAN. That certainly was, there, very definitely.

Senator Connally, several members of this committee have shown great interest with respect to the relationships between U. N. R. R. A. and the military authorities. General Hildring has given his report on the activities of the military. That was important, because U. N. R. R. A. and the military must maintain the closest relationship, of course. I have prepared a short statement here which is in line with General Hildring's statement, on the responsibility of the two organizations, which I would be very glad indeed to read or put in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. I would suggest that on account of the lateness of the hour perhaps you had better just place it in the record.

Mr. LEHMAN. All right. I will put it in the record, as follows:



Both the agreement of the governments under which United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was established and the resolutions of the council at Atlantic City clearly recognize the responsibility and final authority of the military for relief and rehabilitation during an initial period of military control. United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration can only enter any given area from a date, and under conditions, to which the military authorities have consented. What this period of military control may be cannot, of course be known beforehand. It will depend on the course of the war and may well differ considerably for different areas.

But for the purposes of planning and procurement a clearly defined responsibility is obviously necessary. And for these purposes I understand that the military authorities are accepting a comprehensive responsibility for the supplies required for a period of 6 months. If in some areas responsibility is transferred to United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at an earlier date it will of course be necessary for corresponding supplies which the military had acquired to be handed over. If, on the other hand, an extension of the military period proves necessary the military would draw upon supplies arranged by United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration for the later period. I welcome this acceptance of responsibility for a defined period by the military authorities. For while it is not to be expected that, during a period of continuing military operations, supplies can be made available on as ample a scale as may be reasonably planned for the subsequent period, I think it is probable that more adequate provision can be made by the military authorities than United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration could make, in such a period, in competition with military demands for both supplies and transportation.

This is the basis upon which we are both proceeding in the work now being done to determine requirements and, so far as practicable, to insure supplies. This does not mean, however, that the military authorities and United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration can proceed separately with their respective tasks. On the contrary, as is contemplated by both the agreement and the resolutions, close and continuous collaboration is for several reasons essential. In the first place, while the responsibility for making provision for 6 months' rests with the military authorities, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration can and does supply both information and technical assistance in regard to this task. Moreover each is interested in what the other is planning and procuring, since the extension or shortening of the period of military control will necessitate transfer of supplies from the one to the other. In the next place, in order that supplies may be available for the second period of 6 months, allocations will need to be made and in particular orders for manufacture to be placed a long time beforehand. It is important that United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration should so far as possible obtain the cooperation of the military authorities in taking these steps, so as to avoid a competition with military supplies which might render United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation's efforts abortive.

Lastly, it is clearly essential in the field that when the military period ends there should be no complete change of personnel, with a transfer of responsibility to an entirely new set of persons who have had no experience of conditions as they have developed in each area during the military period. It will be necessary therefore to arrange that some of those who will control relief work during the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration period should have been actually on the spot beforehand, of course under suitable conditions determined by the military authorities and under their orders.

For all these reasons close and continuous collaboration from the first is obviously required. I am now in contact with the military authorities for this purpose and shall for my part do all in my power to make the collaboration cordial and effective.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Governor.

Senator VANDENBERG. Governor, is India represented on the staff of U. N. R. R. A. at all?

Mr. LEHMAN. It is represented, of course, on the council of U. N. R. R. A. It is not as yet represented on the staff. We certainly hope to make some appointments.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, is here, and has expressed a desire to clear up one or two little matters.

**FURTHER STATEMENT OF HON. DEAN ACHESON, ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY OF STATE**

Mr. ACHESON. Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to take 1 minute to make perfectly clear a matter which was raised by a question asked by Senator George, and that is that U. N. R. R. A. has no governmental powers or authorities whatever. When General Hildring spoke of turning something over to some other organization, so far as U. N. R. R. A. was concerned he was not referring to turning over to U. N. R. R. A. governmental powers of any kind.

The U. N. R. R. A. organization is purely a service organization for assisting in providing supplies for relief and rehabilitation. In the agreement itself and in all the resolutions it is perfectly clear that any act of U. N. R. R. A. in any territory must be with the consent of the government or authority in administrative control of that territory. That would be any Allied commission which was set up in enemy territories, and it would be the government of the liberated territory. I thought it would be desirable to make that clear on the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other matter, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. ACHESON. That is all, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

I suggest, if it is agreeable to the committee, that we recess now until Monday, at which time we can take a vote on this.

(Whereupon, at 12 o'clock, the committee recessed until Monday, February 14, 1944, at 10:30 o'clock.)

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ENABLING THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN  
THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND  
REHABILITATION ORGANIZATION

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FEBRUARY 14, 1944.—Ordered to be printed

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Mr. CONNALLY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted  
the following

## REPORT

[To accompany H. J. Res. 192]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, established by the agreement signed in the city of Washington on November 9, 1943, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with an amendment and as amended, recommend that the resolution do pass.

## PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT RESOLUTION

Section 1 of the joint resolution authorizes the appropriation to the President of such sums, not to exceed \$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate, as the Congress may determine, so that the United States may make contributions in funds or otherwise to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration for use in its operations, including its necessary administrative expenses. The amounts so appropriated can be used by the President not only for contributions in funds to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and for the purchase of supplies to be contributed in kind but also for procurement, handling, storage, transportation, and other services and expenses necessary to make supplies or services available for use by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in its relief and rehabilitation work. The agreement, which was signed on November 9, 1943, by the 44 United Nations and associated nations, is quoted in full in the joint resolution so that it may be before the Congress.

Section 2 provides that the amounts appropriated under the resolution shall be expended under the direction of the President, thus

making possible a desirable flexibility of administration. The actual administration of the amounts appropriated may be handled under the direction of the President by the departments and agencies of the Government which are performing similar or related functions and have the necessary qualifications and experience, without overlapping and in ways which meet changing conditions. Provision is made for quarterly reports to be submitted to the Congress by the President, showing the expenditures under any appropriations authorized by the joint resolution and reporting on operations under the agreement.

Sections 3, 4, and 5 of the joint resolution, prior to the recommended amendment of section 5 by this committee, were inserted pursuant to amendments by the House of Representatives. Section 3 states that in adopting the joint resolution, the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in limiting the rehabilitation work of this organization to activities incident to relief.

Section 4 consists of a recommendation on the part of the Congress that, insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through this organization. The effect of this section is not to amend the agreement but merely to state the recommendation of the Congress in this regard.

Section 5 as amended by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee provides that the authorization contained in the joint resolution shall expire June 30, 1946.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is the first service agency of the United Nations and associated nations to be constituted. The signing of the United Nations relief agreement is a milestone in the development of the foreign policy of the United States, as well as that of other nations. The success of the Atlantic City conference greatly strengthened the already strong bonds between the signatory governments. While the war lasts, the success of the organization is a military necessity, for the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will minimize disease and unrest behind the fighting lines. In the crucial emergency period of readjustment after hostilities have ceased, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will likewise be a necessity. Its task will be to restore the liberated peoples to the level at which they can help themselves. Only then can they actively cooperate with us in programs designed to rebuild the commerce and finance without which lasting peace would be impossible to achieve.

#### HEARINGS

The joint resolution was introduced in the Senate on January 26, 1944. It was passed by the House of Representatives on January 24, 1944, by vote of 338-54. At the hearings held by the committee, study was made of the nature and scope of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's proposed operations and the extent of the United States' participation in the financing and direction of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's work. At the hearings the following witnesses were heard in support



of the resolution: Assistant Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson, chief of the United States delegation and chairman of the first session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council and Maj. Gen. John H. Hildring, Chief, Civil Affairs Division, War Department. No witnesses appeared in opposition. The Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, appeared before the committee and discussed the purposes and policies of the international service organization which he now directs.

A letter recommending passage of the resolution was received by the committee from Secretary of State Cordell Hull, reading in part as follows:

The broad plans growing out of the Moscow Conference, which Congress has so warmly endorsed, will need the work of this great organization to insure, in the words of the four-nation declaration, "a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace" so that we may proceed to our announced purpose of "maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments."

It is as essential to be prepared for the emergency which will follow the end of war as it is to be prepared for the great operations which will bring the victorious peace. This organization must begin its work close upon the heels of the armies of the United Nations, not only to assure that the liberated peoples will live and be strengthened for the tasks of peace, but to assure that the end of the fighting brings peace and not disorganization and further conflict. An instrument of great promise has been forged for this purpose by all the United and Associated Nations. That instrument is ready; the task is imminent. I earnestly recommend that the Congress authorize the funds for full and effective participation by this country.

The committee also had before it the hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House on the joint resolution, including various documents and charts submitted to that committee, and State Department Publication No. 2040, which contains the basic documents relating to the first session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council, including the resolutions on policy adopted thereat.

After considering the testimony of the witnesses and study of the documents, the committee believes that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is sound and practicable in its conception. It should provide an adequate administrative basis for the execution of the international job which must be done. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is a forward step, carrying toward the peace the teamwork we have achieved in war. We can make progress toward cooperation only by cooperating.

#### THE BACKGROUND OF THE AGREEMENT AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 192

The concept of joint action by the United Nations to deal with problems of relief and rehabilitation in liberated areas dates back to September 1941, when a meeting of European governments was called in London by the British Government. There was then formed the Inter-Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements on which most of our European allies were represented. After the United States entered the war it was also represented on the committee. The task of the Inter-Allied Committee was solely that of determining the post-war requirements of the Allied countries in Europe; it had neither operating powers nor an executive.

The work of this committee was a promising beginning, but the need for a far more comprehensive approach was soon realized. The Soviet Government suggested a more broadly international organization which could both plan and arrange for the execution of equitable relief and rehabilitation programs; the United States Government was fully in accord with this suggestion. Such an organization might deal with the relief programs of the Far East, as well as those of Europe. Accordingly, in 1942 our Government began discussions with representatives of the British, Chinese, and Soviet Governments, and there was finally produced, with their informal approval as the basis for further discussions, a draft document proposing an international agency to perform these tasks.

This draft then became the subject of discussion with the other United Nations and associated governments. Representatives of the State Department also discussed the draft with the leaders of both Houses of Congress.

In July 1943, discussions were held with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and a subcommittee was appointed, consisting of Senator Connally, Senator Green, Senator Thomas of Utah, Senator Vandenberg, and Senator La Follette, to study the text of the draft agreement and to make recommendations thereon. Thereafter conversations were carried on during the succeeding weeks between Assistant Secretary Acheson, Mr. Francis B. Sayre, then Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, and the members of the subcommittee. As a result of these various meetings, modifications in the text of the draft agreement were suggested by members of the subcommittee, and it was agreed that the joint resolution now under consideration would include the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement in full and would be introduced immediately after the signing of the agreement, so as to give the fullest opportunity to Congress to consider the extent of the United States participation in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Following these meetings, State Department representatives continued in constant touch with members of both the Senate and House committees and with other congressional leaders. Further meetings in executive session to discuss the United Nations relief program were held with the full Foreign Relations Committee on September 22, 1943, and on November 5, 1943, and with the House Foreign Affairs Committee on September 23 and November 8.

The textual modifications suggested by Members of the Congress and by representatives of other governments were fully considered in the preparation of the final text of the agreement. After they had been approved by the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, and when all the governments concerned had reached full accord, the agreement was signed at the White House on November 9, 1943, by representatives of the 44 United Nations and associated governments. The President transmitted a message to the Congress on the subject on November 10, 1943.

The committee was impressed with the attitude of the officers of the executive departments throughout the negotiations in their desire to consult and cooperate with, and to obtain the authorization of, the Congress in regard to participation in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Under the agreement of November 9, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is organized democratically, along lines which assure the fullest appropriate representation to all member governments. The term "member government" is used in the agreement to identify the signatories of the agreement, whether recognized governments or authorities of different status, such as the French Committee of National Liberation. Each member government has one representative on the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which acts as the central policy-making body of the organization, and meets at least twice a year. At the same time, the executive authority of the agency, vested in the Director General, is wisely given ample scope for action, within the limits of the broad policies established by the Council. In closest association with the Council and its committees, the Director General will take the initiative in making plans and arrangements for relief work within the liberated areas. He is directed to act in full cooperation with the military authorities of the United Nations, and with the agencies which control the flow of supplies. He will work with representatives of the member nations which are to be liberated, in the preparation of estimates of need and programs of supply. He will work with the supply authorities of member nations to arrange programs of relief exports.

Between sessions of the Council, its Central Committee acts for the organization, making policy decisions of an emergency nature when necessary. That committee consists of representatives of the United Kingdom, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States, with the Director General presiding without vote. Its decisions are open to reconsideration at sessions of the Council.

The Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has other important committees, some specifically provided for in the agreement, others established at the Atlantic City meeting. These are: the Regional Committees for Europe and the Far East, the Committee on Supplies, the Committee on Financial Control, and technical committees on agriculture, displaced persons, health, welfare, and industrial rehabilitation. The United States is represented on all of these committees.

Apart from establishing the Council and its committees, and the Director General and his staff, the agreement lays down certain broad lines of policy. It clearly establishes in article VII and article IV the principle that this organization shall not operate in any area under military control except with the consent of the military authorities. It provides that the Director General shall coordinate and control the work of foreign voluntary or charitable relief agencies operating within a liberated area. This provision does not mean that Red Cross and other experienced relief agencies are not to be called upon to participate in relief administration. On the contrary, it is intended, and resolution No. 9 of the Council's resolutions on policy provides, that they be used wherever appropriate. But it does require the coordination of all field work in the light of general relief policies agreed upon by the governments concerned. The agreement also requires full periodic reports from the Director General to the Council,



both as to the use of funds and as to his other activities. And it sets up suitable machinery for amendment and procedure.

#### THE SCOPE OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION'S OPERATIONS

The task of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is international in scope, directly involving and affecting many countries. It cannot be solved except through cooperative international action.

The agreement itself defines the job in these terms: That the signatory nations are determined—

that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing, and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is therefore directed in article I of the agreement—

To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any areas under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

The language quoted from the preamble and article I of the agreement was carefully worked over by the members of the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee and, with the cooperation of the representatives of the executive branch of the Government, important changes were made therein before the execution of the agreement, to limit the activities of the organization to relief and to rehabilitation operations incident to relief.

After the cessation of hostilities in a liberated area, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will thus be concerned with the emergency task of providing relief to the victims of war in that area. But the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is not to be responsible for the whole of the vast job of relief and rehabilitation. It will not be concerned with plans for rebuilding bombed cities, or reestablishing the economic life of devastated areas. The program of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is a relief program, designed to provide relief supplies, and such emergency industrial or agricultural supplies as are needed to facilitate at the earliest possible moment the flow of relief supplies.

There are four general categories of supplies and services which the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will assist in furnishing to liberated areas: (1) Essential consumer goods, such as medical supplies, food, fuel, temporary shelter, and clothing; (2) health and welfare services, including the care and repatriation of displaced persons; (3) materials necessary to the resumption of the production of relief supplies within liberated areas, such as seed, fertilizer, fishing equipment, essential machinery and spare parts; and (4) materials and technical help to repair, so far as they can be re-

paired or restored to meet immediate needs, essential utilities, and public services. These matters are provided for in resolution No. 1, adopted by the Council at the Atlantic City session, which resolution defines the scope of the Administration's functions and limits it to these activities. Other resolutions of the Council, such as resolution No. 12 on industrial rehabilitation, which define in more detail the various types of operations to be carried on by this organization, are subject to the limitations contained in resolution No. 1 and, of course, in the agreement itself. Resolution No. 12 is by its terms subject to the provisions of resolution No. 1.

Thus, care has been taken to limit the scope of the rehabilitation operations of the Administration to work which will enable a recipient country to produce or transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated areas and to the repair or restoration of public utilities only to the extent necessary to meet immediate needs. In the field of agriculture it is limited to short-run agricultural rehabilitation and food-production efforts. Rehabilitation is stated in a resolution of the Council to be coterminous with relief, rather than the beginning of reconstruction, and is not to comprehend any general rebuilding program.

The problem of relief and relief rehabilitation is an emergency issue of high political and humanitarian importance. The victims of war must be fed as soon as possible. The permanent reconstruction of devastated areas and the reestablishment of currencies are different types of problems. These are long-term problems which should be considered separately from emergency relief; they have been left to agencies and arrangements other than the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

It has been reliably estimated that 80 to 85 percent of the needs of all the liberated areas will be produced within these areas, and an additional 5 to 10 percent will be paid for in gold or foreign exchange by those of the liberated areas having such gold or foreign exchange. In this connection, it should be clearly understood that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration does not propose to finance even all such imports as may be necessary for relief within the liberated areas. Several of the countries now occupied by the enemy have funds in gold or foreign exchange with which they will pay for their imported relief supplies. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's job with respect to supplies for such countries is to make representations to insure that there will be an equitable division of goods in short supply to and among all the liberated areas, and to see to it that the necessary imports are available for those liberated areas the governments of which are too poor to buy such supplies themselves. That task must be accepted as a common responsibility of all nations fortunate enough not to have suffered the horror of invasion, and interested in restoring a world of trade and peace.

Apart from questions of supply, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will assist in caring for displaced persons and in coordinating and controlling their movements, in the interest of the health and economic life of all nations. The vast number of persons, both in Europe and in the Far East, who have been forced from their homes defies imagination. Contrary to the terms of the Geneva Convention, prisoners of war have been de-

mobilized and put into factories. Millions of workmen have been transported to Germany, populations have been shifted to carry out Hitler's unbelievable policies of extermination. Refugees and evacuees are everywhere in enemy-held territory. If all these people were to start homeward without supervision as soon as the shooting stops, the dangers of epidemic and economic confusion would be overwhelming. An organized international program is essential, if many nations are not to suffer in this process, and if world recovery is not to be needlessly delayed. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's work in this connection does not extend beyond aid for the victims of war. It is exclusively a relief function; and the only matters of rehabilitation in this function are those which are indispensable to relief itself. It does not encompass the political questions presented to the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, established by the Evian conference, nor does it deal with the vital and tragic problems considered at the recent Bermuda conference on the fate of refugees in Europe.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will necessarily take an active part in the problem of public health within the liberated areas. It will provide for the organization of adequate measures to protect the public health of the countries which are now occupied by the enemy. Particularly in connection with the treatment of displaced persons, and with the quick restoration of adequate public-health services, an international problem of great magnitude will be presented in all liberated areas.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration promises a solution of these essentially international problems. It applies the spirit and principles of international cooperation enunciated by the Fulbright and Connally resolutions, and of the Moscow Declaration, in a most practical and encouraging way. It should provide the kind of experience in international cooperation, without which we cannot hope to maintain peace.

#### RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES

As noted above, provision has been made so that the activities of the Administration in any given areas shall be subject to the condition that such activities shall not interfere with military considerations. Article VII of the agreement states that "while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary. The determination that such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be made by its military commander." This provision was inserted in the agreement to avoid any possibility that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's activities would interfere with military activities and the same policy has been elaborated in the resolutions of the Council. After hearing the views of the War Department on this point, the committee is satisfied that every precaution has been taken to subordinate the operations of this organization to military considerations.

It is understood that there will be relief and rehabilitation activities carried on by the military authorities during an initial period after



liberation. These activities are necessary to discharge the responsibility imposed upon the military as a matter of international law and morality to protect the civilian populations in areas under their control; they are also required as a matter of military necessity to keep those civilian populations in repose.

During this military period, however, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will stand ready to act during the military period to the extent that the military authorities consent. For the purposes of planning, both on the Army and the civilian side, a period of 6 months has been taken as the period of military responsibility for relief and rehabilitation. In actual operation there will of course be a considerable variation as to the length of that period, depending on the rapidity with which the armed forces move forward and other factors.

#### FIELD OPERATIONS

Relief and rehabilitation operations will take place in the territories of our allies in Europe and the Far East when they are liberated from Axis occupation. Aside from this, there will be certain operations in areas other than those which have been occupied, in connection with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's function of assisting in the care and movement of displaced persons. For example, many refugees from Poland, France, and other parts of Europe are now in north Africa and the Middle East. Similar problems exist in the Far East. The care of these displaced persons and the work of facilitating their return to their homes will come within the scope of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's operations. Aside from operations of this nature, however, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's relief activities are directed under the agreement to the relief of countries which have been liberated from enemy occupation.

Operations in the enemy or ex-enemy territories may also have to be carried on. Disease and epidemics know no boundaries, and their outbreak in any area may endanger all adjacent areas, as well as the health of our occupying troops. Millions of the citizens of the United Nations have been brought into Germany and put to forced labor; more millions of prisoners of war have been illegally demobilized and forced to work in enemy countries. It is the responsibility of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to assist in the repatriation of these people. All such activities will require operations in enemy or ex-enemy territories, subject, of course, to the consent of the military or other control authority set up in the area by the United Nations. The policy resolutions adopted by the Council specifically provide, furthermore, that the Council must approve the scale and nature of such operations and that all expenses of operations in an enemy or ex-enemy country should be borne by that country.

In all cases, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration can operate in an area only after consultation with and with the consent of the government or authority (military or civilian) exercising administrative authority in the area. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will operate as a service agency, and it is expected that the primary responsibility for the distribution of relief supplies and for rehabilitation work will be borne

by the government or recognized national authority which exercises administrative control in the area. It is planned that, to the maximum practicable extent, the supplies furnished by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will be sold through the normal agencies of distribution (governmental, commercial, cooperative, within the liberated areas. Although it must closely supervise the distribution of its supplies, the Administration will have no facilities for large-scale distribution through its own agencies, no powers to control distribution through rationing or otherwise. It is not intended to be a governmental body, in other words, with powers of local administration which only a government can perform.

Care has been taken to see to it that relief supplies will not be used as a political weapon by any faction or group, and this firm policy is made clear in many of the Council's resolutions. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is an agency of limited powers, consecrated to the job of relief. It cannot recognize a government, nor otherwise engage in political activities or decisions.

#### ALLOCATION AND PROCUREMENT OF SUPPLIES

In order to insure the careful allocation of scarce supplies and shipping tonnage, the over-all needs of liberated areas must be coordinated with all other needs, both military and civilian.

The Director General and his staff will make estimates of requirements in accordance with policies determined after consultation with the Committees of the Council for Europe and the Far East. He will then present these over-all estimates to the appropriate governmental agencies (the Combined Boards) which will make recommendations, in the light of all other needs, to the national allocating agencies represented on them as to the allocation of essential relief and rehabilitation supplies. These requirements will be of two types: (1) The over-all requirements of all the liberated areas as a group; and (2) the individual requirements of the governments of liberated areas which have requested the assistance of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

In many cases governments which have gold or foreign exchange and which do not therefore require the financial assistance of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will themselves present their individual requirements, or programs of intended purchases, to the agencies concerned. In any such case, the government concerned will advise the Director General of its program prior to its presentation to the Combined Boards or other interested agencies. Thus the Director General will have an opportunity to make recommendations or objections to the government and to the agencies concerned in order to insure a fair distribution of supplies to and among the various liberated areas, in the interest of seeing to it that those liberated areas able to pay are treated on the same basis of need in the distribution of supplies as countries without adequate gold or foreign exchange.

#### THE FINANCIAL PLAN

The Council adopted for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration a financial plan (resolution No. 14) which includes recommendations to member governments with respect to their con-

tributions. The basic recommendation is that each member government whose home territory has not been occupied by the enemy should make a contribution for participation in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration approximately equal to 1 percent of the national income of the country for the year ended June 30, 1943, each country to make its own computation of national income. This contribution is proposed not as an annual contribution but as the contribution which it is presently estimated will be the amount needed.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement provides that the amount and character of the contribution of each member government is to be determined by its own constitutional bodies. This provision is of the greatest importance and the pertinent provisions of the agreement was carefully worked over by the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee. No member of the Council, in approving the financial plan, made, or could make, any commitment with regard to the contribution of his government. In fact under the agreement, as changed in accordance with the wishes of the subcommittee, there is no commitment of any kind to participate in this work without the approval of the appropriate constitutional bodies of each country. The plan recognizes that there will be cases in which, by reason of special circumstances, a member government will not be able to make the recommended contribution. For example, those countries in which per capita income is especially low, or which have little or no foreign exchange or gold and no substantial exportable surpluses of material, may find it impossible to contribute to the extent recommended.

As already pointed out, the liberated countries will provide internally most of the supplies and services needed for their own relief and rehabilitation and also, when they are able, will pay for the imports they need. In view of these facts, it was not recommended that such countries make the 1 percent contribution at this time. It was however recommended that when the financial situations of such countries became clearer, they should make an appropriate contribution to the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

If each member government were to make the contribution recommended in the plan, it is estimated that the amount contributed would be in the neighborhood of \$2,000,000,000. Of this amount the contribution of the United States would be approximately \$1,350,000,000. In this connection, it should be noted that the national income of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1943, was substantially larger than the combined income for the same period of all other member governments that have been asked to contribute. It should also be noted that the amount of the contribution of the United States under this formula would be approximately equivalent to the amount currently being spent by the United States Government in 5 days for war purposes.

The committee is advised that, on January 25, 1944, the House of Commons made a vote of credit of £80,000,000 as the United Kingdom contribution to the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This amount is understood to be slightly in excess of 1 percent of the estimated national income of the United Kingdom for the year ended June 30, 1943.



The 1-percent formula recommended was the subject of much discussion at the meeting of the Council and various other formulas were advanced and discussed. It was pointed out that a formula based on 1 percent of income does not follow the desirable principle of progressive taxation. But no other formula seemed so practicable or so generally fair. The committee believes that the policy recommended by the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is sound.

Certain observations on the limitations of national-income statistics for this purpose should be emphasized. It is obvious, of course, that the national-income formula is not an absolutely accurate guide. All comparisons of national income in wartime are misleading in some degree because they have to be made in dollars or pounds or other monetary units; prices have gone up in different degrees in different countries, and the nominal rates of exchange in which we have to make these comparisons no longer necessarily reflect the levels of internal prices in the different countries. Generally speaking, however, real income in terms of physical production has increased in about the same proportions in the chief industrial countries, and they presently are devoting about the same fraction of their actual output to war purposes. Thus, they are in much the same position so far as increases in real national income are concerned, and their national income, therefore, provides a reasonably fair basis for measuring their relief contributions.

It should be pointed out that our expenditures for relief during and after the last war amounted to more than 4 percent of our national income for 1919, which reflects the difference in our approach to the problem now and then. The problem of relief after this war will be far greater than the relief problems of 1919 and the years that followed, both in the number of persons and in the areas involved. The basis of the present plan is its emphasis on a quick restoration of local relief production and self-help.

Some of the occupied countries, relatively soon after their liberation, will probably be in a position to produce exportable surpluses, and such countries may make contributions for the assistance of other areas which remain in great need, although such countries are not included in the 1-percent formula. In addition, it may be anticipated that some nonmember governments and private organizations and individuals will contribute in money or supplies to further the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The financial plan makes separate provision for contributions for administrative expenses. It requires the preparation by the Director General of an annual administrative budget to be submitted to the Council for approval. The amount of the approved administrative budget is allocated by the Council among all member governments. It should be noted that those countries which are not asked to make contributions for operating purposes—that is, the countries which have suffered from enemy occupation—are nevertheless asked to make their proportionate contributions to administrative expenses. The Council approved an administrative budget for the calendar year 1944 and the then remaining part of 1943 in the amount of \$10,000,000 and made recommendations to the member governments as to the allocation of these expenses in the proportion shown in resolution No. 38. The basis for the recommendation was the 1940

income of member governments, the last year for which any figures are available for occupied countries. Under this formula, more than 30 percent of the administrative expenses would be borne by countries whose home territories have been occupied by the enemy. It is also provided in the financial plan that a member government may treat its share of administrative expenses as included in any general contribution which it makes for the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Therefore the share of the United States for administrative expenses may be treated as being not in addition to, but included in, its general contribution. As in the case of contributions for operating expenditures, the agreement expressly provides that contributions for administrative expenses are subject to the appropriate constitutional procedures of the various member governments. The language of this provision was likewise worked over by the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee.

#### USE OF FUNDS

It is the stated policy of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration not to deplete its available resources for the relief and rehabilitation of any area whose government is in a position to pay with suitable means of foreign exchange. It is further declared to be its policy that no government needing relief should be required to assume the burden of an enduring foreign exchange debt for the purchase of supplies for relief and rehabilitation. To meet this problem, provision is made in the financial plan for a mechanism to determine whether a government is in a position to pay for services and supplies in gold or foreign exchange. This question is to be determined by the Director General, in consultation with the member government involved and with the advice of a committee or subcommittee of the Council. Naturally, this issue will be raised only upon the application of a country for assistance from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The fact that the funds available to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will be used to pay for supplies and services which must be brought into certain of the liberated areas does not, however, mean that such supplies and services will be distributed free within such areas. In most cases, it is anticipated that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will either sell its supplies and services to the government or distribute them through the normal channels in the liberated areas, in each case for local currency. Arrangements will be made so that the proceeds in local currency of the sale of supplies will be made available for use by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration within the particular area for such purposes as may be agreed upon with the government or authority in the areas.

#### CONCLUSION

The committee has amended the House text of section 5 so that this authorization comes to a specific end on June 30, 1946. This is not intended to indicate the withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at that time if conditions require and justify subsequent American participation.

But the committee believes that our heavy American share of this responsibility should be definitely reviewed by Congress at some definite period. Throughout the hearings of the committee, we have consistently emphasized the intention of the committee to approve the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration solely as a relief measure and not as a general reconstruction measure. The committee recognizes the fact that certain forms of immediate rehabilitation may be an indispensable part of relief. But it is the definite opinion of the committee that relief incident to the war effort is the sole objective to which we subscribe in this endorsement of the pending resolution.

It is for this controlling reason that the committee has put a definite time limit upon the authorization of funds. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement itself clearly and specifically spells out the fact that our fiscal obligations under the agreement are confined to such specific appropriations as Congress shall hereafter make for this purpose. This also applies to our commitments in respect to administrative expenses. It is appropriate that the whole matter should again pass in congressional review at the end of 2 years. We are prepared to accept our full share of responsibility in the great and essential functions served by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration as an unavoidable part of the war effort, and in this indispensable preliminary aid to the liberated areas. At the same time our own resources are not without limitations and we desire to implement our congressional responsibility in this behalf.

The committee believes that participation by the United States in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is of importance in our national interest and in the interest of the future well-being of the countries which have been overrun during the course of this war. The problems which confront us in the field of relief and rehabilitation in the occupied countries of Europe and Asia can best be solved by cooperative action among the nations in the manner envisaged in the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The problems are too great and too complex for any one nation to undertake alone. Such problems as the control of epidemics and the repatriation of the millions of homeless people in Europe and the Far East are problems which transcend national boundaries. The control and mobilization of available supplies and the equitable apportionment of these supplies according to the needs of the different areas can also be worked out satisfactorily through collective action. In this way the problems of the occupied countries can be handled in a way which will be fair to all concerned. Although the financial burden which will fall upon the United States under this authorization is large, it cannot seriously be maintained that it is excessive in view of the tremendous scope of the problems which lie ahead of this organization. It is believed that by participating actively in this work the United States can carry out in the field of international action the responsibilities of leadership that lie upon us.







# H. J. RES. 192

[Report No. 688]

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 26 (legislative day, JANUARY 24), 1944

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

FEBRUARY 14, 1944

Reported, under authority of the order of the Senate of February 11 (legislative day, February 7), 1944 by Mr. CONNALLY, with an amendment

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in *italic*]

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## JOINT RESOLUTION

To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

1       *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*  
2       *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3       That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to  
4       the President such sums, not to exceed \$1,350,000,000  
5       in the aggregate, as the Congress may determine from  
6       time to time to be appropriate for participation by the  
7       United States (including contributions in funds or other-  
8       wise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the  
9       work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Admin-  
10      istration, established by an agreement concluded by the  
11      United Nations and Associated Governments on November  
12      9, 1943, reading as follows:



1 "AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF  
2 AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

3 "The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized  
4 representatives have subscribed hereto,

5 "Being United Nations or being associated with the  
6 United Nations in this war,

7 "Being determined that immediately upon the liberation  
8 of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as  
9 a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof  
10 shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, cloth-  
11 ing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in  
12 the recovery of the health of the people, and that prepara-  
13 tion and arrangements shall be made for the return of  
14 prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the  
15 resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial  
16 production and the restoration of essential services,

17 "Have agreed as follows:

18 "ARTICLE I

19 "There is hereby established the United Nations Relief  
20 and Rehabilitation Administration.

21 "1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold  
22 and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake  
23 obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review  
24 the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings

1 and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its  
2 objects and purposes.

3 “2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the pur-  
4 poses and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

5 “(a) To plan, cordinate, administer or arrange for the  
6 administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in  
7 any area under the control of any of the United Nations  
8 through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and  
9 other basic necessities, medical and other essential services;  
10 and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the  
11 adequate provision of relief, the production and transporta-  
12 tion of these articles and the furnishing of these services. The  
13 form of activities of the Administration within the territory of  
14 a member government wherein that government exercises  
15 administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed  
16 by the member government for carrying out measures planned  
17 by the Administration therein shall be determined after  
18 consultation with and with the consent of the member  
19 government.

20 “(b) To formulate and recommend measures for indi-  
21 vidual or joint action by any or all of the member govern-  
22 ments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships and  
23 other procurement activities in the period following the cessa-  
24 tion of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and

1 activities of the Administration with the total movement of  
2 supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distri-  
3 bution of available supplies. The Administration may ad-  
4 minister such coordination measures as may be authorized by  
5 the member governments concerned.

6 “(c) To study, formulate and recommend for individual  
7 or joint action by any or all of the member governments  
8 measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of  
9 its experience in planning and performing the work of relief  
10 and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member  
11 governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recom-  
12 mendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a  
13 vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be re-  
14 ferred to any or all of the member governments for indi-  
15 vidual or joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the  
16 Central Committee and by vote of the Council.

17 “ARTICLE II

18 “MEMBERSHIP

19 “The members of the United Nations Relief and Re-  
20 habilitation Administration shall be the governments or  
21 authorities signatory hereto and such other governments or  
22 authorities as may upon application for membership be  
23 admitted thereto by action of the Council. The Council may,  
24 if it desires, authorize the Central Committee to accept new  
25 members between sessions of the Council.



1 “Wherever the term ‘member government’ is used in this  
2 Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the  
3 Administration whether a government or an authority.

4 “ARTICLE III

5 “THE COUNCIL

6 “1. Each member government shall name one representa-  
7 tive, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Coun-  
8 cil of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Adminis-  
9 tration which shall be the policy-making body of the Adminis-  
10 tration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select  
11 one of its members to preside at the session. The Council  
12 shall determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise  
13 provided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the  
14 Council shall vote by simple majority.

15 “2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not  
16 less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may  
17 be convened in special session whenever the Central Com-  
18 mittee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within  
19 thirty days after request therefor by one-third of the mem-  
20 bers of the Council.

21 “3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist  
22 of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist  
23 Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of  
24 America, with the Director General presiding, without vote.  
25 Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make

1 policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions  
2 shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee  
3 which shall be communicated promptly to each member gov-  
4 ernment. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by  
5 the Council at any regular session or at any special session  
6 called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The  
7 Central Committee shall invite the participation of the repre-  
8 sentative of any member government at those of its meetings  
9 at which action of special interest to such government is  
10 discussed. It shall invite the participation of the represent-  
11 ative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of  
12 the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affect-  
13 ing the provision of supplies are discussed.

14 "4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall  
15 consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
16 representing those member governments likely to be prin-  
17 cipal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The  
18 members shall be appointed by the Council, and the  
19 Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emer-  
20 gency appointments between sessions of the Council, such  
21 appointments to continue until the next session of the Coun-  
22 cil. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate and  
23 recommend to the Council and the Central Committee poli-  
24 cies designed to assure the provision of required supplies.  
25 The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with

1 the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting  
2 supplies.

3       “5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall con-  
4 sist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
5 representing member governments of territories within the  
6 European area and such other members of the Council rep-  
7 resenting other governments directly concerned with the  
8 problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area  
9 as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may au-  
10 thorize the Central Committee to make these appointments  
11 in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such  
12 appointments to continue until the next session of the Coun-  
13 cil. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall  
14 consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
15 representing member governments of territories within the  
16 Far Eastern area and such other members of the Council  
17 representing other governments directly concerned with the  
18 problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area  
19 as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may au-  
20 thorize the Central Committee to make these appointments  
21 in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such  
22 appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.  
23 The regional committees shall normally meet within their  
24 respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to  
25 the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect



1 to relief and rehabilitation within their respective areas.  
2 The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the  
3 Inter-Allied Committee on European Post-war Relief estab-  
4 lished in London on September 24, 1941, and the records  
5 of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for  
6 Europe.

7 "6. The Council shall establish such other standing re-  
8 gional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions  
9 of such committees and the method of appointing their mem-  
10 bers being identical to that provided in Article III, para-  
11 graph 5, with respect to the Committees of the Council for  
12 Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also estab-  
13 lish such other standing committees as it considers desirable  
14 to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council,  
15 to advise the Central Committee. For such standing techni-  
16 cal committees as may be established, in respect of particular  
17 problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, re-  
18 patriation, and finance, the members may be members of the  
19 Council or alternates nominated by them because of special  
20 competence in their respective fields of work. The members  
21 shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may au-  
22 thorize the Central Committee to make emergency appoint-  
23 ments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to  
24 continue until the next session of the Council. Should a re-  
25 gional committee so desire, subcommittees of the standing

1 technical committees shall be established by the technical  
2 committees in consultation with the regional committees,  
3 to advise the regional committees.

4 “7. The travel and other expenses of members of the  
5 Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by  
6 the governments which they represent.

7 “8. All reports and recommendations of committees of  
8 the Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for  
9 distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the  
10 secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of  
11 Article IV, paragraph 4.

12 “ARTICLE IV

13 “THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

14 “1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief  
15 and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director  
16 General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nom-  
17 ination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The  
18 Director General may be removed by the Council on recom-  
19 mendation by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

20 “2. The Director General shall have full power and au-  
21 thority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by  
22 Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available  
23 resources and the broad policies determined by the Council  
24 or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office

1 he shall in conjunction with the military and other appro-  
2 priate authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for  
3 the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area  
4 occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations,  
5 arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary  
6 supplies and create or select the emergency organization  
7 required for this purpose. In arranging for the procure-  
8 ment, transportation, and distribution of supplies and serv-  
9 ices, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate  
10 with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and  
11 shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available  
12 by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may  
13 not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the  
14 Administration without the consent and unless subject to the  
15 regulation of the Director General. The powers and duties  
16 of the Director General are subject to the limitations of  
17 Article VII.

18 “3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the  
19 organization and direction of the functions contemplated by  
20 Article I, paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c).

21 “4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy  
22 Directors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his  
23 headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he  
24 shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his  
25 powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General,



1 or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General,  
2 shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities  
3 as shall be required by the Council and its committees, in-  
4 cluding the regional committees and subcommittees. Such  
5 Deputy Directors General as shall be assigned special func-  
6 tions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional  
7 standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it ad-  
8 vised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation program  
9 within the region.

10       “5. The Director General shall make periodic reports  
11 to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the  
12 progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall  
13 be made public except for such portions as the Central Com-  
14 mittee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United  
15 Nations, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests  
16 of a member government in such a way as to render it ques-  
17 tionable whether it should be published, such government  
18 shall have an opportunity of expressing its views on the  
19 question of publication. The Director General shall also  
20 arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activ-  
21 ities of the Administration within each region and he shall  
22 transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the  
23 Council, the Central Committee and the respective regional  
24 committees.

1 "ARTICLE V

2 "SUPPLIES AND RESOURCES

3 "1. In so far as its appropriate constitutional bodies  
4 shall authorize, each member government will contribute to  
5 the support of the Administration in order to accomplish  
6 the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). The amount and  
7 character of the contributions of each member government  
8 under this provision will be determined from time to time  
9 by its appropriate constitutional bodies. All such contribu-  
10 tions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

11 "2. The supplies and resources made available by the  
12 member governments shall be kept in review in relation to  
13 prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall  
14 initiate action with the member governments with a view to  
15 assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be  
16 required.

17 "3. All purchases by any of the member governments,  
18 to be made outside their own territories during the war for  
19 relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after  
20 consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as  
21 practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United  
22 Nations agency.

23 "ARTICLE VI

24 "ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

25 "The Director General shall submit to the Council an

1 annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary  
2 budgets as may be required, covering the necessary adminis-  
3 trative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of  
4 a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be  
5 allocated to the member governments in proportions to be  
6 determined by the Council. Each member government  
7 undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional  
8 procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its  
9 share of the administrative expenses so determined.

10 "ARTICLE VII

11 "Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained,  
12 while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area,  
13 the Administration and its Director General shall not under-  
14 take activities therein without the consent of the military com-  
15 mand of that area, and unless subject to such control as the  
16 command may find necessary. The determination that such  
17 hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be  
18 made by its military commander.

19 "ARTICLE VIII

20 "AMENDMENT

21 "The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as  
22 follows:

23 "a. Amendments involving new obligations for member  
24 governments shall require the approval of the Council by a



1 two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member govern-  
2 ment on acceptance by it;

3 "b. Amendments involving modification of Article III  
4 or Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by  
5 a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of  
6 the Central Committee;

7 "c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by  
8 the Council by a two-thirds vote.

9 "ARTICLE IX

10 "ENTRY INTO FORCE

11 "This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to  
12 each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by  
13 that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

14 "ARTICLE X

15 "WITHDRAWAL

16 "Any member government may give notice of with-  
17 drawal from the Administration at any time after the expira-  
18 tion of six months from the entry into force of the Agreement  
19 for that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve  
20 months after the date of its communication to the Director  
21 General subject to the member government having met by  
22 that time all financial, supply or other material obligations  
23 accepted or undertaken by it."

24 SEC. 2. Amounts appropriated under this resolution  
25 shall be expended under the direction of the President pur-

1 suant to section 1 hereof. The President shall submit to the  
2 Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any  
3 such appropriations and of operations under the Agreement.

4 SEC. 3. In the adoption of this joint resolution the  
5 Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the  
6 policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilita-  
7 tion Administration at the first session of the Council, sum-  
8 marized in paragraph 11 of Resolution Numbered 12, and  
9 reading as follows:

10 "11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as  
11 the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief.  
12 No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated,  
13 but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the  
14 Agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are impor-  
15 tant, but not determining factors. They are consequences  
16 and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration  
17 cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment  
18 in the world."

19 SEC. 4. In expressing its approval of this joint resolution,  
20 it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds  
21 and facilities permit, any area important to the military  
22 operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine  
23 or disease may be included in the benefits to be made avail-  
24 able through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation  
25 Administration.

1        SEC. 5. The authorization contained in this joint resolu-  
 2        tion shall expire at the conclusion of two years following  
 3        the termination of hostilities on all fronts unless specifically  
 4        extended by an Act of Congress on June 30, 1946.

Passed the House of Representatives January 25, 1944.

Attest:

SOUTH TRIMBLE,

*Clerk.*

78TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

**H. J. RES. 192**

[Report No. 688]

## JOINT RESOLUTION

To enable the United States to participate in  
the work of the United Nations relief and  
rehabilitation organization.

JANUARY 26 (legislative day, JANUARY 24), 1944

Read twice and referred to the Committee on  
Foreign Relations

FEBRUARY 14, 1944

Reported with an amendment





1        SEC. 5. The authorization contained in this joint resolu-  
2        tion shall expire at the conclusion of two years following  
3        the termination of hostilities on all fronts unless specifically

nished under State-enacted legislation: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the senate (the assembly concurring),* That this legislature respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States: (1) to refrain from enacting legislation on the subject of absentee soldier voting which invades the exclusive jurisdiction of the States under the tenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and (2) to take positive action under its exclusive constitutional authority by enacting legislation providing for the prompt and speedy transportation of ballots and applications to and from members of the armed forces, furnished under and pursuant to State legislation; be it further

*"Resolved,* That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to each House of the Congress and to each Wisconsin Member thereof."

Petitions of sundry citizens of New York City and vicinity, in the State of New York, praying for the enactment of pending legislation providing a wartime method of voting by members of the armed forces; ordered to lie on the table.

By Mr. EASTLAND:

A concurrent resolution of the Legislature of Mississippi; to the Committee on Military Affairs:

#### "House Concurrent Resolution 11

"Concurrent resolution memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to enact appropriate legislation to give to the original owners of the lands acquired by the United States Government for war purposes during the present war, or to the legal heirs of said owners, the priority right or first preference, to purchase from the Government these lands after the end of the war, when the Government shall decide to dispose of said lands

"Whereas during the present World War the United States Government has acquired title to many thousands of acres of land in Mississippi and elsewhere in the United States, the ownership of said lands by the Government being necessary for the successful prosecution of the war; and

"Whereas after the United States and our heroic allies have won the war and secured the peace, the Congress of the United States will probably decide that a wise public policy would require the sale and disposal of a large portion of these lands: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi (the State Senate concurring therein),* That we do hereby petition the President and the Congress of the United States to give to the original owners or their legal heirs, at the time of the Government's acquisition of said lands preferential consideration and priority right to purchase the said lands they formerly owned, at a fair and equitable valuation; and we respectfully make this request because of the personal and financial sacrifices many of these patriotic Americans made for their country in giving up their ancestral homes for the purposes of war; be it further

*"Resolved,* That the clerk of the house of representatives be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States and to each of our Mississippi Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States."

By Mr. WILEY:

A joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

#### "Assembly Joint Resolution 108

"Joint resolution memorializing Congress and the Office of Price Administration to relax the stringent rationing of butter

"Whereas from authoritative sources the Government has already bought and stored sufficient butter to meet essential military,

lend-lease, and other noncivilian requirements for several months to come; and

"Whereas W. F. A. officials estimate domestic production of creamery butter alone will average between 110,000,000 to 130,000,000 pounds for the months of January, February, and March 1944, all of which supposedly shall be available for our civilian use, while according to statistics the average civilian consumption of butter in the United States during the past 9 months was approximately only 100,000,000 pounds per month; and

"Whereas notwithstanding an adequate production and supply of butter for civilian use and strenuous protests by the Nation's dairy industry and myriads of housewives and butter-consuming civilians the country over who find it impossible to purchase 16-point butter along with their meat needs, the Office of Price Administration has wholly failed and refused to relax the prevailing 16-point-per-pound butter cost; and

"Whereas the Office of Price Administration having failed to satisfactorily explain why the ration-point value of butter has been raised to and maintained at 16 points per pound or why the ration-point value of oleomargarine, a butter substitute, has been maintained at the comparative low level of 6 points per pound, it must be interpreted as a clear federalized attempt to beat down the barriers which the great dairy State of Wisconsin and other dairy States have maintained against butter substitutes and to destroy our domestic market for butter: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring),* That this legislature respectfully memorializes the Congress and the Office of Price Administration to immediately take steps to reduce the ration-point value of butter to enable our civilians to purchase that share of the Nation's production and supply of butter available for their use and in order to safeguard the health of our workers and their families and to protect the Nation's dairy industry against the encroachment of inferior substitutes; and to adjust the rationing point value of oleomargarine so as to be on a parity with that of butter; be it further

*"Resolved,* That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to the Office of Price Administration and to each House of the Congress of the United States and to each Wisconsin Member thereof."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Finance:

#### "Assembly Joint Resolution 111

"Joint resolution memorializing Congress to enact legislation reimbursing municipalities for loss of personal property tax upon federally owned personal property used in war production and exempt from taxation

"Whereas municipalities wherein are located industries engaged in war production recognize their obligation to curtail expenses during the war in order to render their full support to the national financing of the war, but where the municipal burdens are increased and its sources of local revenue are reduced, the municipalities are compelled to ask that the Federal Government assist in preserving the tax base for local purposes, not as a subsidy, but to preserve the *ad valorem* tax or its equivalent on all taxable property both real and personal within the municipalities' limits; and

"Whereas these municipalities suffer a large annual loss in tax revenues by reason of the nontaxability of those items of machinery, equipment, and buildings owned by the Federal Government and which are leased to local industries in war production; and

"Whereas the demands upon municipal services for fire, police, and health protection, as well as street and sewer maintenance and improvement is just the same if not greater with respect to such Federal-owned property; and

"Whereas the municipality is not reimbursed for the additional costs occasioned by such services; and

"Whereas the cost of manufactured products represented by local municipal taxes are but a fraction of the total cost of such products and should, in all fairness and reason, be borne by the Federal Government instead of making the taxpayer of these municipalities bear what is an unjust burden; and

"Whereas it is legally impossible to tax those items upon which the Federal Government asserts its immunity from local taxation and claims such exemptions; and

"Whereas it is only fair and proper that as to such items the Federal Government should pay to the municipalities a sum equivalent to what the tax upon such property would yield if subject to tax: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring),* That the Senators and Representatives of the State of Wisconsin be urged to support legislation in Congress designed to reimburse industrial municipalities an amount which would equal the yield as if subject to tax, from all such property, real or personal, upon which the Federal Government presently holds title, and which is exempt from taxation by reason of such immunity; be it further

*"Resolved,* That duly attested copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President, to each House of Congress of the United States, and to each Wisconsin Member thereof."

By Mr. DANAHER:

A resolution adopted by Oscar H. Cowan Post, No. 3, American Legion, of Stamford, Conn., favoring a reduction in long-distance telephone rates to members of the armed forces in the United States; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

#### RESTORATION OF PRE-WAR POLISH BOUNDARIES

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President I ask unanimous consent that there may be inserted at this point in the RECORD, and appropriately referred, a letter which I have received from the Central Committee of the United Polish Societies of Bridgeport, Conn., containing a resolution adopted at the annual meeting of that society held on January 25, 1944, urging the restoration to Poland of its pre-war boundaries.

There being no objection, the letter embodying a resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED POLISH SOCIETIES,

Bridgeport, Conn., February 10, 1944.

Senator FRANCIS MALONEY,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MALONEY: At its annual meeting held on January 25, 1944, the Central Committee of the United Polish Societies, of Bridgeport, Conn., unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas a serious situation and question has arisen between two allies of the United States of America, namely, Russia and Poland, in regard to pre-war boundaries in the post-war plan of the future; and

"Whereas in the Atlantic Charter, our great President and Commander in Chief, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, forcefully condemned all acts of aggression by any nation or nations and promised to maintain the territorial integrity of invaded nations; and

"Whereas it is absolutely necessary that all seeds of suspicion and distrust should be wiped out so as not to lay a foundation in the near future for another world war; and



"Whereas, the sons, brothers, husbands, and fathers of American citizens of Polish descent are enrolled, by the thousands, in the armed forces of the United States and sacrificing their lives and blood to put an end once and for all to aggression: It is hereby

*"Resolved,* That the Central Committee of the United Polish Societies, of Bridgeport, Conn., on behalf of and representing 10,000 Americans of Polish descent, respectfully requests the President of the United States, the State Department, and the Congress of the United States of America to do every act and deed within its limits and ability to restore to Poland its pre-war boundaries; be it further *"Resolved,* That copies of this resolution be forwarded to President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, Senators Maloney and Danaher and to Representatives Monkiewicz and Luce."

Dr. B. L. SUIYKOWSKI,  
President.  
Dr. F. P. TYLEURSKI,  
Secretary.

#### REDUCTION TO MEMBERS OF ARMED FORCES OF LONG-DISTANCE TELEPHONE RATES

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that there may be inserted in the RECORD, and appropriately referred, a resolution adopted by the Oscar H. Cowan Post, No. 3, American Legion, of Stamford, Conn., urging a reduction in the long-distance telephone rates "to men in the military service of the United States and its Allies in Army camps and naval stations and hospitals in the United States."

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the men in the military forces of the United States and its allies because of their service to our country and our cause and of their limited resources; and

Whereas long-distance telephone communication by said men with their families, wives, and children, and sweethearts is a vital source of morale to them and the home front: Now, therefore, be it unanimously

*Resolved,* By the Oscar H. Cowan Post, No. 3, American Legion, of Stamford, Conn., that the long-distance telephone rates to men in the military service of the United States and its Allies in Army camps and naval stations and hospitals in the United States be reduced, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the following, with a view that immediate action be taken to carry said objects into effect.

Francis T. Maloney, Senator from Connecticut; John A. Danaher, Senator from Connecticut; Boleslaus J. Monkiewicz, Congressman at Large, Connecticut; Clare Boothe Luce, Congresswoman, Fourth District, Connecticut; Warren Atherton, national commander, American Legion; Louis Balchik, department commander, American Legion; George Stafford, district commander, American Legion; Bell Telephone Co., New York; Stamford Advocate, Stamford Shopper.

JAMES H. WILD,  
JOHN J. GOLDEN,  
SAMUEL BROWN,  
Past Commanders.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION—REPORT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE DURING RECESS

Under authority of the order of the 11th instant,

Mr. CONNALLY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to par-

ticipate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, reported it on February 14, 1944, with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 688) thereon.

#### EXPENSES IN CONNECTION WITH INVESTIGATION OF CAR SHORTAGE FOR GRAIN TRANSPORTATION

Mr. LUCAS. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I report back favorably without amendment Senate Resolution 254, and ask that it be read and that the Senate then consider it.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 254) submitted by Mr. WHEELER on February 11, 1944, as follows:

*Resolved,* That Senate Resolution 185, Seventy-eighth Congress, agreed to October 21, 1943, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence as follows: "The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed \$1,500, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee."

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and agreed to.

#### ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

Mrs. CARAWAY, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on February 10, 1944, that committee presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 1447) to remit claims of the United States on account of overpayments to part-time charwomen in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and for other purposes.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts:

S. 1720. A bill to vest title to the U. S. S. Wolverine (ex Michigan) in the Foundation for the Original U. S. S. Michigan, Inc.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WAGNER:

S. 1721. A bill to provide for the maintenance, expansion, and operation of school lunch and milk programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. NYE:

S. 1722. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States", approved July 1, 1898, and acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(Mr. ELLENDER introduced Senate bill 1723, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and appears under a separate heading.)

#### TEMPORARY OPERATION BY MUNICIPALITIES OF ABANDONED AIRPORTS

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide temporarily for the operation by municipalities and other governmental units of airports abandoned or placed in a stand-by condition by the Army or Navy Air Forces.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the bill introduced by the Senator from Louisiana will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1723) to provide temporarily for the operation by municipalities and other governmental units of airports abandoned or placed in a stand-by condition by the Army or Navy air forces, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the necessity for this bill arises out of the fact that the Air Forces have abandoned or are proposing to abandon many of the airports which they have been using in the United States. While using these airports, the Air Forces have installed technical equipment which is essential to the proper and efficient operation of the airports. Because of the regulations of the armed forces relating to accountability and responsibility for property entrusted to the care of officers, which require that when property is no longer needed for the purposes for which it was so entrusted to them it must be turned in as surplus material, the equipment which has been installed at these airports must be dismantled and turned in to warehouses when the airports are abandoned. Much of this equipment is very valuable and useful when installed at airports, but the same equipment when dismantled is of little value and is not needed for any other use. The removal of this equipment from these airports when it is not needed elsewhere is an economic waste which should not be permitted.

The purpose of this bill is to provide that when the Air Forces abandon an airport or place it in a stand-by condition, they should not be required to remove all of the equipment installed at the airport, but shall remove only such of the equipment as is needed elsewhere. The Air Forces would be authorized to enter into agreements with interested municipalities or other governmental agencies providing that such municipalities or agencies may operate such airports and use the equipment left there by the Air Forces until the Congress determines what permanent disposition is to be made of such airports and equipment.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC WORKS DURING POST-WAR PERIOD—AMENDMENTS

Mr. TYDINGS submitted several amendments intended to be proposed by him to the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 24) requesting information concerning the construction of needed public works in the various States during the post-war period, which were referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

#### INFORMATION RELATING TO FLOOD CONTROL—AMENDMENT

Mr. TYDINGS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 25) directing the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army to furnish the Congress with certain information relating to flood control; which was re-



person happens to have an interest in 40, 80, or 160 acres, that is all he may have, while his neighbor may have a lease on 2,560 acres.

This bill would remove the restriction, so that a person who has a lease on less than 2,560 acres may acquire an interest up to 2,560 acres, but no more, even though it be in different leases. The limitation now is to one lease which may be for 40 acres, or 2,560 acres, but no more. Under the bill he would be permitted to have more than one interest in different leases so long as his total acreage did not exceed the maximum of 2,560 acres.

The bill was recommended by the Secretary of the Interior for the reason, as he has advised us, that the existing law with its limitations is hindering the development of coal properties in Alaska. So long as the maximum amount of 2,560 acres is not exceeded—and this bill would not change the law in that respect at all—our committee felt that the measure was a good one and should be passed.

That is the explanation of the bill which I wished to make.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill (H. R. 3428) to amend sections 6, 7, and 8 of the act entitled "An act to provide for the leasing of coal lands in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes," approved October 20, 1914 (38 Stat. 741, 743; 48 U. S. C., secs. 440, 441, 442), was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ORGANIZATION

Mr. CLARK of Missouri obtained the floor.

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the Senator permit me to make an announcement with regard to the business which we wish to conclude?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I gave notice during the consideration of the calendar that I intended to make a motion to take up under the rule Calendar No. 632, House bill 149. I do not desire to lose any rights in that regard, but the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON], who is the chairman of the subcommittee which considered the bill in the Commerce Committee, and who also submitted minority views, advised me that he wanted to prepare himself a day or two before the bill was to be taken up.

Having consulted the majority leader, I understand that the U. N. R. R. A. legislation is to be made the unfinished business.

In view of the request of the Senator from Louisiana I should like to ask unanimous consent that Calendar No. 632, House bill 149, be made the unfinished business at the conclusion of consideration of the U. N. R. R. A. measure. I simply wished to make that explanation.

Mr. BARKLEY. I was about to ask that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar 699, House Joint Resolution 192, with the understanding that it will not be taken up today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the joint resolution by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to consider the joint resolution. It is understood that the joint resolution will not be taken up today, except to be made the unfinished business and considered tomorrow.

Mr. BURTON. As I understand, in the absence of the Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE], he has concurred in that arrangement?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes, it is satisfactory to the Senator from Maine.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection—

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, I do not want to be a voice of discord, but I think we ought to make some effort to dispose of the Puerto Rican bill today. It certainly should not take very many minutes to act upon it.

Mr. BARKLEY. I will say to the Senator that it is not my purpose to take up the U. N. R. R. A. joint resolution today. If the Senator desires to have it temporarily laid aside and ask that some other bill be considered, I should have no objection—

Mr. BONE. If there should be any controversy over the Puerto Rican bill, I think the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] and I would abandon any effort to dispose of it, but I thought, with a full explanation by the Senator from New Mexico, we could dispose of it in a little while.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no objection to that being done. I am willing to have the other bill laid aside temporarily so that the measure referred to by the Senator from Washington may be considered.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. Has the motion of the Senator from Kentucky been agreed to?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has not. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Kentucky that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 699, House Joint Resolution 192.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization, which had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations with an amendment.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Now, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the consideration of the unfinished business which is Calendar No. 699, House Joint Resolution 192, Calendar No. 632, House bill 149, to fix a reasonable definition and standard of identity of certain dry milk solids be made the unfinished business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. WILEY. I have in front of me what I thought was the U. N. R. R. A. bill, which is marked Calendar No. 698. Senators have been referring to Calendar No. 699. Is not Calendar No. 698 the unfinished business for tomorrow?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proper calendar number is 699. The calendar number was erroneously printed as 698.

Mr. WILEY. I thank the presiding officer.

#### CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF PUERTO RICO

Mr. BONE. I move that the bills which have been made the pending order of business be temporarily laid aside in order that the Senate may consider Calendar No. 669, Senate bill 1407, to amend the act entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Puerto Rico" and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Washington that unfinished business be temporarily laid aside and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the so-called Puerto Rican bill, Senate bill 1407?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1407) to amend the act entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Puerto Rico and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1917, as amended, and known as the Organic Act of Puerto Rico, which had been reported from the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs with amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendments reported by the committee.

The first amendment of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs was, on page 2, line 2, after the word "objectives", to strike out:

It is further declared to be the intention of Congress that no further changes in the organic act shall be made except with the concurrence of the people of Puerto Rico or their duly elected representatives.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 2, after line 5, to insert:

SEC. 2. Section 3 of the Organic Act (48 U. S. C., sec. 741a) is hereby amended by adding to the second paragraph, after the words "or brought into the island," the following words: "but any such excise or sales taxes heretofore or hereafter levied on articles, goods, wares, or merchandise imported for exportation purposes shall be refunded if such articles, goods, wares, or merchandise are reexported."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, line 20, after the words "salary of", to strike out "\$12,000" and insert "\$10,000"; and in line 24, after the word "for", to strike out "maintenance, servants, automobiles, and social functions incident to the office of Governor" and insert "such other services and emoluments as may be provided by act of the Legislature of Puerto Rico."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 4, line 6, after the word "of", to strike out "\$7,500" and insert "\$6,000"; in line 16, after the word "to", to strike out "that" and insert "the", and in the same line,



after the word "of", to insert "Governor for the remainder of that term."

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I think there ought to be a complete explanation made of this bill before we act on the amendments. The Senate has not received any explanation as yet.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I shall be delighted to explain the bill as best I can to the Senate.

As I stated in my brief remarks when the bill was reached on the calendar, it is the result of the efforts of the commission appointed by the President of the United States that had for its purpose the effectuation of the policy declared on page 1 of the bill itself, which reads:

It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress to reinforce the machinery of self-government in Puerto Rico and, to this end, to provide for the popular election of the Governor of Puerto Rico, and to provide for the necessary adjustments of relations between the Government of the United States and that of Puerto Rico in accordance with the foregoing objectives.

That is all there is to the bill. It appeared that it was the desire of the Executive of the Nation that the Organic Act of Puerto Rico be so amended that the people of Puerto Rico would be allowed to elect certain of their own governmental officials. With that in view, the President appointed a Commission headed by the Secretary of the Interior and having as members the Under Secretary of the Interior, Governor Tugwell of Puerto Rico, one citizen of this country, and about four or five citizens of Puerto Rico, including the man who was confirmed by the Senate as Chief Justice of Puerto Rico within the week. That Commission met in Washington; they had long deliberations; they listened to testimony; and as a result of their efforts Senate bill 1407 was introduced by the chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs. That committee in turn referred the bill to a subcommittee of five members of this body, composed of myself, the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], and the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER]. We took up the bill; we read and considered all the data which had been gathered, including all the information available to the Commission that had been appointed by the President. We listened to the testimony of the Secretary of the Interior and a number of others, including many governmental officials and many citizens of Puerto Rico, and, after working on this bill for 4 or 5 months, the subcommittee unanimously reported it to the full committee. Of course the bill probably does not include all that each individual member of the subcommittee would like to have it include, but it is the result of the unanimous opinion of the entire subcommittee. In turn the subcommittee made its report of the bill to the full Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, and, after the bill was explained, that committee, without a dissenting vote, reported it in the form in which it is now before the Senate.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado in the chair). Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. CHAVEZ. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The much older Territories of Hawaii and Alaska are not yet permitted to elect their own Governors. On what theory is Puerto Rico to be given an elected Governor when similar privilege is not extended to the other Territories?

Mr. CHAVEZ. On the theory of doing justice. The fact that we are not doing justice to Alaska and Hawaii should not keep us from doing justice to Puerto Rico at this instant.

Mr. TYDINGS. Will the Senator from New Mexico yield?

Mr. CHAVEZ. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I should like to point out to the Senator from Michigan another essential difference in the case of Puerto Rico. Practically all the Governors of Puerto Rico have not been Puerto Ricans, or residents of Puerto Rico; they have been residents of the United States. Practically all the Governors of Hawaii, on the other hand, have been life-long residents of Hawaii, and many of them have been natives. For that reason there has not been the agitation in Hawaii for the election of a Governor in comparison with the agitation in Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans have rarely, if ever, had the privilege of electing the Governor of that Territory.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am familiar with the Hawaiian situation. It is either provided in the statute, or it is definitely fixed in the procedure, that while the Governor is appointed by the President, he has to be a resident of Hawaii for a certain number of years.

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator is correct.

Mr. VANDENBERG. It would seem to me that was a perfectly logical intermediate step in the development of greater local autonomy.

Mr. TYDINGS. If the Senator will allow me to interrupt him, I think there is no way of denying the inference of the Senator's question, and if the Hawaiians wanted the privilege of electing their Governors, I think the Senate would look with great sympathy upon their request, but since I have been chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, I do not recall a single request of any nature looking to that result. On the other hand, there has been much solicitation from Puerto Rico.

Mr. VANDENBERG. What is the requirement regarding qualifications of candidates for governor, under the text of the bill?

Mr. CHAVEZ. The qualification regarding residence required of any candidate for governor, if he is a native Puerto Rican, is that he must have lived on the island for at least 1 year. The idea is that many Puerto Ricans come to cities in the United States—Washington, Miami, New York, and others—and remain here for years. We decided that

even in the case of native-born residents, they should have to go back to Puerto Rico and live at least 1 year. If they are not native-born, if they are continental born, they must have lived in Puerto Rico for 5 years. The original bill recommended by the President's commission required a residence of 2 years, and the committee felt that 5 years' residence was better than 2 years.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I understand, then, that an American citizen from the States who has lived 5 years in Puerto Rico would be eligible to run for governor.

Mr. CHAVEZ. The Senator is correct.

Mr. VANDENBERG. How long has Dr. Tugwell lived in Puerto Rico?

Mr. CHAVEZ. When the Senator interrupted me, I was thinking of Calendar No. 12, Senate bill 40, a bill introduced, I think, by the Senator from Michigan. I believe that the 5-year limitation would take care of the situation the Senator asks about.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Is the Senator pretty sure of that?

Mr. CHAVEZ. I am positive. In the first place, Dr. Tugwell has not been in Puerto Rico 5 years. In the second place, he is not a resident of Puerto Rico. I understand from the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE] that he has been in Puerto Rico about 3 years. But irrespective of that, he is there on a temporary basis, because he is an appointee of the President as governor of Puerto Rico.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Then, in addition to the other advantages of the bill, when the Senator lists the advantages, I suggest he include the emancipation of Puerto Rico from Dr. Tugwell, which I think is exhibit A in the advantages.

Mr. CHAVEZ. The subcommittee considered very carefully the question of a 2-year term or a 5-year term, and I am satisfied in my own mind that all the objectives of Senate bill 40 are taken care of by the residence qualification in the pending bill.

Mr. President, when I was appointed chairman of the subcommittee I was very happy when I learned who the other members were to be. They all devoted their time and energy toward perfecting a measure which, in my opinion, is extremely American. The subcommittee visited the island, and we feel that Puerto Rico is entitled to have a simple bill which will provide for the people of the island a certain amount of self-government, which will prevent someone from the States, someone who might have been unsuccessful in a campaign, becoming Governor of Puerto Rico, and which will enable the people of Puerto Rico to select their own Governor.

This committee, without any personal interest whatsoever, without any feeling that what they were doing would be of any particular benefit to them, so far as they were concerned, devoted their time and brought forth what we consider a simple bill, one designed to carry out the purposes of the first part of the bill, which I read again:

It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress to reinforce the machinery of self-







SENATE

8. SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM. Received from the Federal Security Agency a draft of proposed legislation to assist the States to establish and maintain school lunch programs through the Office of Education. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee. (p. 1732.)
9. A.A.A. PAYMENTS. Received from the War Food Administrator a report containing the names of payees who received \$1,000 or more for participation in the 1941 and 1942 programs under the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment and AAacts. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee. (pp. 1732-33.)
10. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on H.J.Res. 192, to enable the U.S. to participate in the work of UNRRA (pp. 1737-63, 1764). Sen. Connally, Tex., and others discussed the purpose of the resolution. Sen. McKellar, Tenn., and others discussed the "unlimited power granted" to enter into contracts and and undertake obligations (pp. 1749-51, 1755-56; 1759-60). Sen. Gillette, Iowa, discussed the proposals for rehabilitation of the agricultural industry (pp. 1757-58). Sens. Taft, Ohio, and O'Mahoney, Wyo., submitted amendments which they intend to propose to this measure (p. 1735).
11. RECLAMATION. Received from Interior a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Reclamation Act so as to extend the time in which amendatory contracts may be made. To Irrigation and Reclamation Committee. (p. 1732.)  
Sen. Murray, Mont., inserted his statement before the House Flood Control Committee relating to the development of an irrigation, reclamation, and power program in the Mo. River basin (pp. 1736-37).
12. PERSONNEL; HEALTH. Received from the Civil Service Commission a draft of proposed legislation to authorize Federal employee health programs in the various Government agencies. To Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee. (p. 1732.)
13. BUTTER RATIONING. Received a Wis. Legislature resolution urging relaxation of butter rationing (p. 1733).
14. PAYMENTS IN LIEU OF TAXES. Received a Wis. Legislature resolution favoring reimbursement of municipalities for loss of personal property taxes upon Federal personal property used in war production and exempt from taxation (p. 1733).
15. PETROLEUM; FOOD PRODUCTION. Received from the Kans. Legislature several resolutions relating to regulation of the petroleum industry and adequate supplies to maintain farm operations (pp. 1733-34).
16. RECLAMATION. Passed (Feb. 15) without amendment S. 1387, to extend until June 1, 1947, the time within which Mont., N. Dak., and Wyo. may negotiate and enter into a compact or agreement for division of the waters of the Yellowstone River.



By Rep. Fay, N.Y., H.R. 4208, to create a new Cabinet post to be named Secretary of Veterans. To Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee. (p. 1803.)

By Rep. Sullivan, Nev., H.R. 4210, to provide for determination of claims for benefits under the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration with respect to persons discharged from the armed forces because of disability, prior to the granting of such discharge. To World War Veterans' Legislation Committee. (p. 1803.)

18. SELECTIVE SERVICE. By Rep. Sullivan, Nev., H.R. 4209, to amend the Servicemen's Dependents Allowance Act so as to provide for the relief of dependents of servicemen who die as a result of injury or disease incurred in or aggravated by military or naval service. To Military Affairs Committee. (p. 1803.)

19. TAXATION. By Rep. Talle, Iowa, H.J.Res. 236, to provide for a simplified Federal tax system; and to authorize studies and recommendations in connection therewith. To Ways and Means Committee. (p. 1803.)

#### ITEMS IN APPENDIX

20. FOOD PRODUCTION; EXTENSION WORK. Extension of remarks of Rep. Cannon, Mo., including a letter from the Spalding (Kans.) Co. extension agent, commending the "progress of scientific agriculture" and food production efforts of Kans. farmers (pp. A816-17).

21. TAXATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Reed, N.Y., criticizing the "tax mess" (p. A817).

Rep. McKenzie, La., inserted David Lawrence's Washington Star editorial urging "simplification of the income-tax returns" (p. A833).

22. COTTON PRODUCTION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Beckworth, Tex., including a letter from Judge Jones, relative to "giving the small cotton farmers the privilege of producing more cotton" (pp. A818-19).

23. SURPLUS PROPERTY. Speech in the House by Rep. Cochran, Mo., urging action on the disposition-of-surplus-property question (p. A821).

24. TESTIMONY. Rep. Kefauver, Tenn., inserted several editorials favoring his H. Res. 327, to provide time on the floor of the House for heads of executive agencies to answer committee-approved questions (pp. A822-23).

25. FARM INCOME. Rep. Eberharter, Pa., inserted a New York Times editorial, "Farm Income Rises...Livestock For 1943 Is a Major Factor in Increase Over 1942" (p. A824).

26. SUBSIDIES. Rep. Wolcott, Mich., inserted Merlo Pussey's Washington Post article, "Short Cuts to Roll-Back Subsidies," in which he discussed the "inflationary" implications of subsidies (pp. A827-28).

27. MANPOWER MOBILIZATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Brown, Ohio, including a serviceman's letter, opposing a national service law (pp. A830-31).

28. LAND DISPOSITION. Rep. Abernethy, Miss., inserted a Miss Legislature resolution favoring legislation to provide for post-war disposition of Government land acquired for war purposes (p. A831).



and Fort Peck Dams are examples of Army construction and operation for the major purposes and of marketing power by the Department of the Interior. The arrangement works to the satisfaction of the Western States. The President took cognizance of these facts and of the dominant interest of the Bureau of Reclamation in irrigation when he proposed to the Rivers and Harbors Committee the following amendment to its bill:

I quote: "Page 29, line 12. Add the following new paragraphs at the end of section 1:

"Electric power and energy generated at projects authorized by this act and not required in the operation of such projects shall be delivered to the Secretary of the Interior, who shall transmit and dispose of such power and energy in such manner as to encourage the most widespread use thereof at the lowest possible rates to consumers, and preference in the sale of such power and energy shall be given to public bodies and cooperatives. At dams or works authorized by this act which are suitable for the production of electric power and energy, the Secretary of War shall provide, construct, operate, maintain, and improve such structures, machinery, equipment, facilities, and supplies as the Secretary of the Interior may deem necessary to develop power and energy for existing and potential markets and for the proper reception, handling, and dispatch of electric power and energy; and operations of all such machinery and facilities shall be scheduled in accordance with the requirements of the Secretary of the Interior so far as consistent with requirements for the use of water for the other purposes of said projects. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to construct and acquire such transmission lines and facilities and to enter into such contracts, agreements, and arrangements as he deems necessary to carry out the duties and responsibilities herein conferred upon him.

"In connection with dams or works authorized by this act which the Secretary of the Interior determines, with the concurrence of the Secretary of War, may be utilized for irrigation purposes, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to construct, operate, and maintain, under the provisions of the Federal reclamation laws (act of June 17, 1902, 32 Stat. 388, and acts amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto), such additional works as he may deem necessary for irrigation purposes. Such irrigation works may be undertaken only after a report and findings thereon have been made by the Secretary of the Interior as provided in said Federal reclamation laws; and, within the limits of the water users' repayment ability, such report may be predicated on the allocation to irrigation of an appropriate portion of the cost of structures and facilities used for irrigation and other purposes. Dam and works authorized by this act may be utilized for irrigation purposes only in conformity with the provisions of said Federal reclamation laws and this paragraph."

This amendment is equally pertinent to the bill you are preparing. I recommend it to you.

The interests of the West demand that conflicts between Federal agencies be avoided in the development of our western streams. Irrigation and power marketing are recognized functions of the Department of the Interior. Flood control and navigation are recognized responsibilities of the Corps of Engineers.

The rule of the thumb laid down by the President in a recent letter to your chairman that the agency with the dominant interest in the project should build that project strikes me as very sensible. But beyond that construction, we must have single administration of benefits. The functions of a multiple-purpose dam should be administered, no matter which agency builds the dam, by that agency with the principal responsibility for the function.

You will recall that the President said in his letter of February 7, 1944, to your chairman:

"In my letter of May 5, 1941, I suggested that a sound policy in connection with these water projects would consist of selecting the construction agency by determining the dominant interest. Projects in which navigation or flood control clearly dominate are those in which the interest of the Corps of Engineers is superior and should be so recognized. On the other hand, projects in which irrigation and related conservation dominate are those in which the interest of the Bureau of Reclamation in the Department of the Interior is paramount and should be so recognized. No matter which agency builds a multiple-purpose structure involving in even a minor way the interests of the other, the agency with the responsibility for that particular interest should administer it in accordance with its authorizing legislation and general policies. For example, the Bureau of Reclamation in the Department of the Interior should administer, under the reclamation laws and its general policies, those irrigation benefits and phases of projects built by the Corps of Engineers. These suggestions are, to my mind, even more pertinent today. For today we gird for peace. Confusion over jurisdiction ought not to be allowed to disrupt the great preparations now being made for post-war construction of vital public works."

I am of the opinion that we need three things with respect to the development of the Missouri River: First, we need a coordination of the plans. The Congress cannot escape its responsibility in connection with this coordination. We have provided no agency to do it for us. The President has asked the Bureau of the Budget to attempt the task, but the Budget is imperfectly equipped for the arduous job and, furthermore, in our impatience we, in the Congress, do not give the Budget time to get the work done. The Congress, therefore, has the major responsibility for coordinating the plans. That is why I have talked to this Flood Control Committee about irrigation, power, and navigation as well as about flood control.

The second thing we need in the development of the Missouri River is the adoption of a proper standard by which we can determine which Federal agency shall build each particular project of the grand plan. The President has proposed a good method, the dominant interest standard.

The third thing we need is a clear enunciation of basic policy that will assure everyone that the benefits of multiple-purpose projects will be administered by the agency with the responsibility for the particular benefit under consideration—irrigation by Reclamation, power by the Department of the Interior, flood control by the Corps of Engineers, and navigation by the Army. In connection with this program, we need a clear protection of the rights of the upper basin States for irrigation and domestic water.

Let me say again, the Missouri River Basin today is relatively undeveloped. The Great Plains section of the basin is subject to catastrophic, recurring droughts with one now in the offing. Intelligent and well-planned use through irrigation of the waters of the Missouri River and its tributaries hold the basic promise for the ultimate stabilization of this region. Navigation improvement, the control of floods and irrigation and hydroelectric power development in the basin are all desirable. With proper coordination of the work of the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, there is no reason why the development of the Missouri River Basin cannot go forward now without injury to any part of the basin in the future. The report of the Bureau of Reclamation has not yet been completed. I will not feel safe in acting upon any of the reports and plans now before the Congress until the comments of

the Bureau of Reclamation have been received and considered, and until the future development of the semiarid and subhumid zones of the basin is adequately protected and safeguarded.

These western arid and semiarid areas wisely developed can be made a great national asset but neglected can become a dangerous national liability.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the amendment of the committee.

The CHIEF CLERK. In section 5, page 16, line 2, after the word "expire", it is proposed to strike out "at the conclusion of 2 years following the termination of hostilities on all fronts unless specifically extended by an act of Congress," and to insert "on June 30, 1946", so as to make the section read:

SEC. 5. The authorization contained in this joint resolution shall expire on June 30, 1946.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I wish briefly to explain to the Members of the Senate the nature and purpose of the joint resolution now pending. It is commonly referred to as U. N. R. R. A. I dislike very much the initial abbreviation, but it means United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

In the main, the joint resolution authorizes cooperation by the United States Government with the other nations of the United Nations in an international relief organization having for its purpose the extension of temporary relief in the liberated areas, after our armed forces shall move on and out, or after the conquerors who may occupy these lands are thrown out, or may voluntarily retreat from the areas.

The joint resolution is not, according to our conception, a treaty. When it was first advanced it was proposed that it take the form of an executive agreement, an agreement by the executive department with other nations, without any reference whatever to congressional or senatorial action. When the matter came to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that conception was combatted, and the committee appointed a subcommittee to take up with the State Department the consideration of the proposal in an effort to work out some common ground upon which the Congress and the State Department could cooperate. The Senator from Texas, as chairman of the committee, was chairman of the subcommittee. On that committee were the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE].

I do not wish to claim any great share of the credit for what was accomplished. Some of us were out of the city at the time. But I desire especially to thank the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], members of the sub-



committee, who devoted a great deal of time and secured very valuable results with the State Department. The agreement subsequently entered into by the 41 nations was materially altered as a result of the conferences between the subcommittee and the State Department, and in consequence the joint resolution in nowise assumes any obligation on the part of the United States, unless the obligation is indicated through the action of the constitutional authorities, in this case the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives through their appropriate power. In other words, under the terms of the joint resolution the United States does not obligate itself to pay any amounts except such amounts as the Congress may from time to time hereafter authorize by appropriation.

The amounts tentatively allocated under the agreements were based upon a formula providing that the contributing nations would contribute 1 percent of their national income, not annually, but for the entire period. In the case of the United States our national income, as Senators know, has been very greatly enhanced by war expenditures, until it is extremely high, whereas in many of the other countries, because of exchange conditions and disruption of their economy, their incomes are relatively low. So it may appear to some Senators that the proportion of the total expenditures which the United States may provide, if Congress so wills, is a very large percentage of the entire amount. That is true; there can be no dispute about it. The contributing share of the United States, if it is ultimately provided by the Congress, would total about two-thirds of the entire amount to be expended.

The organization of this international body consists of the membership, of course, of each nation. Then there is provision made for the establishment of an executive council, and when the executive council is not in session or available, a special select executive committee is in charge of operations as to policy and matters of that kind. It is headed by a Director General, and the recent conference held at Atlantic City elected Governor Lehman, theretofore the American relief representative, as the Executive Director of the organization known as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Mr. President, I am glad the word "rehabilitation" was introduced into the discussion. So far as the United States is concerned, as we have tried to make plain in the joint resolution, in the report of the committee, and in the hearings, our purpose is to assure that our activities, and whatever contributions the Congress may make and appropriate, shall be limited to relief and such rehabilitation only as is tied in with and connected with the necessity for extending temporary relief. As a rough illustration of what I mean, I may say that if relief were being extended to a particular area, and there was lack of transportation because a roadway had been destroyed, and therefore the transportation of relief supplies could not be accom-

plished without the rebuilding of the road, such work would probably be held to be within the terms of the joint resolution, because it would be tied in with the relief which could be extended; but it is not contemplated, it is not provided, and it is not authorized by the joint resolution, that any extensive rehabilitation of devastated areas shall be undertaken. It does not authorize anywhere any reconstruction of utilities, or public activities, or private property, except, as I have indicated, that which is incidental to and necessary to carry on the temporary relief which the joint resolution does authorize.

Mr. President, we had before the committee the representatives of the War Department. We did not want any conflict between the military and the relief organization under Governor Lehman. It was there developed that of course when the Army is in charge of an area, when it moves in and takes possession, nothing must interfere with the authority of the commanding general over the military operations in the area occupied. To interfere with them would, of course, provoke chaos and disruption of military activities. But it is proposed that when the necessity arises for the extension of such temporary relief as may be necessary from a military standpoint, when military activities cease and the Army moves on, the organization is then authorized to move in and take up where the Army left off. It was made clear in the hearings held by the committee that we expected—and Governor Lehman was before the committee and testified—that there must be the utmost cooperation between the Army and the authorities acting under the joint resolution.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. In what way would the allied military governments be related to the relief activities and how would this particular operation be affected thereby?

Mr. CONNALLY. There would be really only the incidental relationship that might exist between the military and the government that might be in control of the particular territory occupied. Allow me to say to the Senator from Maine that as I understand, when the Army goes in and takes charge of territory, either of enemy or of liberated areas, and establishes a military government, the military government which is established wherever possible utilizes the existing government of the country if it is cooperative. If it is not, it will be removed, and in its stead will be placed some functionary who will cooperate. The functions are to be limited in the main to the normal and general authority exercised by the particular governmental authorities or functionaries. In such a case, when the necessity for relief arose, this organization would be supposed, of course, to cooperate insofar as possible with the military government which was set up, and through the subordinates, on down, through the channels which might carry the proper amount of relief.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator's statement, unless it will be helpful to do so.

Mr. CONNALLY. I am very glad to have the interruption.

Mr. BREWSTER. The New York Times carried what apparently was a rather authoritative report from the London Times this last week, saying there was 6 months' supply of grains in Italy, but that it could not be made available for use for relief, so we had to ship food there. Apparently both the British and the Americans were rather dubious about that procedure. My question is addressed to exactly how, if that statement be correct, the local government in that territory could be required to make supplies such as those available.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me say to the Senator that it is made clear in the pending joint resolution, in the reports, and in the hearings, that wherever it is possible for the local authorities or the local population to purchase supplies from their own resources or from their own gold reserves, or from whatever sources may be available to them, this agency will not extend relief to them, but will aid in the allocation and distribution and the funneling out to the proper areas of such relief supplies. Furthermore, it is contemplated by this measure that while those administering it will not have any facilities for wholesale buying and selling, in every instance the feeding out of even the relief supplies will be encouraged through normal commercial and other channels, so as not to become an international Santa Claus or an international W. P. A. I think it is highly important that in the operations and administration of this measure the people whom we aid and to whom we extend relief should be made to know and to feel that we expect them to exert themselves to the utmost to rehabilitate themselves and to revive their drooping agriculture and commerce and industry to the limit of their ability.

Mr. President, the justification for this proposed legislation in the main is that it is one of the war costs. The committee took that view in relation to the long-range picture of the great enterprise upon which we have embarked. Some may say we should not have embarked upon it; but, be that as it may, we have embarked upon it; we have in our hands the sword, and we must go on until the issue is determined in victory, and then, after victory, in a peace that I hope will be just and equitable, and in the establishment of machinery which will assure that never again shall the mad malaise of aggression and conquest plunge the whole world into seas of blood. The committee also took the view that after the Army moves on, leaving the liberated areas without proper leadership, perhaps swept by epidemics of illness, perhaps short of food and clothing and all the other necessities of life, such fields would be fruitful ones for the development of bolshevism and chaos and disease which might spread all over the areas, multiplying many times the necessities for re-



hief, and bringing about an intolerable situation in our modern world. We regarded the measure as a part not only of the winning of the war but of undertaking to do something for the conservation of the forces of law and order and humanitarianism in a world lacerated and torn and bleeding from the outrageous injustices of military despots.

Mr. McKELLAR rose.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, does the Senator from Tennessee desire that I yield to him?

Mr. McKELLAR. I should be glad to have the Senator yield to me, provided I do not interrupt the development of his presentation.

Mr. CONNALLY. No; not at all.

Mr. McKELLAR. I wondered what proportion of the entire costs the United States will bear. I suppose the Senator has already stated that, but I have just entered the Chamber.

Mr. CONNALLY. I have already adverted to that, but I am glad to repeat. I explained that our contributions, if allowed by the Appropriations Committee, would constitute a very large proportion, approximately two-thirds of the entire cost, as it is now projected in the resolution.

Mr. McKELLAR. What proportion will Great Britain and Russia bear?

Mr. CONNALLY. Russia is not a party to the agreement; because under its terms the agreement does not apply to countries which have themselves been invaded. Great Britain has already appropriated, through the House of Commons, £80,000,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. The equivalent of \$300,000,000, in round numbers?

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes, approximately.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me? I happen to have those figures available.

Mr. CONNALLY. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Michigan, and shall be very glad to have the information.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The British Parliament has already acted to the extent of £80,000,000, which is \$320,000,000 at present rates of exchange. Australia's share is \$40,000,000; Canada's, \$75,000,000; New Zealand's \$15,000,000. In other words, the total British contribution, other than the contribution from India, which is still undetermined, is between \$450,000,000 and \$500,000,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to ask another question?

Mr. CONNALLY. I am glad to have the Senator ask a further question.

Mr. McKELLAR. Are we to contribute our share in money, or will we furnish food, such as flour or wheat or meal or corn or other articles of food, and also clothing? Are we to furnish relief in money, or is the money to be turned over to the Commission and used by it in buying whatever it wishes to purchase? Are there to be any rules, for instance, about the expenditure of certain proportions of the money in our own country, or will the Commission be able to buy the supplies whenever and wherever it wishes to do so?

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me say to the Senator that, of course, so far as the

Treasury is concerned, it will mean a cash outlay. But under the joint resolution and under the policies which were developed through the hearings, it will be the duty and function of the Director General and his associates on the council to endeavor to keep in mind the whole picture and to procure supplies where they are most readily available at the best prices. Our own representatives could, if approved by the Director General, furnish from our own sources here at home the supplies to which the Senator has adverted. Let me say a further word. For example, Mr. Leo Crowley, who is now in charge of all the foreign economic agencies of the Government, who took over the functions formerly exercised by the Vice President and the Board of Economic Warfare, and who has assumed all the functions of those various organizations, will be the American Administrator or representative dealing with this organization. Mr. Crowley came before the committee and gave assurance that in the administration of the act he would exercise his best judgment in the procurement of supplies in areas where they are most available at the most attractive prices, and that wherever they could be procured in the United States they would be so procured. Some other countries might have a surplus of certain supplies and a shortage of others. We should require countries with surpluses of supplies beyond their own needs to furnish such surpluses for employment in other areas where they might be needed.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Generally speaking, if we are to contribute two-thirds of the entire sum, manifestly it would seem fair, just, and proper that, in the same general way, two-thirds of the supplies should be bought in America. According to my way of thinking, that would be only fair and just.

Mr. CONNALLY. While there is no requirement in the joint resolution that it shall be done in that proportion, I have no doubt that the preponderant volume of supplies will inevitably have to come from this country. Let me say to the Senator, who is an eminent and distinguished member of the Appropriations Committee, and acting chairman of that committee, that if the joint resolution shall be enacted into law, it will be squarely up to the Appropriations Committee as to whether or not a dime shall be appropriated. I realize the pressure which will be upon the Senator. I am not minimizing that. It was in an endeavor to protect the authority of the Congress that certain provisions were inserted in the agreement. We speak of congressional power, and we speak of executive power; but if the Congress has any power, it is chiefly in the appropriating power. We wish to preserve that power. The appropriating power includes the control of the purse and of the sword. We felt that Congress should reserve the control of the fund. That is about the only way by which we can control any executive branch of the Government. If we do not give it the money

to carry on its activities it cannot operate.

Furthermore, the committee adopted an amendment to the House joint resolution limiting the authority to act under it to the 30th of June 1946. That does not necessarily mean that we might not continue it, as we frequently continue such organizations; but that provision would give the Congress another opportunity to examine into the activities of the administration, interrogate Mr. Lehman and others, and review its operations. If the administration does something which we do not want done, we can put provisions in a future act eliminating such activities and delimiting the power under the joint resolution.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. In accordance with the figures of the able Senator from Michigan, the various other nations have appropriated about \$450,000,000.

Mr. CONNALLY. There are some others in addition to the ones he mentioned.

Mr. McKELLAR. The joint resolution authorizes an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000. I should like to have the Senator's idea as to how much the Appropriations Committees of the two Houses should recommend at this time. In line with the suggestion which I made a few moments ago, it seems to me that at this time we certainly ought not to appropriate more than our proportion. In other words, if we are to bear two-thirds of the entire expense, and the other nations have appropriated, or will have appropriated, say, \$450,000,000, manifestly it seems that we ought not to appropriate more than \$900,000,000. I should like to have the view of the distinguished Senator from Texas, who is chairman of the committee, and of the able Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] who is the ranking minority member of the committee. They are both present, and I should like to have an expression of their views.

Mr. CONNALLY. I may say to the Senator that it is contemplated by the committee and those having to do with this matter that if the joint resolution is enacted, it will then be the duty of those in charge of the administration to come before the committee of the Senator from Tennessee and make their presentation.

Mr. McKELLAR. I understand that; and I have no doubt they will do so. But what I should like to have is the view of the Senator—

Mr. CONNALLY. I will give the Senator the view of one Senator.

Mr. McKELLAR. I should like to have the view of the Senator as to how much should be appropriated at this time, when our associates have appropriated \$450,000,000.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not know that they have made that much available. Let me say to the Senator that it is not contemplated by the joint resolution that we shall dump out all the money at one time.

Mr. McKELLAR. I understand that. The joint resolution so provides.



Mr. CONNALLY. It is up to the Committee on Appropriations to say how much of this activity will be necessary between now and the 1st of July and how much will be necessary for the ensuing fiscal year.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. To begin with, the Senator from Tennessee should not be misled by the figures which I cited. The figure of \$450,000,000 is the share of the British Empire only. In addition, all the other signatories to the compact are facing their assessments. For example, Brazil's assessment is \$35,000,000. Little Iceland sent in her check for \$50,000 the other day. There is a total budgetary contemplation of about \$2,000,000,000. That is the over-all estimate, respecting the entire enterprise, until it is finished. The appropriations to be sought from time to time will be based on accurate estimates submitted to the committee over which the able Senator from Tennessee presides. The estimate which I have heard as to the probable requirement for the remainder of this fiscal year is between \$250,000,000 and \$400,000,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am glad to have that information. I should like to ask another question, if the Senator from Texas will yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. How much have the other nations actually appropriated at this time? I think we should have that information, and I have no doubt it will be given when the time comes; but I should like to know, if the Senator can give the figures, how much has been actually appropriated by other nations.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield to me to reply to the question of the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. In practically all instances the same time element is involved in the legislative process elsewhere as is involved here. We have not as yet completed the legislative process to establish our contribution. I very much doubt whether the process has been concluded in very many other countries, although it has been concluded in the British Parliament, and a commitment of £80,000,000 has been made.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is about \$325,000,000.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

Mr. McKELLAR. Has that amount been appropriated, or does it represent only a commitment, such as we would make if the joint resolution were to be enacted? The joint resolution would commit us to a contribution of \$1,350,000,000.

Mr. VANDENBERG. My impression is that it is much more of a commitment than we make when we merely enact an authorization.

Mr. McKELLAR. It is more of a commitment than that.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Senator.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I intend later to discuss this matter at some length be-

cause I feel a very deep responsibility in connection with it.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, as to the authorized appropriation of \$1,350,000,000, over what period is that amount to be expended?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Over the total period of the enterprise, whatever it may happen to be.

Mr. McKELLAR. Until the cessation of the war?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

Mr. CONNALLY. However, under the committee amendment it would be limited to June 30, 1946.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Absolutely.

Mr. CONNALLY. I have in my hand an article from the Christian Science Monitor, dated at London, January 28, 1944, relating to the action of the House of Commons with regard to this particular matter. It reads as follows:

The House of Commons has made a good start in grasping the significance of the enormous task of relief and rehabilitation which lies ahead of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

In voting two new votes of credit for war purposes of £750,000,000 and £1,000,000,000, Commons also agreed to the British contribution to U. N. R. R. A. of £80,000,000.

Britain today claims to be first country specifically to vote its U. N. R. R. A. contribution. But this contribution is seen as a solemn duty and not occasion for any particular expressions of gratitude from outside Britain.

It would seem from this report that the appropriation has already been made by the House of Commons.

Mr. McKELLAR. We can ascertain that later.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I wish to make sure that I am perfectly frank with the Senator from Tennessee about this matter. I do not desire to anticipate, on the time of the Senator from Texas, what I expect to say later. Unless the limitations which we have scrupulously sought to write into the proposed legislation were emphatically observed, this adventure might run into an expenditure of uncounted billions of dollars. There is no doubt in the world about that.

Mr. McKELLAR. There is no doubt whatever.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The sole objective to which the subcommittee referred to by the Senator from Texas addressed itself for 6 months in dealing with the State Department on this problem was to make sure that limitations, insofar as it is possible to write limitations into the legislation, should absolutely confine this enterprise to specific war relief, only such rehabilitation as is inherent in relief and essential to it.

Mr. McKELLAR. And as a result of the war.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Exclusively as a result of the war, and absolutely divorced from the problem of post-war reconstruction. Except as those limitations are effective, the answer to the Senator's question would be that the sky is the limit. However, I am supporting the joint resolution on the theory, as I shall subsequently detail from the record, that we have tied down Dean Acheson, who speaks for us in U. N. R. R. A., and that we have tied down Director General Lehman. Both have frankly conceded that

they are tied down, and have accepted their obligations within the limits which we have sought to provide.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Texas if that is his understanding of the situation?

Mr. CONNALLY. That is exactly my understanding.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall prove that from the record. There can be no question about it.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. On the very point referred to by the Senator from Michigan, I should like to ask the Senator from Texas whether it is not a fact that even with the limitations imposed by the subcommittee the United States will still get an awful trimming in the matter of its contributions to this enterprise. I understand that the formula which has been adopted is, roughly, 1 percent of the national income. Our national income has been figured on a basis on which our people have been taxed to the point of inflation to supply lend-lease and to supply our armed forces to an extent never dreamed of before in the history of the world. Of course, that made our cash position and, in turn, our exchange position very excellent. So it seems to me that a formula of a flat percentage of the national income puts the United States in a very unfortunate position when it comes to making contributions for U. N. R. R. A. I believe that both the Senator from Texas and the Senator from Michigan will be forced to agree with that statement.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Missouri does not need to try to force me to agree with the statement which he has made.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am not trying to force the Senator to do anything. I merely thought that that statement should be added to what the Senator has already said.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The accuracy of the statement is perfectly obvious on its face. If this were to be taken as a precedent—

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. We would all have to vote against it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If this were to be taken as a precedent for America's general contributions in the post-war reconstruction period it would be equivalent to committing hara-kiri in public, on the floor of the Senate. It would be impossible.

Mr. President, I respectfully submit to the able Senator from Missouri that, since this project has been tied down exclusively to war relief, and since it will expire within what is unfortunately probably still the life of the war itself, we must choose between two alternatives. I rather suspect that if we did not have U. N. R. R. A., even though it costs us, say, 65 percent of the total expenditure to sustain it, we probably would find our-



selves paying 100 percent of the bill. I think this is a bargain under existing circumstances.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, the Senator from Michigan has stated the only ground on which I can find it possible in my own mind to vote for the joint resolution. I am still not in entire agreement with the Senator's suggestion that it is a bargain.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Relatively speaking, it is a bargain.

Mr. McKELLAR. Very relatively.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am daily, almost hourly in receipt of communications asking for the relief of some particular part of some particular country, some of which I never before heard, asking me to serve on committees, to attend banquets, or send a check. It may be that the over-all picture presented by the Senator's statement is correct, but I think it should be very clear that this is not to be a precedent, and that no Member of the Senate who votes for this resolution is to consider it in any degree as a precedent.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, if the Senator from Texas will indulge me for a further remark, the only reason in the world why I intend to intrude on the time of the Senate for perhaps half an hour a little later is to present for the RECORD the factual proof that what I am saying is true so far as it is humanly possible for Congress to put it into words and to commit the officials of this Government.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield for a moment in order that I may propound a question to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am wondering if the Senator from Texas and the Senator from Michigan could not advise the Appropriations Committee that in their judgment, as the sponsors of the proposed legislation, our general rule should be to ascertain the actual appropriations made by other countries and then double them, in accordance with the rule suggested.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Is the Senator asking me?

Mr. McKELLAR. I should like first to ask the Senator from Texas.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, the Senator from Texas and, I presume, also the Senator from Michigan, will be available, and we shall be very glad to be consulted by the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. McKELLAR. I know they will come before the committee, but I wanted to have the Senator's opinion.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not think it is quite fair for the Senator from Tennessee to press us now as to what we will do when the matter is later considered by the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from Texas is asking us to vote for this joint resolution.

Mr. CONNALLY. No; I am not asking the Senator to do anything unless his judgment approves of it. However, I may say to the Senator that the members of our committee will be here, and I personally shall not shirk any responsibility.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am sure of that.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator. I did not mean to throw any bouquets at myself; but in presenting such a serious matter, I shall not hesitate. Let me say to the Senator that in the hearings the Senator from Michigan asked this question—and I want the attention of the Senator from Tennessee as I expect to have his attention when I go before the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator will have it.

Mr. CONNALLY. I am flattered to be invited, but I do not want to be brushed off in advance. I want the matter to be considered as, if, and when we appear, with the facts and circumstances then surrounding it.

In the hearings the Senator from Michigan asked Assistant Secretary Acheson the following question:

What immediate appropriations will be requested?

That is what the Senator from Tennessee has been talking about.

Mr. ACHESON. That is a matter which does not fall immediately under me. Mr. Crowley, at the hearings before the House, stated that he believed that the immediate request that would be made would be for \$500,000,000, to go until the end of this fiscal year. I think that that view has got to be revised. That statement was made in December—

And so on. I merely cite that to show that the committee had before it and that the State Department knows that we do not expect the Appropriations Committee to make the whole appropriation in a lump sum. We expect the Appropriations Committee and the Congress to hold the reins as it were, over this whole operation, and if it does not function in the way we have set it up, if it does not perform the high duties and responsibilities with which we have invested it I should be willing to stop it tomorrow. Does that answer the Senator?

Mr. McKELLAR. That answers me to that extent, anyway. I thank the Senator very much. Now I should like to hear from the Senator from Michigan as to his judgment about it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, in the first place, I hope that the Appropriations Committee of which the Senator is acting chairman will use a microscope on every penny that is sought under this operation. If there is the slightest disposition in the subsequent administration of this instrumentality to depart in any degree from the prospectus which was presented today by the able Senator from Texas and which I shall presently supplement, I hope he will pull the string.

Mr. McKELLAR. That does not quite cover my question if the Senator will permit me.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Perhaps the Senator wants to know where the string is.

Mr. McKELLAR. As a general rule, the Appropriations Committees of the Congress and the Congress itself should not go beyond doubling the combined appropriations of other countries.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I would agree to that as a general proposition, but I want to say something else to the Senator from

Tennessee if the Senator from Texas will permit me.

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Tennessee, as Acting Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, has had a great deal of experience with the rather loose license which the administrative agencies of the Government give to themselves in the use of blank check appropriations, and the Senator knows that there are a good many blank check war appropriations which are available for almost any purpose for which the executive agencies of the Government wish to draw upon them. I think perhaps one of the finest proofs of the good faith with which the State Department has approached this particular undertaking is the fact that it has not put 1 penny of American money into the original administrative budget of U. N. R. R. A. even though there are in the control of executive agencies funds which probably could be drawn upon for that purpose. The administrative section of the U. N. R. R. A. has been set up so far solely on contributions made by other governments, because the State Department has set for itself a precedent, in this particular regard at least, that it will not proceed 1 inch without congressional approval. I should like to repeat that if that attitude continues on the part of the State Department and the administrators of this fund, I think we shall have a rather refreshing experience and I do not believe we have much to worry about.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator from Michigan and the Senator from Tennessee, and I now yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I inquire who compose the council as provided for in the pending legislation?

Mr. CONNALLY. If the Senator will turn to the terms of the agreement itself, which is contained in the joint resolution, that matter will be easily apparent.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I find here provision for the composition of the council.

Mr. CONNALLY. It is on page 5.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Section 3, article III, provides that—

The central committee of the Council shall consist of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

That is four. It is my understanding from a statement made a few moments ago by the Senator from Michigan, as I recall, that Russia is to make no contribution, is not a signatory to this agreement, and is not expected to make a contribution under the U. N. R. R. A. agreement.

Mr. CONNALLY. I made that statement, but I did not go quite so far as the Senator indicates. I did not say Russia was not expected to contribute, but I said that since the organization does not apply to countries which themselves have been invaded Russia was thereby excluded. It is true as the Senator suggests that in article III, section 3, the central committee of the Council shall consist of the representatives indicated.



The Council itself, though, is a wider body; it represents all the countries; but when it is not in session, when it is not able to perform or function, the central committee does act in its stead.

Mr. McCLELLAN. And it has the power, when the Council is not in session, to promulgate and formulate any policies.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas permit me?

Mr. CONNALLY. Certainly.

Mr. VANDENBERG. But it cannot increase the obligations of any signatory government without the consent of that government.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is true.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I understand; and that is the point I am coming to. While the authorization does not necessarily and absolutely bind the Congress to follow through with appropriations to the limit of the authorization, still it does carry with it, and will in this instance and all others, a moral obligation to provide every dollar authorized if in the judgment and wisdom of the governing body of U. N. R. R. A. it is found necessary to make the expenditure.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas permit me to interrupt at that point?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I want to disagree completely with that interpretation. I think it is important that we should lay down today the fundamental rule to which we propose to adhere; and the chief contribution that I want subsequently to make to this debate is to prove that the record justifies me in saying that every dollar of subsequent appropriation under this authorization can be tested by the limitations which we have written into the joint resolution itself, and any time there is any failure on the part of the administration of U. N. R. R. A., any time there is any possibility of it overstepping the general lines of policy to which we are clearly committing ourselves, then Congress is an absolutely free agent to stop appropriating one single cent. That is my conception of the situation.

Mr. CONNALLY. May I suggest to the Senator that, aside from the joint resolution, in the agreement establishing the organization it is provided in article V, section 2:

The supplies and resources made available for the member governments shall be kept in review in relation to prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall initiate action with the member governments with a view to assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be required.

I now call the attention of the Senator from Michigan to the fact that I am about to quote from article 5, section 1, of the agreement itself, which provides:

The amount and character of the contributions of each member Government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies.

That is in the agreement setting up this organization. In the proposed act itself it is made clear that that is our purpose.

I realize, as I indicated a moment ago to the Senator from Tennessee, that of course when there is an authorization there is always pressure to go the limit, but we have committees capable of standing up under pressure when there is proposed something which is not right.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator that the Congress still will have control of the purse strings, but in the authorization we are proposing to take action on an over-all job, undertaking to contemplate the full amount necessary to do the entire job, and we are making all the authorization at one time. In the course of the operation and administration of the U. N. R. R. A., the Council, as the governing body, will have the authority, as I interpret the language, to make such committals from time to time as in its judgment may be wise, expedient, and advisable. Having that authority, and having made a committal that would require us to make our part of the contribution to meet the over-all plan and objective, I think we would be under heavy moral obligation to make the appropriation, if we vested the council with the authority I have indicated.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JACKSON in the chair). Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I should be the last to assert that we were entering upon this dreadfully important experiment in anything except good faith and a purpose to carry it out, and I should want nothing I have said to indicate any lack of good faith. On the other hand, there is just as much good faith required on the part of those to whom we are applying our limitations, and I want to read one question and one answer from the hearing bearing specifically upon the proposition which the able Senator has submitted.

Governor Lehman is testifying. He is the Director General. He is the man who has had all the contacts in the creation of the original instrumentality. I asked him this question:

I assume that the implications of article V of the agreement—

Which is the one the able Senator from Texas just read—

I assume that the implications of article V of the agreement are clearly understood by all the signatory powers to indicate that there is no commitment of this Government except as measured by subsequent appropriations of the Congress of the United States, and if they understand that they will avoid some of their misunderstandings.

Governor LEHMAN. I think there is a full realization of that on the part of the governments.

Mr. McCLELLAN. May I ask the Senator one other question in this connection? Either Senator may answer.

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I am seeking information and enlightenment in regard to the pending measure.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I suggest to the Senator that that is about as far as we in the Senate can go.

Mr. McCLELLAN. The point I wish to have made clear in my mind is this, Does the Council, the governing body, or the Director General, have authority to make committals beyond the appropriations already made? Can they make committals within the authorization, or must they make their committals from time to time within the appropriations made by the different governments?

Mr. CONNALLY. It depends on what the Senator means by "committal." Anyone can make a tentative decision that when and if we get the money we will do so and so, but it does not bind anyone. It does not bind this Government, it does not bind anybody.

Mr. McCLELLAN. That is the very point I am trying to determine. If we make this authorization to the full limit of the amount that is regarded as our equitable part of the contribution, as determined by the Council, if we are actually going to hold the purse strings, and hold control of them, then certainly the governing body of U. N. R. R. A. should not be vested with authority to make committals or incur obligations beyond the amount of the appropriations available.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not think there is any question that that is not the case.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I wish to ask one other question. I do not want to take too much time.

Mr. CONNALLY. I think it is perfectly clear that, so far as it is legislatively possible, we have prevented what the Senator apprehends, by covering it in the agreement all the nations sign, and then putting it in the act itself. How we could go further, I do not know.

So far as committals are concerned, I may make a committal to give someone a deed to the White House, but that would not bind anyone; the President would not move out, and the Government would continue on its course. I have not authority to make such a committal, and I do not think the council to be set up would have authority to make a committal that would be binding. Of course, they might tell someone what they would like to do when and if they obtained the funds, but they will not secure funds, under the proposed action, except within the limitations of the authorization.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Just one other point, and I shall be through. According to my calculations—and the Senator has suggested it in general terms—our proportionate part of the entire obligation will be 67½ percent. In article 3, section 1, of the agreement, I find the statement "unless otherwise provided by the agreement or by action of the Council, the Council shall vote by simple majority."

What I am trying to determine is, if we have but one representative on the Council, Great Britain has one representative, and every other country has one representative, will they have equal voting authority, individually, in their representative capacity?

Mr. CONNALLY. I assume, under the clause cited by the Senator, that would be true.

Mr. McCLELLAN. That is my interpretation of it. While we are providing



67½ percent of the money in this enterprise, other governments providing much less will have equal authority in the direction of the expenditure of the money after it is once appropriated.

Mr. CONNALLY. I assume the Senator is correct about that.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. VANDENBERG. May I make just one comment?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I should say that if this were a peacetime adventure, if the authority under the act were anything except exclusively war authority, the point raised by the able Senator from Arkansas would be completely fatal. I think it must always be borne in mind that this thing we are now doing is definitely, indispensably, a part of the war, and, so far as the conclusion of war obligations, the winning of the war, is concerned, we cannot apply percentages and we cannot talk about how many votes who's got where. It is a common enterprise, to which we have to make a common dedication of our resources and our purposes, and when we come to the question of permanent relationships under a peace—and I assert this again and again and again—there must be absolutely nothing in the action we take today which will be a precedent of any sort or character.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Will the Senator from Texas yield to me for a brief statement?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I wish to say, both to the Senator from Texas, who has been kind in yielding to me, and also to the Senator from Michigan, that my purpose in making these interrogations is not with a view of being critical. I am endeavoring to satisfy myself that what is being done here and being authorized I can support within my conscience and under my duty to my constituents. I have observed some things in connection with expenditures of the Government which are not at all pleasing or gratifying to me, and I am trying to determine from those of my colleagues who have given the matter close study and are in a position to know what the facts are and what the consequences will be, so that I can satisfy myself in supporting the pending proposal.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from Arkansas that I think I voice the sentiments of most members of the committee when I say this is no "joy ride" to us. None of us are anxious to spend the money of the people of the United States, and if this were not, according to our view, really an essential part of the war we would not be for it at all. But in this war, of course, we are generous. Of course we are spending probably more than all the other nations combined. Of course we are generous with lend-lease. But I would rather send dollars abroad than to have to send more soldiers abroad. We are making contributions in our blood and in our sacrifices larger than those of any other nation. We are pouring out our treasure in larger measure than any other nation. The pro-

posed enterprise, as I see it, is not only a military adjunct and necessity to follow up the armies after countries have been liberated, but it provides some assurance with respect to the post-war period. We do not want bolshevism in the countries affected; we do not want chaos; we do not want epidemics and pestilence sweeping through them.

Some may say, "Oh, well, it is simply a gratuity." Well, it is a gratuity. But the leadership of the United States, not only in the war but in the peace is of the highest importance not alone to the rest of the world but to us. We do not want another war. If there is another war, or if any post-war arrangements are made, we want to feel that we are going to have influence among the nations of the earth, that our leadership will be respected.

Mr. President, it seems to be the fate of America in this tragic hour of the world's history, either to step out and be a leader to help mold the future of the world, or else to take a cold and selfish attitude. I do not relish the idea of providing two-thirds of the amount of money necessary for the entire enterprise, but when we contemplate the possible reactions, even if some of this money is spent foolishly, which I hope will not be the case, we cannot afford to wreck a great enterprise through the timidity and the fear that we may imprudently spend some of this money.

I now yield to the Senator from Connecticut, and thank him for his indulgence and patience.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, I appreciate the courtesy of the Senator from Texas. We are adopting a most interesting device in the accomplishment of objectives which I think all of us wish to see attained. It will be helpful for the record if the Senator will bear with me while I ask him a question or two. As I examine the joint resolution, commencing at the top of page 2 and running down through page 14 in line 23, there is embodied an agreement which was entered into by representatives of the United Nations and associated governments on November 9, 1943; is that not so?

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

Mr. DANAHER. So that section 1, insofar as it is printed in lines 1 to 12 on page 1, and sections 2, 3, 4, and 5, actually covers the joint resolution which we are passing upon as a matter of legislation; is that not so?

Mr. CONNALLY. Except insofar as the reproduction in the joint resolution of the agreement has legal effect.

Mr. DANAHER. So that sections 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 as matters of legislation are open to possible amendment, but the agreement itself is not; is that not correct?

Mr. CONNALLY. I think the Senator is correct in that statement.

Mr. DANAHER. If the Senator will now please turn to the top of page 15, and he will find that reference is made to resolution numbered 12, the reference being in line 8. Has the Senator placed that resolution numbered 12 into the record?

Mr. CONNALLY. No. It is available. I do not think it is in the record, but all the resolutions and the transactions of the conference held at Atlantic City are available, and I hold in my hand resolution numbered 12, which I shall be glad to exhibit to the Senator.

Mr. DANAHER. In what document does it appear, will the Senator please tell me? It is not in the Senate hearings?

Mr. CONNALLY. No; it is in an independent volume. Some of the resolutions were inserted.

Mr. DANAHER. It has been handed to me in a document entitled, "First Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Selected Documents."

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at this point resolution numbered 12 be inserted in full in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Resolution No. 12 is as follows:

Whereas the preamble of the agreement states that preparations and arrangements shall be made for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed industrial production and the restoration of essential services; it is therefore

*Resolved*, That, subject to the provisions of Resolutions Nos. 1 and 17 of this session, the Council approves the following statement as a guide to activities with respect to the rehabilitation of such industries, transport, and other services as are essential to relief:

1. Rehabilitation supplies are to consist of materials, such as raw materials, machinery, and spare parts needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated territories; and, within the scope of the administration, the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, so far as they can be repaired and restored to meet immediate, basic needs, such essentials as light and water, power, transportation, and communication. These needs include rehabilitation of essential relief industries, such as those which provide food, shelter, clothing, medical supplies.

2. Raw materials may be supplied by (a) the liberated country in which the industry is situated and in which the materials are to be used, (b) another liberated country, or (c) any other country. The task of the Administration in cases (a) and (b) should be the rehabilitation of the raw material producing industries such as coal mines, mineral mines, construction-materials industries, etc.

3. If the raw materials required must be imported from overseas, it should be the responsibility of the Administration, through the appropriate national or intergovernmental agencies, to arrange for necessary allocation and procurement of supplies, so that there may be created as promptly as possible, reserves to be available at the request of the Director General when and wherever the need arises.

4. It is recommended that pools be created of materials such as processing materials, machine tools, mobile power units, maintenance equipment, industrial machinery of both standard and special types, and spare parts.

5. It is recommended that in cases where home production exceeds home consumption, the government or recognized national authority concerned should take all steps necessary to enable the excess of production available in a country to be put at the disposal of other liberated areas which may need such supplies to cover their deficits.



6. It should be the policy of the Administration to help those countries whose industries can be rehabilitated for production of relief and rehabilitation goods urgently required in other liberated areas. It is recommended that in attainment of these objectives the following be considered: Special allocations of raw materials, machinery, and spare parts, by placing at the disposal of those countries, at the request of their governments, an experienced staff, and by providing special priorities for the return of skilled personnel awaiting repatriation.

7. It is recommended that the governments or recognized national authorities having administrative authority in a liberated area will keep the Director General and the appropriate regional committee fully informed as to any surplus of supplies from time to time available in such area, to meet, when circumstances permit, relief and rehabilitation import requirements of other liberated areas.

8. It is recommended that the Administration should, in consultation with the governments or recognized national authorities concerned and the appropriate international coordinating authority, assist liberated areas in restoring the transport and communications system to satisfactory working condition; it should also help to restore equipment, repair shops, workshops, shipyards, etc. It is recommended that a pool of transportation equipment both fixed and mobile should be created either from stocks manufactured overseas or in Allied or in neutral countries. Equipment which has been the property of the enemy may also form part of the pool.

9. It should be the task of the Administration to participate in conjunction with military and other appropriate authorities in the organization and coordination of the transportation of relief and rehabilitation supplies during the relief and rehabilitation period.

10. It is recommended that the requirements for raw materials, machinery, spare parts, and processing materials should be established within each country and that a definite order of priority be established taking into consideration: (a) Technical factors, such as, on the one hand, the necessity of restoring the public services (gas, water, electricity), and, on the other, the needs of various types of consumer goods; (b) social factors, such as the necessity of providing reemployment; (c) temporary economic factors, such as scarcity of certain raw materials and shipping.

11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, I should now like to ask the Senator from Texas further then, if we have not in effect, through the representatives of the United Nations, adopted the device of those who would associate themselves in articles of corporation, the corporation to partake of the character of an international corporation for the accomplishment of the purposes which the agreement itself states; is that not so?

Mr. CONNALLY. I would not necessarily imply it is a corporation. It is an association or a corporate body.

Mr. DANAHER. I say it is of the nature of a corporation, no doubt; and

it does in this agreement state the purposes it seeks to attain.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

Mr. DANAHER. And in section 3 we undertake by legislation to affirm the purposes insofar as Resolution No. 12 states some of them?

Mr. CONNALLY. Section 3 reads:

In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the first session of the Council, summarized in paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12, and reading as follows—

Then the language is quoted.

Mr. DANAHER. Will the Senator bear with me further?

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes.

Mr. DANAHER. Obviously paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12 is stated to be summarized, and it is important, it seems to me, that we understand this thoroughly, for in the summary we discover that—

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the agreement.

Now then, if we wish to know what rehabilitation is, I assume that we turn back to page 2, and read lines 7 to 16 as constituting a part of the preamble of the agreement; is that so?

Mr. CONNALLY. On page 2 or page 1?

Mr. DANAHER. On page 2.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Page 2 of the print.

Mr. DANAHER. Page 2 of the joint resolution as printed. Is that not so?

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes.

Mr. DANAHER. Now, if we read the definition of "rehabilitation" as it there appears, we find in lines 14 to 16, inclusive, that among the items of policy to be accomplished are those necessary—

For assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production.

Has there been any testimony offered by representatives of the State Department as to policy, the State Department's policy, on the subject of industrial production?

Mr. CONNALLY. I will say to the Senator that insofar as the hearings went into those matters it was suggested in the case—if the Senator will permit me, before he goes to the matter of industrial production—in the case of agricultural rehabilitation that in many of the stricken areas the cheapest and the best way to afford relief would be to furnish the seed and the fertilizers whereby the local population could embark upon agriculture and produce needed food.

Mr. DANAHER. A course with which I agree.

Mr. CONNALLY. Certainly. The language is, "urgently needed agricultural and industrial production." Throughout the whole hearings the understanding was made evident that industrial production was to be limited purely to temporary relief and not to the rehabilitation of a factory or an organization, or

to the reconstruction of a destroyed one. It is a very difficult thing, I will say to the Senator, who is a lawyer of many years' experience and ability, for us to draw a line and say, "Relief stops right here; this other matter is rehabilitation." But it is the purpose of the committee and the purpose of the joint resolution only to permit that degree of rehabilitation which is necessary to make effective immediate relief.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, that definition of rehabilitation in respect to industrial production is subject, I assume, to possible amendment, in view of article VIII, clause c, on page 14. Please notice that clause a states that—

Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it.

The same limitation applies with reference to amendments of article III or article IV, as is stated in clause b. But when we come to clause c, we find that whoever drew the agreement has removed the limitation, so that proposed amendments, defined as "other amendments," need not require the approval of a member government. In other words, the Council itself may make such other amendments to the declaration of purposes and policy as the Council may agree upon. Therefore, it becomes important, I submit to the Senator from Texas, that we know for certain whether the evidence discloses any outline of the policy of the State Department with reference to industrial production in the affected countries. That is my question.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me say to the Senator that the representatives of the State Department agreed heartily with the objectives as we outlined them in the committee. Let me further say that this whole agreement would never have had any congressional action had it not been for the insistence of the Committee on Foreign Relations, last summer, beginning in July and continuing for 6 months. Through our insistence, the agreement was wholly rewritten and revamped, and the limitations and assurances which are now contained in the agreement were inserted in it by the committee. The State Department understands our conception of the matter.

Of course, the only iron-bound guaranty is with respect to our refusal to give them funds. I would not favor the appropriation at the moment of all this money, but I would only allow it from time to time, as the necessities may arise. If this enterprise should deviate in any material respect from the purposes for which we intend the money to be employed, I would say we should cut off the appropriation.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. Let me make plain that the course of inquiry I pursued with the Senator from Texas is not to be taken as an indication of any opposition to the objectives mentioned or as a suggestion for cutting off the appropriations later. Not a bit. But if we pass



the joint resolution, including clause C of article VIII, we shall be giving, through the joint resolution, approval of action by the council with reference to whatever objectives it shall seek to attain, whether now stated in the agreement or later incorporated in it by amendments.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not agree with the Senator as far as he goes. The statement in the measure itself is that we agree as to the policy and the general objective outlined. We do not swallow it all, entirely.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Connecticut has made reference to Resolution No. 12, of which paragraph 11 is stated in the text of the joint resolution. Resolution No. 12 gave me some concern, I recall, in the committee meeting, because it authorizes, in the paragraphs which precede No. 11, various works, such as the restoration of destroyed public utilities, the rebuilding of warehouses, the repairing of ships, and what-not. I was fearful that it was going beyond the terms of relief and into the field of reconstruction. But Mr. Acheson very definitely stated, in answer to questions, that the things which could be done under Resolution No. 12 were limited to works directly connected with and making direct contribution to relief, and that they were not undertaking things which could be done or continued separate and apart from their relief contributions.

I think I am correct in that statement; am I not?

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator is entirely correct.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield to me?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I should like to call the attention of the Senator from Maine to the fact that Resolution No. 12 is really tied to Resolution No. 1. The Senator from Maine will note on page 40 of the pamphlet entitled "First Session of the Council of the United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration," the statement:

Whereas the preamble of the Agreement states that preparations and arrangements shall be made for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed industrial production and the restoration of essential services: It is therefore

*Resolved*, That, subject to the provisions of Resolutions Nos. 1 and 17 of this session, the Council approves the following statement as a guide to activities with respect to the rehabilitation of such industries, transport and other services as are essential to relief—

Therefore, all the paragraphs numbered from 1 to 11, which appear in Resolution No. 12, are subject to Resolution No. 1, and cannot be interpreted as an enlargement of the declarations contained in Resolution No. 1.

I shared the same feeling which was expressed in the committee by the Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE], and at first felt that Resolution No. 12 was an extension, an enlargement, and a broad-

ening of the interpretations and declarations contained in Resolution No. 1. But after further study, I think that the fact that it is made subject to the provisions of Resolution No. 1, cannot in any way be considered to be an extension or a broadening of the definitions and mat-

Resolution No. 12 by Mr. Acheson,

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas further yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. I take it that the Senator from Wisconsin will agree that that was the final construction placed on resolution No. 12 by Mr. Acheson, speaking for the State Department.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It was. If the Senator from Texas will further yield—

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I should like to say that I submit that the examination of both Mr. Acheson and Governor Lehman, conducted largely by the Senator from Michigan, with some feeble assistance on my part, will indicate that they definitely, and insofar as any two men could do so, stated emphatically that they had no intention of giving a broad interpretation to these resolutions, and that in making the decisions which must be made as to the relationship between temporary rehabilitation and relief they would give the strictest possible and the most limited possible interpretation to them.

I am sorry the hearings are not available; but I feel certain that the Senator from Michigan, when he takes the floor to discuss this matter, will point out very definitely the specific commitments which were made on behalf of the State Department and the executive branch of the Government by Assistant Secretary of State Acheson and by Governor Lehman, who is now the Administrator of U. N. R. R. A., having been selected at the Atlantic City conference.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield to me for a moment?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I should like to supplement the statement made by the Senator from Wisconsin, by saying that I intend to do exactly what has been indicated. I intend to make a part of the RECORD today the seriatim quotations from the statements of the men who will be responsible for the operations of this organization.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. Let me say to the Senator from Texas and to other Senators that I very greatly appreciate the assistance which this colloquy has afforded. So long as they are convinced that by this statement of policy there is not to be afforded an opportunity for enlargement through the amendment provisions of the agreement itself, it is reassuring.

Let me add that I am not by any means to be understood as opposing necessary industrial rehabilitation in countries in which U. N. R. R. A. will operate; but my query in the first place stemmed from my desire to know whether or not the State

Department had outlined what its policy with reference to industrial rehabilitation will be. I understand that the Senator from Michigan and other Senators will dwell upon that subject in due course.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I am interested in the following provision of article VIII, with reference to amendments:

Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it.

My conclusion is that such an amendment might be made, imposing additional obligations on the United States, by agreement of the President of the United States, without further action by Congress. If so, this agreement could be indefinitely enlarged, to include additional obligations, financial or otherwise, without approval by Congress. I wonder whether the Senator feels that the language "shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it" means acceptance by the Executive or acceptance by the Executive and Congress. In what way is acceptance to be indicated?

Mr. CONNALLY. I will say to the Senator that the whole spirit of this resolution is that the United States is not assuming any compulsory obligations whatever. Its obligations are contingent upon the appropriations which Congress may make. With respect to the Senator's question as to the amendment involving new obligations for member governments requiring the approval of the Council, and so forth, I do not think that under this resolution the President would have constitutional authority to make commitments to foreign governments which the Congress would have to respect.

Mr. TAFT. I do not quite understand why. We are not asked to approve this agreement. In fact, we disown any obligation to approve it by putting it in the joint resolution without approving it. So it seems clear to me that it is an Executive agreement made by the President, and I should suppose that any amendment of it would be made by the President.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me ask the Senator a question. He has been asking us questions. Does the Senator conceive that the President of the United States could make an executive agreement obligating the United States to pay certain sums of money, and force the Congress to make appropriations?

Mr. TAFT. No; but I think that if he does not make the reservation which is now made in this agreement, he will impose a moral obligation on Congress under those circumstances to appropriate that amount of money. In other words, if he has power to make an executive agreement, then it is an agreement by the United States of America, which is binding on the United States. Congress can repudiate it and refuse to appropriate; but in order that that situation might not arise in this particular agreement, it is



now provided that insofar as its appropriate constitutional body shall authorize, it will contribute; but under the amendment section that protection may be entirely removed.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not think so.

Mr. TAFT. I do not see why not.

Mr. VANDENBERG and Mr. DANAHER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Texas yield, and if so to whom?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield first to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I totally dissent from the construction which the able Senator from Ohio places upon what we are doing here in respect to this agreement. When the agreement was originally proposed last June it was intended to be exclusively an executive agreement. It was at that point that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee intervened, as the result of the resolution which I submitted; and as a further result we had our subsequent conferences with the State Department and produced what we both understand is to be not merely an executive agreement, but an agreement approved by Congress.

Mr. President, I believe that the agreement embodied in the joint resolution is subject to the same kind of reservations, if Congress desires to attach them, as would be the case if this were a treaty pending for our consideration. I think the Congress can attach any reservations it wishes to attach to this agreement, because the theory upon which the agreement now comes to Congress is that it has ceased to be an executive agreement alone, which in our opinion would have been a gross violation of the proprieties as well as of the law. It has been submitted to Congress for congressional approval and not merely for congressional information. If the Senator from Ohio wishes any reservations to the agreement, so far as I am concerned he is just as free to offer reservations to this agreement as he would be to offer reservations to a treaty if we were considering it as a treaty.

As to the meaning of the language to which reference has been made, in view of that history of the situation, I submit that when the agreement says that amendments shall take effect for each member government only on acceptances by it, in the face of the clear record, and in the face of the equally clear understanding which exists between the State Department and at least the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "it" means the same legislative process by which the agreement is approved in the first instance. That is my interpretation of the word "it." If there is any doubt about it, I refer further to the letter which Assistant Secretary of State Sayre wrote to the able Senator from Rhode Island in response to a question which I submitted to him as to what is meant by the escape clause, and whether the President or the Congress could invoke the escape clause. The Assistant Secretary clearly says that the Congress, as well as the President, can invoke the escape clause. I do not believe that in the face of the record there can be any doubt on earth as to what "it" means in this instance.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I am very much interested in the remarks of the Senator from Michigan, because I think he introduces a new suggestion in constitutional law, which I hope may be the fact. The Senator says that the agreement has ceased to be an executive agreement. Obviously, however, it has not become a treaty, because a treaty would require a two-thirds vote of the Senate. So what is it? Apparently the Senator suggests that it is a new kind of thing, an executive-congressional agreement, which may be entered into with foreign nations. I think it is a rather good suggestion, but it is a novel suggestion, one which I have never before heard made. I find here no express approval of this agreement.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President—

Mr. TAFT. There is an implied approval by appropriating the money to carry it out, but I doubt whether there is an express approval.

My suggestion was not that there be a reservation to the agreement—

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. Just a moment. I wish to finish this thought.

I thought an amendment of this sort might be added:

No amendments involving new obligations for the United States shall be made to the agreement for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration without approval by joint resolution of Congress.

Such an amendment would make it perfectly clear that this is an agreement which depends upon the approval of Congress, and that any amendment of it depends upon the approval of Congress. I think the suggestion made by the Senator from Michigan, that this is no longer merely an executive agreement, but a joint executive-congressional agreement, would be strengthened by such an amendment. I will submit it later to the chairman of the committee, in the hope that it may be accepted.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Ohio says that this is a novel process. I think he is mistaken in that statement. I think there has been a middle course between exclusively executive agreements upon the one hand and treaties on the other. I think the Senator will find that we have entered into such agreements on several occasions. I have one or two in mind which I shall be very glad to look up. I do not wish to refer to them at this time without assurance; but I think the Senator will find that there are such things, and that this is standard practice.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I shall yield in a moment. Let me first suggest that I understand that the Pan American Union—I cannot refer at the moment to its exact legislative history—was first established by what might be termed an executive agreement, and subsequently Congress in effect adopted it by

making annual appropriations for our share of its maintenance.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. Of course, this document involves something more. It involves the implication that there are certain things which the President cannot do by executive agreement, but which he can do by executive agreement approved by Congress. I never have seen such a field defined, and I think it will be difficult to define it. It is very difficult to define the field in which the President may operate by executive agreement as opposed to what he may do only by treaty. But if we are now to have a third field in which he may operate by executive agreement approved by Congress, the whole matter will be quite confused. I think it is a good idea, but it ought to be defined. I think we should, so far as possible, indicate that is what we mean in this agreement.

Mr. CONNALLY. I may say to the Senator from Ohio that I am, of course, interested in his suggestions. However, as he indicated some time ago, the line between what is a treaty and what is an executive agreement is not clear cut and well defined. I have in mind, when and if we can get around to it, that the Foreign Relations Committee shall have some research work done in connection with the question in order to ascertain if we cannot in a general sort of way mark the boundaries of what are treaties and what are not treaties.

However, what I wish to suggest to the Senator from Ohio is that any government—the United States or any other government—possesses certain powers, and certain authority to act with foreign governments. The allocation of those powers, of course, depends upon our fundamental constitutional law. The law is that a treaty—whatever that may be—must be ratified by the Senate.

That, however, does not exhaust all governmental power. Under the distribution of these powers there might be some functions not necessarily subject to a treaty, and yet require the action of the Congress and the action of the Executive.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. I should like to point out that the Senators who earlier were finding that Congress would implicitly be approving this agreement, because we would authorize an appropriation for it, apparently have overlooked the very definite language in section 4 on page 15, which reads as follows:

In expressing its approval of this joint resolution it is the recommendation of Congress that, insofar as funds and facilities permit—

And so forth. So it is perfectly clear that the Congress is being asked to express its approval of this joint resolution. I think there need be no mistake about that. There is no guess about it. It is expressly stated. Allow me to ask the Senator from Texas if that is not true.

Mr. CONNALLY. I have not the exact text before me.



Mr. DANAHER. It will be found on page 15, beginning in line 19.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I believe that what the Senator from Connecticut has said is true.

Mr. CONNALLY. Section 4 of the joint resolution states, as quoted by the Senator from Connecticut—

In expressing its approval of this joint resolution—

That means, of course, the resolution—

Mr. DANAHER. Embodying the agreement.

Mr. CONNALLY. When we vote for the resolution we express our approval of it. The language in section 4 reads:

In expressing its approval of this joint resolution it is the recommendation of Congress that, insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

I presume the Senator from Connecticut knows why that language was put into the joint resolution. It was inserted to take care of a certain area on the earth which technically, perhaps, has not been invaded by military forces and yet is quite important from a military standpoint, and in which there might be famine or need for relief. That was the House amendment known as the Mundt amendment.

Mr. DANAHER. It is the first line of section 4 which is important to the present discussion, because it makes it perfectly clear that we are being asked to express approval of the joint resolution.

Mr. CONNALLY. Of course, if we pass the joint resolution we shall be expressing our approval of it.

Mr. DANAHER. There is nothing implied in it.

Mr. CONNALLY. It is the joint resolution which we shall vote on.

Mr. President, I thank the Senators who have contributed so intellectually and informatively to the debate. This matter is one to which not only the Full Committee on Foreign Relations but the subcommittee as well, gave a great deal of time and study, during which it was confronted by these intricate questions involving executive agreements, treaty-making powers, and limitations on all the Government agencies.

Mr. TUNNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. TUNNELL. I do not know whether the Senator has mentioned the subject to which I shall refer, but it was impressed on me. I think it was the military witness who appeared before the committee who made the suggestion that there is an obligation under international law on the part of nations which participate in bringing about what he called an uncovering of civilians. There is an international obligation to look after them to a certain extent. Has the Senator mentioned that matter?

Mr. CONNALLY. No; the Senator from Texas has not mentioned it. I may say that what the Senator from Delaware

has referred to was dealt with in the testimony of General Hilldring. Under international law, as well as the Geneva and other conventions, responsibility is placed upon the military authorities in any area which is taken possession of either by conquest or by driving out the enemy. There are certain obligations which rest upon the military with respect to the civilian population. I am not prepared to give all the details concerning the obligations. However, it is certainly very clear that the purpose is to protect the civilian population as much as possible in its possessions, its properties, in its activities, and in the normal functions of life. It is an obligation of the military to respect those matters. General Hilldring suggested that under those provisions the army, after taking possession, would exercise military control because of the obligations to which I have referred, but that when it moved on into a new area the U. N. R. R. A. organization would take over. I thank the Senator.

Mr. TUNNELL. As I understand the situation, a contribution for relief is not entirely a matter of charity, but is something which the United States, for example, is under obligation under international law.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator.

I will state further that as to administrative expenses, not only those governments which are named but those which will receive any benefit from the relief, are expected to contribute. In the case of Russia, which is not a member of the organization, her portion of the administrative expenses has already been estimated at a million and a half dollars, which she has agreed to supply.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Will the Senator add at that point, because it is pertinent, that our share of the administrative expense is only 40 percent and not two-thirds?

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes; I am glad the Senator has called attention to that fact. In the matter of administrative expense the proportion of our outlay is very considerably smaller than the proportion with regard to operations. There are in the organization two funds, one, a fund available for operations, and the other, a fund available for administrative expenses.

In the case of administrative expenses all the governments have in fact agreed to make those contributions, whether or not under the technical terms of the agreement they themselves are eligible for relief or operation expenses.

Mr. President, I am anxious to conclude my remarks because the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE], and other Senators will discuss these matters rather fully.

I wish to say that the Committee on Foreign Relations in presenting this joint resolution to the Senate do so in the belief that it is a necessary portion of the far-flung war effort which the United States is making. We feel that it is also a part of the necessary plan looking forward to the post-war period. We cannot

be indifferent to the woes of a great civilized world. Our own future is inextricably involved with the peace of all the other nations on the globe. We have seen that, however much we desire to live our own life and to abstain from being embroiled in the controversies and quarrels of other continents and other lands, the trend of events has gradually and inexorably brought us within the scope of world-wide wars, two of them, in less than a generation.

It is to the highest interest of the United States and its people that this present war against the savage and treacherous enemies that confront us shall be brought to a triumphant conclusion by a complete and crushing victory and that the countries that have been overrun and overpowered and devastated shall be preserved in some form, so that when the peacetime comes they can again embrace their activities, reestablish their governments, and join with us and other peace-loving nations in the establishment of peace machinery which shall prevent the bloody monsters who now seek to crush us, and to destroy freedom and liberty in the world from ever again plunging the nations into misery and horror and devastation and ruin. We offer this resolution as a part of the great obligation which we have assumed, an obligation not simply to ourselves, an obligation not conceived in cold and selfish ambition but in an ambition to serve not only ourselves but to serve a torn and stricken and war-broken world in an endeavor to lead it back to ways of peace and to establish assurances that its peace and safety shall not again be ruthlessly overrun and destroyed.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, this is a very important matter; in my view it is a matter of major importance, not only because of the obligations we assume under the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation agreement, but also because of the implications involved in the event that the action we take should hereafter ever be brought up as a precedent for our obligations in the post-war world.

The pending joint resolution is the first of what inevitably will be numerous other acts dealing with international relationships between America and the other members of the United Nations. Therefore, enlarging upon the debate as it has already progressed and emphasizing the things the able Senator from Texas has already said, I think it is vitally important that the RECORD should clearly show precisely what is being undertaken and, of even greater import, what is precisely not being undertaken.

We have already had too many glittering generalities in respect to this war's prospectus. They have too often invited transcendent hopes which may end in disappointment if not in bitter disillusionment. A better and happier world can only be built upon the basis of candor and realism between the United Nations, particularly in such a matter as now impends for Senate action. Since we must be the chief almoners in this vast international relief responsibility, America must take vigilant care that we



leave no groundless implications, that we invite no unrequited aspirations which will later "Keep the word of promise to the ear, but break it to the hope."

We owe it to our own people as well as to our allied partners to make wholly clear the limitations which surround this pending congressional action. They do not reflect, Mr. President, limitations upon our national good will, nor upon our American anxiety to do our wholehearted part in every phase of this war and in its triumphant aftermath of ordered peace and organized security and justice; but they do reflect the unavoidable cold, hard fact that there are limitations upon the resources which we can commit to these objectives; that there are limitations upon the obligations which America can and shall assume in the post-war world.

Because I have been a member of the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee that has had this pending agreement under constant scrutiny, in cooperation with the State Department, for the last 8 months, I feel a particular responsibility to make the record completely clear in respect to my interpretation of what I believe we have done and what we now propose to do. Therefore, I shall discuss the limitations in some detail in a moment.

First, I want to speak affirmatively in behalf of the pending joint resolution itself. I believe it offers us the wisest possible course which we can take in respect to international relief in the liberated areas in the wake of this war. Let it be plainly understood that the pending resolution creating and implementing the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation agreement deals with a situation which is inextricably a part of the war itself. This is not the dreamy launching of a philanthropic spree; this is not boondoggling on a global scale; this is not even a Vice Presidential milk route. That is where the limitations come in. This is not the lengthened shadow of some slap-happy aspiration to support the earth at our expense. This is the inevitable and unavoidable obligation to follow up our victorious armed forces and, in common effort with our allies, to bring indispensable subsistence to the liberated areas behind our lines. That is all it is. Entirely aside from the humane aspects of the case, this is the creation of ways and means to relieve the Army from this responsibility, and release it to its fighting fronts. It is just a part of the war.

The Army necessarily assumes the first and immediate responsibility in this regard, just as it has done, for example, in north Africa, Sicily, and southern Italy. Speaking generally, the Army acts in this capacity for about 6 months. U. N. R. R. A. as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is colloquially known—will move in as the Army moves on.

In no other way can there be safety behind our lines. In no other way can we take care of the elementary human needs of the victims of Axis tyranny as they pass to our control. In no other way can we provide the preliminary proofs of the greater values in our way

of life. It is a great adventure in friendliness and helpful aid. It is a preview of better days to come. But, I repeat, it is primarily a task indispensable to and tied in with the successful conduct of the war itself, and it must be so considered.

As a matter of dollars and cents, under U. N. R. R. A. we share this expense with all our uninvaded allies. It is also true at the moment that we bear the major load of the expense—in the proportion of about 65 percent—the allocations being roughly made on the basis of relative 1943 national incomes, but I am inclined to believe that the cost to us is less than it would be without U. N. R. R. A. because, otherwise, an even greater proportion of the load would probably stare us in the face, and there could be no such patterned and coordinated and, therefore, economical action.

So I repeat, Mr. President, I believe that there is no escaping the functions of U. N. R. R. A. as one more incident of war; and I believe that U. N. R. R. A. may well prove to be the most expeditious and the most economical way for America to join in implementing this vital function.

The method of organization and action is self-explanatory in the U. N. R. R. A. agreement and in the supporting documents. It is needless for me to take the time of the Senate in any repetitions upon this score. I hope the limitations are equally clear. I return now to that subject. I put my major emphasis upon it because I think it is so desperately important that there should be no misunderstanding about the scope and purport of this adventure.

An understanding of these limitations is necessary here at home, Mr. President, so that those well-meaning planners who have ambitious schemes in contemplation with respect to the post-war world will not look upon this particular vehicle as an omnibus upon which they can take a ride. It is not that kind of a vehicle, and I think it is very necessary that that be understood. This is a pattern exclusively for relief and not for reform. This limitation is written in the bond. The power to enforce the limitation is also written in the bond. In my judgment, U. N. R. R. A. will be held to strict accountability by Congress in respect to this limitation. I repeat that, first of all, an understanding of this limitation to which I shall further advert in a moment, is necessary here at home.

Then, too, Mr. President, it is very, very necessary abroad. For the sake of the mutual understandings and good faiths which must be at the base of our post-war relationships with our comrades in arms, if we shall succeed in our hopes and prayers for post-war solidarity in the maintenance of security and justice and peace, we and our allies must be frank with each other. We must say what we mean and mean what we say. By every human means we must strive to avoid even the semblance of broken pledges. International disillusionment is not the road to amity; and there is no telling how far, in its subsequent fatality, the effect of disillusionment may go.

The highly accurate Henry J. Taylor, in his great book *Men in Motion*—by the

way, one of the very great books which has come out of the literature of this war—has this to say:

The danger to the peace settlements is in the quality of wartime promises. Nations, especially small nations, do not forget promises made to them during wars. They make memorandums. They have the memorandums in their pockets at the first sign of peace.

Mr. President, I feel so keenly about this particular point and the utter necessity that the pending agreement, particularly, shall not be misunderstood in its implications abroad, that I linger upon Mr. Taylor's theme, because in the final analysis it is of such dreadful impact upon what is subsequently to happen. I wish to quote very briefly from him at page 218:

The tragic failure of the League of Nations did not center in the League as a conciliatory body. It centered in the peace settlements which the League was obligated to enforce. No body, sitting in relation to those settlements and bound to them, could have succeeded. And the settlements originated in wartime promises.

This will be true again.

The danger is already rampant, and an honest recognition of such danger and a mending of our ways are the most productive things that Americans could do at this time toward a better peace in the future.

The problems abroad are astronomical. They are far more confusing than the conditions symbolized by Hitler, Stalin, or the British Empire. They are the sum total of these conditions, and much more. Unless we adjust our actions and moderate our voice to fit the facts, and unless our leaders have modesty enough to admit they may not be reelected and, further, to display to foreign friends that there are limits to both American resources and world wisdom, we shall only meddle. We shall not serve. For a policy of exaggerated internationalism is as dangerous, foolhardy, and destructive as narrow isolationism.

I read one other paragraph, Mr. President. I commend this book most earnestly to anyone who wants a first-hand view of a thoroughly authentic American student's investigation of European conditions on the ground. I read:

I come fresh from the impact of American words—

"The impact of American words." That is what I am talking about—promises, pledges, just what I want to be sure is not read into the pending U. N. R. R. A. agreement.

I come fresh from the impact of American words on European and Middle Eastern minds. Therefore I am perplexed by what our leaders are saying. They talk as though the people over there were Americans and lived in America. They are not Americans, and they do not live in America.

In our deep anxiety to be helpful to the world, and to ourselves, we are making promises now and assuming superior attitudes which America and the world will deeply regret.

Mr. President, I want to be sure, at least so far as I am concerned, that in the subsequent development of U. N. R. R. A. there shall be nothing to regret as the result of words which are misunderstood abroad. That is why I repeat and reiterate the importance of



the limitations upon the thing which we are here doing.

The words I have quoted, Mr. President, do not come as the voice of narrow provincialism. This is the warning of the last American permitted in and out of Germany before Hitler declared war on us. This is the opinion of an intimately informed American who is dreadfully anxious that a post-war world of sound international order, justice, and security shall be the full fruit of this cataclysm.

I have lingered on his words, Mr. President, because of their very great importance with respect to every phase of our international contacts, and more particularly because U. N. R. R. A. could so easily be misunderstood in its implications. Therefore it is the course of candor, and hence of wisdom, that the limitations shall be fully understood.

Now I want to talk about these limitations, and I want to make perfectly sure that no one can misunderstand this record when it is read in respect to limitations.

The first limitation, Mr. President, arises as the result of the form in which this legislation comes to the Senate. I remind the Senate that the U. N. R. R. A. agreement originally appeared on June 10, 1943, in the form of a release from the State Department, in which it was announced that the entire enterprise was to be launched exclusively by executive agreement. I remind the Senate that in the original plan of June 10, 1943, there was never a purpose to consult either the Senate in respect to treaty obligations or the Congress in respect to appropriation responsibility.

When the agreement became public, when that intention became apparent, I submitted a resolution in the Senate calling upon the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to inquire into the pending agreement and to determine whether it did not amount to the dignity of a treaty and require treatment as a treaty. The resolution went to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the committee promptly contacted the State Department. I am very happy to say that the State Department not only immediately conceded that there should be total congressional consultation, but from that point on the State Department worked in closest and most sympathetic cooperation with the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee in rewriting the entire agreement.

I cannot too heartily commend the attitude of the State Department in this aspect. We were given total access to all essential information. We were given sympathetic consideration for the congressional viewpoint, and the net result is that we have an instrument here submitted to the Senate which I can stand and defend and recommend to my colleagues, whereas if the original program of June 10 had been pursued, the dignity of the Senate, the integrity of constitutional process, and the rights of the United States would have recommended total disagreement.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, would it discommode the Senator if I were to ask him a question?

Mr. VANDENBERG. No, Mr. President, the Senator from Tennessee never discommodes me.

Mr. McKELLAR. I find on page 2 of the joint resolution, in lines 21, 22, and 23 the following:

The administration—

Meaning the U. N. R. R. A.—  
shall have power to acquire, hold, and convey property—

I do not know how broad that provision is, but that is not what I have in mind at the moment. The next words are—  
to enter into contracts and undertake obligations.

Apparently that is an unlimited power granted to this organization by Congress. If it had been limited to the appropriations made or even to the appropriations authorized, that might not work a hardship, but it seems to me there ought to be a limitation, so when the Senator was discussing limitations I thought I would ask him what that language meant.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator will permit me, I shall come specifically to that a little later.

Mr. McKELLAR. Very well.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator was not in the Chamber all the time I was speaking. I was trying to outline at the moment the basic limitations with which we have undertaken to surround this entire adventure, and I should like to conclude that framework before attempting to go into detail. I say to the Senator from Tennessee that I have been asserting to the Senate that the limitations involved in the pending joint resolution, from my point of view, are far more important than the grants contained in the pending legislation, because it is so dreadfully vital that no one in this world, either our do-gooders here at home or our friends abroad, should ever mistake this particular formula as a precedent for anything that we are ever going to undertake in the post-war world.

I repeat, the limitation must be understood, and that is what I am trying to outline at the moment.

The first limitation, then, is the limitation which we built around this action through the change in its procedural character. In the form in which it was originally proposed it was sought to impose this obligation upon America exclusively by executive agreement. In the form in which it was originally proposed the obligations of the United States were so illimitable that I do not believe a successful argument could be made against the proposition that the original agreement was a treaty in every aspect.

As a result of this interim of cooperative, sympathetic activity between the State Department and the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, the entire agreement was rewritten in its fundamental character. It was stripped of every general obligation and responsibility. It was brought back to a simple authorization of appropriations for an international purpose, and it was written in a form which textually undertakes

to limit our obligation without any question whatsoever to the specific appropriations that are made under the authorization from time to time by the Congress. I repeat, we entirely changed the character of the document, and obviously I think it ceased to be a treaty. That was the first limitation.

In rewriting the agreement we rewrote the preamble. We deleted from the preamble all the words which might have been construed in their generality into a blanket commitment to the welfare of mankind throughout the universe. The preamble therefore in its present impact is to be interpreted in respect to not only what is in it, but what is not in it, and I think the things we deleted are particularly significant.

That is not all we did. As I have said, we tied down literally the nature and extent of our obligation to the appropriations subsequently made.

That is not all. There was no escape clause in the original agreement. We inserted an escape clause, and it is in the pending agreement.

Not only that; the language in those sections of the agreement which deal particularly with appropriations were rewritten to improve, if possible, any last, lingering doubt regarding the appropriate interpretation; and although this language has already been read into the RECORD several times, the language cannot be read too often, Mr. President, because it is the crux of the pledge we are making and it is also the crux of the pledge we are not making. I read from article V on page 12:

Insofar as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall authorize, each member government will contribute—

And so forth—

The amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies.

No one can misunderstand what that means in the United States. The only appropriate constitutional body under our system of government which can appropriate one nickel is the Congress of the United States. No one can now or hereafter misread the purpose of article V, which is to say that there is no obligation upon the United States under this agreement unless and until and except as the appropriations committees of the House and the Senate shall make the necessary recommendations and the House and the Senate themselves shall subsequently approve. And that language is repeated in article VI, in respect to the provision for administrative expenses of the instrumentality. Just for the cumulative effect of it, I wish the RECORD again to show the language in article VI, from which I quote:

Upon approval of a budget by the council the total amount approved shall be allocated to the member governments in proportions to be determined by the Council. Each member government undertakes—

Undertakes what?—

subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the administration promptly its share of the administrative expenses so determined.



There can be no question, here or abroad, as to what the phrase "requirements of its constitutional procedure" means in the United States of America.

Mr. McKELLAR rose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I dislike to interrupt the Senator, because he is making a most excellent presentation of the matter; but I am wondering if the money could not be borrowed from the R. F. C. since under our laws and Constitution that body has been authorized to lend money for a great many purposes, probably including this one. I am merely wondering whether this language is sufficient to confine it to appropriations made by the Congress.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, if the Senator is asking me to guarantee to him that this administration cannot find ways to get money and to spend it, regardless of Congress, I cannot give him the assurance, because the administration has been doing it for 10 years, and I suppose it will continue doing it so long as it is in power. But insofar as lies within our poor congressional authority, I submit to the Senator that we have already put down the limits, beyond peradventure, where they cannot be transgressed except in bad faith. The Senator has a right to interrogate us on this subject, because he carries the chief responsibility of the great Senate Appropriations Committee.

I now shall read to him the language of the men in this Government upon whom we have to depend to implement these limitations. First, I quote from the testimony of Dean Acheson. I should say by way of further explanation that Dean Acheson is the official representative of the Government of the United States on the U. N. R. R. A. Council. He speaks for the United States in that aspect. In the course of Dean Acheson's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, answering a question of mine, he said:

Now, that is the agreement, and as I say, that agreement was worked out after thorough discussion with the subcommittee of this committee, which led it to believe that all commitments on the part of this country are in the hands of Congress, that no one had undertaken to commit the United States to any act, and that therefore the issue as to whether this was a treaty had been removed from discussion.

Is that enough? I read further:

Senator VANDENBERG. Mr. Acheson, at that point I would like to have the record show the language in article V, because I think it is very important. The only actual obligation which we accept in a financial sense is set out in article V, is it not?

Mr. ACHESON. Article V and article VI, which has to do with the administrative expenses; yes, sir.

Senator VANDENBERG. And, in each instance, quoting from the text—

"The amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies."

I am still asking this question of Dean Acheson:

In other words, we are accepting no fiscal obligation under this agreement except as the obligation is specifically accepted by acts of appropriation by the Congress; is that correct?

We certainly could not put it any plainer than that.

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct, Senator VANDENBERG.

I turn to another point in the record. Now we are come to the question of administrative expense, which might be a very fertile field, as we know by experience, for some experimental nonsense. Again I was interrogating Dean Acheson, the very able Assistant Secretary of State:

Senator VANDENBERG. If Congress became critical at any time of the administrative set-up and thought it was extravagant or imprudent, I assume that under the terms of article VI, since each member government undertakes to make its contribution only "subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure," the administrative problem would also be entirely within congressional control insofar as our share of sustaining it is concerned.

We could not put that down in plainer language.

Here is the reply:

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct. Congress would have complete power at any time to stop its contributions or to lay down the conditions as to their uses.

Senator VANDENBERG. I constantly emphasize that point, Mr. Chairman, because it was one upon which our subcommittee put major emphasis in indicating the change in the character of the document.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the committee is pretty well advised as to the policy that underlay the action of the subcommittee, and that was to make it clear that at all times it was under the control of the Congress so far as funds were concerned. Is that right?

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. Am I correct in stating that Assistant Secretary of State Acheson testified that, in addition to our being able to control appropriations, we would also have the power to impose conditions and limitations upon their expenditure?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall read the language again to the Senator. The words speak for themselves. I do not have the printed hearings, so I cannot give the printed page reference; but the language appears on page 30 in the first volume of the stenographic report:

Mr. ACHESON. That is correct.

Referring to his agreement with me that Congress had total and plenary control over the funds of U. N. R. R. A.

Continuing the quotation:

Congress would have complete power at any time to stop its contributions or to lay down the conditions as to their uses.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLELLAN in the chair). Does the Sena-

tor from Michigan yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. That is perhaps as important a piece of testimony as has been contributed in this entire debate.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

Mr. DANAHER. Does the Senator understand that we at this time, as we now act on this joint resolution, have the power to amend the agreement itself, without further action by the other signatories to the agreement?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Oh, no. I think the Congress has precisely the same latitude in connection with the U. N. R. R. A. agreement contained in the joint resolution that the Senate would have in respect to a treaty if the matter had been submitted in treaty form. We have a perfect right to attach any reservation we may wish. That would be a totally different thing, of course, from amending the text of the agreement itself.

Mr. DANAHER. But any such reservations, or any counterproposal, or any amendment to the agreement itself as set forth in the joint resolution, would nonetheless require confirmatory action by the other signatories?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am not clear that I caught the Senator's full question. We require no consent from any other government on earth to exercise our total internal veto power under this legislation upon the granting of appropriations to implement the agreement.

Mr. DANAHER. Up to that point I think I am in complete accord with the Senator; but if we have the power ultimately—say in December 1945—to place such terms and conditions upon the expenditure of an appropriation intended for U. N. R. R. A. as would vary the terms of the agreement which we now undertake to approve, it seems to me that there is a reservation at the outset which would tend to negate the purported agreement.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I disagree with the Senator, for this reason: There is absolutely nothing in the pending agreement which negates—to use his word, which is a good one—the power of Congress to control its own appropriations. Therefore if any subsequent Congress were to attach limitations to an appropriation, it would not be negating the agreement itself.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall be glad to yield when I have finished my reply to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DANAHER. I invite the attention of the Senator from Michigan to the fact that article X provides that—

Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of 6 months from the entry into force of the agreement for that government.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

Mr. DANAHER. It also provides that the notice shall take effect 12 months after the date of the communication of the intention to withdraw.



Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

Mr. DANAHER. Is it the Senator's understanding that if we had, in fact, undertaken some commitments through the council of U. N. R. R. A., and under the terms of the agreement had provided our contribution for the execution of that commitment, we could somehow or other, earlier than the date of complete liquidation of that commitment, terminate our participation simply by placing a rider on an appropriation bill?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is my opinion—and I repeat it for the hundredth time; I do not object to repeating it, because I think it is so important—that under this agreement no fiscal obligation is involved in respect to the United States except as it is identified and validated by subsequent definite and specific acts of appropriation by the Congress itself.

If that answer be read as suggesting any lack of good faith in our commitment to U. N. R. R. A. itself, it is just too bad. I assume that we are signing this agreement in good faith; that we will proceed in good faith; that we will not resort to any fictitious, improper, or inappropriate excuses or reasons for limiting our cooperation; and that we will proceed in the same spirit of international fraternity in respect to this war effort—because it is part of the war effort—that we do in all other aspects. But, as a matter of legislative obligation, I come back to the fact that we have written into this agreement precisely what Dean Acheson says we have written into it, namely, a situation in which Congress has "complete power at any time to stop its contributions or to lay down the conditions as to their uses."

That is not my language. That is the language of the Assistant Secretary of State who helped to draft the agreement. That is the language of the Assistant Secretary of State who sits on U. N. R. R. A.'s Council representing the United States of America. I submit that it is conclusive.

Mr. DANAHER. I very greatly appreciate the views of the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I now yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from Michigan a question. If the other forty-odd members of the Council should place a different interpretation upon some decision than our own representative or our Congress places upon it—

Mr. VANDENBERG. It would be just too bad. That is the reason I am making this speech today in such extension, because I want, if humanly possible, at the threshold of this great adventure, to have everyone related to it know exactly what the facts are, so that no one can possibly be misled.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I appreciate that very much; and the Senator has stated his views most clearly. However, as I understand the Senator's explanation, we are in this position: While we have the legalistic right to do thus and so, as the Senator has so clearly pointed out, is there not a moral obligation to go

along with the agreement and fulfill all its terms, regardless of what Congress may decide to do in the future?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not think so; and when I have concluded my schedule of limitations, I think the Senator will agree with me that the situation is fairly clear. I have only started to outline the limitations.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Article IV, subparagraph 5 of the agreement, set forth on page 11 of the joint resolution, provides as follows:

The Director General shall make periodic reports to the central committee and to the Council covering the progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall be made public except for such portions as the central committee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Nations, to keep confidential.

Is the Congress of the United States to have no report made to it?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Oh, yes. The joint resolution itself requires the President to report quarterly to Congress respecting the entire enterprise.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am going to discommode the Senator to the extent of returning to page 2. I know it is out of place; but a while ago he stated that we had a right to put reservations on this agreement, which statement attracted my attention very much, because there ought to be a reservation to the language in lines 21, 22, and 23 on page 2. This language, in article I, reads as follows:

The administration shall have power to acquire, hold, and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations—

And so forth. If we give the administration such broad power, in my judgment we shall not be limited to an obligation of \$1,350,000,000. Whatever contracts or agreements the administration might make, we should be obliged to execute. If the administration should incur obligations for \$5,000,000,000, in honor we should be obliged to fulfill such obligations, under the terms of this agreement. I am wondering if the placing of a reservation in the joint resolution limiting the right to make contracts and to undertake obligations to the amount of \$1,350,000,000 would not be a very excellent restraint or safeguard.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I will answer the Senator. So far as I am concerned, I would attach no reservations to the agreement. My reasons are as follows: In the first place, it cannot too often be said that the operations of U. N. R. R. A. are just as much a part of the war as the operations of the War Department itself. U. N. R. R. A. is to step in as the Army moves on, and except as U. N. R. R. A. should be available to step in, the Army could not move on, and the entire military strategy would be disrupted.

Mr. McKELLAR. I cannot agree with the Senator that far.

Mr. VANDENBERG. In what particular does the Senator disagree with what I have said?

Mr. McKELLAR. For example, we are now in the act of taking over Italy. I think we will do so. However, I think it is immensely more important at this stage of the game, or at any stage of the game, for us to take over Italy than it is to govern it after we have taken it over.

Mr. VANDENBERG. In the first place, what the Senator says, of course, is literally true. The first step is to win. His subsequent observation suggests that he might have the idea that this instrumentality has something to do with the government of Italy. It has nothing whatever to do with any governmental function whatsoever.

Mr. McKELLAR. It is to feed the people of the occupied territories.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is something else. The Senator referred to government, and this has nothing to do with the governments of the liberated areas. It has to do solely with the function which the Army itself exercises up to the point where the Army itself asks to be relieved. When the Army itself asks to be relieved it must have somebody to whom to address the appeal, and there must be somebody available. That is U. N. R. R. A., and that is all U. N. R. R. A. is. It cannot be dissociated from the specific activity of the war itself in the war area.

Mr. McKELLAR. I can see the importance of it, but of greater importance is first winning control of the area. However, in this respect I invite the attention of the Senator to section 4, on page 15, in line 19. I wish to read it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Wait a moment, if the Senator will permit me to interrupt him. Up to this point I have been discussing solely the appropriating power. We are now coming to the subject of relief and rehabilitation, and I suggest that the Senator allow me to deal with the subject and see if I do not cover his point.

Mr. McKELLAR. The section to which I refer applies to the very question we have been discussing, namely, that of unlimited power.

Mr. VANDENBERG. What unlimited power?

Mr. McKELLAR. The unlimited power to make contracts.

Mr. VANDENBERG. There is no unlimited power to make contracts. All the power contained in the joint resolution is related to the remainder of the language of the agreement. That is not an unlimited power.

Mr. McKELLAR. The agreement itself states, "To enter into contracts and undertake obligations," without limitation.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator does not mean that.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes; I will read it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator would not say that the language in the limitations of the joint resolution itself does not restrict the functions to which the instrumentality may address itself.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have a very grave doubt about it. I think it is an unlimited power. However, allow me to invite attention to section 4, which reads as follows:



In expressing its approval of this joint resolution, it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations, which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The territory which is more important to the military operations of the United Nations than any other territory in the world is that of Germany. Under section 4 the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration would have a perfect right to go to the relief of the Germans, or the Austrians, or the people of any nation controlled by Germany, if famine should overtake them at any time during the war.

Mr. VANDENBERG. And if it could reach Mars it would involve the Martians.

Mr. McKELLAR. It would do almost that, because the language is "any area important to the military operations of the United Nations." I think that language goes entirely too far, and that it should be stricken out.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Allow me to say to the Senator, in respect to the particular language to which he just referred, that I have no responsibility whatever for it.

Mr. McKELLAR. However, it is in the joint resolution.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am telling the Senator where it came from and what it is about.

Mr. McKELLAR. I shall be very happy to know about it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The language was inserted on the floor of the House of Representatives. It has just one purpose, so far as I know, and that is to include India within the area which, if necessary, can receive consideration from the instrumentality to be set up. However, it can do that only upon the request of the military authorities who consider the relief to be essential to the military effort.

Mr. McKELLAR. Perhaps so. However, if putting India into the pot requires us to put in Germany, Austria, and all the others, the language should be changed.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think the statement of the Senator is perfectly fantastic.

Mr. McKELLAR. If it is our purpose to include India, we should include India, and not provide for our enemy countries. They are the most important areas in the world so far as the winning of the war is concerned, and they should be excluded from receiving benefits under the proposed legislation.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I hope that the Senator from Tennessee will not misunderstand me if I say that his latest observations are totally fantastic.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am merely interpreting the language contained in the joint resolution.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The idea that any instrumentality of war, such as the one under consideration, will be used by any responsible American administrator to lend aid and comfort of any nature to

any of the enemies of the United Nations, I repeat, is fantastic beyond words.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. The question which I should like to have cleared up in my mind is this: I understand from the Senator from Michigan that U. N. R. R. A. is actually a part of the war effort. After a government has been reestablished in a country which is presently occupied, does U. N. R. R. A. then step out, or does it continue to work in that area in cooperation with the government which has been established and which is in control of the country?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not believe there is any testimony bearing on the direct question which the Senator has asked. My assumption is that U. N. R. R. A. would continue to cooperate with the local authorities, whatever they may be, so long as the primary relief requirement continued, and so long as the instrumentality itself was in existence. Of course, the Senator will understand that we have definitely limited our participation in U. N. R. R. A. to June 30, 1946.

Mr. AIKEN. But it would not be continued into the rehabilitation program of the area.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Oh, I am coming to that, because I agree with the Senator that it is extremely important that there shall be no misunderstanding on that point, and I shall reach it as soon as I am allowed to. I think I perhaps could save a little time if I were permitted to conclude my statement of the record which I am trying to make, because I might anticipate many questions which Senators desire to ask, and yet I do not wish to foreclose any questions.

Mr. McKELLAR. I want to beg the Senator's pardon. I know I have imposed on him.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not want the Senator from Tennessee ever to apologize to me for anything. The country is indebted sufficiently to him so that he may annoy me the rest of his life, and still be on the credit side of the ledger.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MURDOCK in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. McCLELLAN. It is very kind of the Senator to yield. I have to leave the Chamber, but there is one point about which I should like to obtain information, and I ask the Senator to refer to article III of the agreement. According to my understanding earlier in the discussion today it was stated that the Soviet Union is not a party to this agreement; that it is not one of the signatories to the agreement. Is that correct?

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. I think the Senator was out of the chamber at the time, but it was pointed out that there is a clause in the agreement that invites the govern-

ments that are not contributors to the operating expenses to contribute to administrative expenses, and Russia has expressed her agreement to the assessment of a million and a half dollars to help defray administrative expenses.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Does Russia put up any money to run the organization?

Mr. CONNALLY. Russia puts up a million and a half dollars for administrative expenses.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Does Russia put up any money for the relief of those who are in need in the stricken countries?

Mr. CONNALLY. No.

Mr. REYNOLDS. How much does the head of the organization, Governor Lehman, get a year?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am still yielding to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Excuse me. I did not know the Senator was still yielding to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. VANDENBERG. But I will say to the Senator from North Carolina that I have not the slightest idea what Governor Lehman gets, and I care less.

Mr. McCLELLAN. As I understand Russia, the Soviet Government, is not a member of the U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I should be able to answer the question authoritatively, but I cannot do so. My own impression is that Russia is a member, but I have not the papers with me.

Mr. McCLELLAN. This morning when I was interrogating either the Senator from Michigan or the Senator from Texas I was advised, as I recall, that Russia is not one of the signers of the agreement.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator will permit me to reserve an answer to the question, I will find the answer.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I will follow it through because I want to get the information. Assuming that Russia is not a member of the U. N. R. R. A., then I want to ask whether U. N. R. R. A. funds, a part of which, indeed the major part of which, we are obligating ourselves to provide, may be used by the council or the governing agency, or authority of the U. N. R. R. A. for relief in that part of Russia which has been devastated by war?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am not an authority on this subject, but my own answer would be that the funds could not be so used, because the purpose is to use the funds exclusively in liberated areas from which the military authorities of the United Nations have moved on and have invited U. N. R. R. A. to move in. I do not see how that could happen in Russia, though perhaps it could.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Of course, the area of Russia that has been invaded and occupied by Germany is like the area of any other country that has been invaded and occupied. I find nothing in the agreement or in the joint resolution that would not permit the use of the relief money in Russia.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the Senator is entitled to a conclusive answer to his question. I cannot give it. I do not know what the answer is, but I will say to him that if, under the rigid necessity which must exist before relief



is extended under U. N. R. R. A., if the Russian Soviets in any portion of their domain could qualify for relief, in spite of my well-known feeling about communism for the past 40 years, I should hope Russia would get the relief, because of all the countries on this globe for which I have complete reverential respect as regards the sacrifices they are willing to make in their own national defense, my hat is off to Russia.

Mr. McCLELLAN. If the Senator will permit a further observation, I can agree with him with respect to the heroic and sacrificial efforts Russia has made in her own defense, but in the matter of making these appropriations and spending our money the point I am making is that if Russia is not a signatory to this agreement and is not a part of the U. N. R. R. A., then I do not think Russia ought to have membership either on the Council or on the central committee and be able to tell us how we shall spend our money.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think the Senator will find that Russia is a member. I do not see how she could be a member of the Council without being a member of the U. N. R. R. A.

Mr. McCLELLAN. That is the very reason I asked the question.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DANAHER] has found the reference I was looking for. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a member. It is not a contributing member in respect to the relief fund, because, under the rule, only uninvaded countries are required to make contributions, but it is a contributor to the administrative expense.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Russia contributes only to the administrative expense, but could be a beneficiary of relief under this agreement.

Mr. VANDENBERG. And could ultimately become a contributor to the general fund.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield for a moment?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. May I suggest to the Senator from Arkansas that, with all the care the committee has expended on this resolution which the Senator from Michigan is now explaining, it is possible for anybody to chart in detail every contingency and every conceivable situation which may arise. We must, after all, trust to the good sense, the patriotism, and the wisdom of those who are to administer it, having in mind the over-all checks which the Congress is going to exercise over them. If they do not do what is required of them, Congress will refuse to appropriate any more money for their activities. I say it is inevitable that we cannot look out and see every little angle and every side issue and every little fellow who is hungry and every little fellow who is cold, and where he is, to what country he belongs, what his religion is, and what governmental theories he upholds. We cannot do those things. We have got to trust to the good sense and wisdom of the administrators.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield for one further observation?

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator will permit me, of course, I agree with the observations of the Senator from Texas. I think, if Members of the Senate had sat with the subcommittee during the hot summer and the early fall when they were busy taking the "bugs" out of this agreement, they would consider that a substantially effective job had been done upon the original document. I have no doubt that the completed document can be attacked in some particulars in respect to its structure and its net result, but I do not know of anything in connection with this war effort which is quiz-proof, and I submit to the Senate, in view of the over-all limitations which we have succeeded in putting into this measure—and the over-all limitations are far more important than any specific detail of text that could possibly be involved in any part of this agreement—in view of the over-all limitations that we have written into this agreement, unless there is total lack of faith in American administrators, our share in this engagement will proceed on a basis which will be wholly in keeping with the best welfare of the United States of America and the United Nations' war effort.

I now yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I thank the Senator. I want to make an observation. It is not my purpose to appear to pick flaws in the agreement, but I do not regard it as a small or indifferent matter. If we are to spend 67½ percent of the money, and have a country such as Russia help administer it, yet make no contribution to the general purpose itself, I do not think that is a small matter, or one of such insignificance that we should be entirely indifferent to it. Now is the time to determine what course we are charting, and try to understand it. That is my only purpose in asking these questions.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I welcome the opportunity to discuss the matter with the able Senator.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. There was one answer which the Senator from Michigan made to a question propounded by the Senator from Vermont which it seems to me the Senator from Michigan will not wish to have stand. The implication of his reply, at least, was that the pending joint resolution will be effective only until June 30, 1946. I say, that was the implication. I feel certain that that is not the fact, and that the Senator would not wish it so to appear. Section 5 states that "The authorization contained in this joint resolution shall expire on June 30, 1946." But the word "authorization" refers to the appropriation which is described in section 1 of the joint resolution. So far as the joint resolution itself is concerned, it is permanent legislation, is it not, subject to the right of our Nation or any member government

to withdraw in accordance with the provisions of article X? Is not that so?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Certainly; what the Senator is saying is that we might become a nonpaying member. I answered the Senator from Vermont in terms of realism.

Mr. DANAHER. I point to article I, of the agreement itself, on page 2, where it is provided in line 22:

The Administration shall have the power \* \* \* to enter into contracts and undertake obligations.

Surely, the Senator does not expect that our representative in U. N. R. R. A. and the Council itself, will be authorized to make contracts for 5 years, for 10 years, for any number of years, subject only to the authorization with reference to the appropriations, which will expire on June 30, 1946. Surely, the Senator will expect that our own good faith and credit will be pledged to the execution of any contract whose execution we authorize. Is not that so?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I could read to the Senator again the statement of Assistant Secretary of State Acheson, which is final, conclusive, and utterly determinative. I cannot go beyond that. No one could put it down in plainer language. Our obligation is limited to the appropriations which we make.

Now, Mr. President, I should like to proceed with what I undertook in the beginning; what I intended to be a disclosure of what I think are the essential safeguarding limitations in this agreement. I hope the Administration greatly appreciates the fact that I seem to be projected as the defender of its engagements. I had not risen for that purpose, although I think it has done an excellent piece of work in this instance.

Mr. President, I wish to finish, if I can—and I see the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] entering the Chamber—what I was saying about what I believe to be the effectiveness of the limitation which we have written into the proposed agreement in respect to the congressional appropriating power as the over-all limitation upon every obligation involved.

I have already quoted Dean Acheson, the Assistant Secretary of State, and the American representative in U. N. R. R. A., and his consent to the concept that I have submitted is clear and distinct. There is only one other person who could speak with equivalent authority, and that is Governor Lehman, who now, though he does not represent the Government of the United States, is the executive director of the international organization itself. He did live with the representatives of these signatories at Atlantic City when the agreement was being put together, and he should know better than any other man on earth what occurred and what the net result was, and whether or not our American situation is understood by the other signatories.

I took pains to submit that question to Governor Lehman when he was appearing before the committee, and I read again just one question and answer:

Senator VANDENBERG. I assume that the implications of article V of the agreement are



clearly understood by all the signatory powers to indicate that there is no commitment of this Government—

"No commitment of this Government"—

except as measured by subsequent appropriations of the Congress of the United States.

Governor LEHMAN. I think there is a full realization of that on the part of the governments.

Mr. President, it is impossible to tie a limitation down any more than that is tied down.

There is one other phase of the matter involved in the limitations, and I shall dismiss it as briefly as possible, although so far as I am concerned this report is going to be complete as respects the limitations upon the thing which we think we are doing.

The second limitation is in the earnest and repeated efforts in the text of the agreement and in the subsequent testimony to make sure that the agreement applies solely to war relief, and not to world-wide post-war reconstruction in any phase whatsoever.

This brings up the question of the implementing resolutions adopted by U. N. R. R. A. itself when it organized at Atlantic City. There was some fear that these implementing resolutions, in turn, might have collaterally broadened the nature of our responsibility under this joint resolution. In order to leave no room for doubt upon this score, Assistant Secretary Acheson and Governor Lehman were specifically quizzed by the Committee on Foreign Relations. It is important to introduce some of this testimony for the RECORD.

Now I wish to read from Assistant Secretary Acheson with respect to what the word "rehabilitation" means in this connection, because rehabilitation seems to be the twilight zone word.

Senator TUNNELL. How far does the word "rehabilitation" go? Just what is the meaning of it in your opinion?

Mr. ACHESON. Senator TUNNELL, that was the subject of resolutions at Atlantic City, one of the most important of which has been set forth in this House amendment to the bill itself. That is found on page 15.

Senator TUNNELL. Yes. What I was looking at was—

"The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief."

I was just wondering whether "rehabilitation" has reference there entirely to relief of sections, or just what is meant by that.

Mr. ACHESON. There are two fairly clear places, one in the agreement and one in the resolution, where that is dealt with. If you turn to the bill, on page 3, section 2, of the agreement, under article I, it says:

"Subject to the provisions of article VII, the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

"(a) To plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical, and other essential services"—

That is generally what is regarded as "relief." Then it goes on: "and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services."

That is what has been regarded as "rehabilitation." In other words, if it is wiser and better and more efficient to produce the relief articles and services in the country rather than to import them, the organization has the authority to do that.

I think that is an answer to the question submitted much earlier in the day by the Senator from Connecticut, and the question which has repeatedly intervened in the course of subsequent debate.

Senator TUNNELL—

Continuing the cross-examination.

What is your idea, then, of the word "reconstruction"? Does that mean the reconstruction of buildings?

Mr. ACHESON. That is something which is altogether beyond the scope of this organization. That is a rebuilding of the devastation of the war, and with that this organization has nothing to do.

Mr. President, he could not be any franker about it, and he could not make it any plainer. The official spokesman for the United States, first, in the authorship of this agreement; and, second, in the organization of U. N. R. R. A. itself, says that this organization has nothing to do with post-war reconstruction or with the rebuilding of the devastation of the war.

I proceed a little further in the same record.

Senator VANDENBERG. On the question asked by Senator TUNNELL, might it not also be stated for the record, Mr. Secretary, that in the preamble the language was rewritten and changed from the original form in a further effort to restrict the scope and to be sure that we were dealing solely with relief?

Mr. ACHESON. That is quite correct.

Senator VANDENBERG. Yes; but I want to observe that some things that are not in the draft are just as important as some of the things that are, in its interpretation.

Mr. ACHESON. Yes, sir.

Senator VANDENBERG. We took out some language which might have been misleading in its enthusiasm.

Mr. ACHESON. That is entirely correct.

Now I want to read one further excerpt from Mr. Acheson's testimony. The able Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE] became somewhat disturbed, as Senators have become here upon the floor, about the implications or possible rehabilitation which might extend on into the area of reconstruction.

Senator WHITE. I think that comes very close to the definition which appears in paragraph 11, but when you go down to 8, I do not just see how "restoration" of transport and communications facilities and helping to restore workshops and repair shops and shipyards of one sort and another can be deemed to be contributing to relief, except as it offers an opportunity for work; and if that is to be your test, "opportunity for work," why of course there is no limit.

Mr. ACHESON. It certainly was not the intention, and this reference here to shipyards, work shops, repair shops, and that sort of thing was in the minds of those who wrote it for the purpose of fixing up the equipment with which these people could go ahead and fish or transport or do what they had to do in the relief field. \* \* \* But, as I say, we had this same discussion in the House as to whether the language of all of these paragraphs comported entirely with my interpretation of them, and the House committee put in this section 3 of the joint resolution. They picked out section 11 of resolution 12

of the U. N. R. R. A. Council as summing up in the way which they thought was most desirable the policy to be followed, so they wished that to be put in the joint resolution in order to serve notice on U. N. R. R. A. that they interpreted all these resolutions in the way in which section 11 states it and the way I had stated it at the hearings, which would be a pretty fair indication that we would trust that our contribution would be used along those lines and not along the broader lines which I had disclaimed and which the U. N. R. R. A. Council has attempted to disclaim; so I think the purpose was to emphasize what you have emphasized, Senator WHITE, and to indicate to U. N. R. R. A. that that is the way this Government would expect it to perform.

Mr. President, no man could be franker than that, and no commitment could be more conclusive. I remind the Senate that the House wrote into the joint resolution the language of section 11. I wish to read the language of section 11, because it is the final and conclusive statement on the subject. I read from page 15 of the bill, section 3:

SEC. 3. In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the first session of the Council, summarized in paragraph 11 of resolution No. 12, and reading as follows—

And this is the telltale section:

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction.

Mr. President, I emphasize that language. It is not even the beginning of reconstruction.

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief.

And nothing else.

No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the agreement.

Which means rehabilitation that is indispensable to relief itself, and nothing else.

Problems, such as unemployment, are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world.

Then I repeat the first sentence again:

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as [even] the beginning of reconstruction.

If we will keep that firmly in mind we shall certainly keep in mind an all-over restraint and limitation upon this authority, which will hold it intimately within the realms in which we are willing to go.

Mr. President, I dislike to burden the RECORD upon this subject, but as I said in the beginning, I know of nothing quite so important, when we are here embarking upon this international agreement, as that there shall be no possibility of misunderstanding either at home or abroad. I feel that so keenly that I will impose upon the Senate just long enough, in addition, to indicate that Governor Lehman, when testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was equally frank and equally specific in arriving at precisely the same net result in



respect to the differentiation between relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction, which I have already indicated. I read from Governor Lehman's testimony:

Senator VANDENBERG. Governor Lehman, "It seems to be quite clear in the text of the agreement that there is a very clear purpose to draw a sharp line of distinction between 'relief' and 'rehabilitation' as such in this operation, and that you are intending to confine yourself, and U. N. R. R. A. is intending to confine itself, exclusively to relief except insofar as contingent rehabilitation contributes to relief, is that correct?"

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct.

It cannot be said more plainly. It cannot be made any more specific. The Director General could not more emphatically be confined by a question and an answer.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct. I believe there is an absolute prohibition adopted by the Council with regard to the undertaking of what might be described as "permanent reconstruction" activities. That was certainly the intention.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall yield in a moment. I wish to finish the record with respect to Governor Lehman. I do not mean that I am more interested in Governor Lehman than I am in the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. No; that is all right. I can ask the question later.

Mr. VANDENBERG. At a later point in the hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the able Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] particularly catechized Governor Lehman regarding what might have seemed to be some discrepancy between the basic commitments in the agreement itself and in the subsequent resolutions adopted at Atlantic City, but as he himself said earlier in the day, the result of that colloquy was to make it perfectly clear that there is no commitment whatever beyond the commitment to relieve a contingent rehabilitation along the line which I have indicated in the previous exhibits which I have submitted, and I think perhaps that statement will suffice for that portion of the record.

I now yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, the Senator has had a great deal to say, and very properly, about the opinion of Governor Lehman and Dr. Acheson. I have no doubt that so far as they themselves are concerned in the administration of this measure they will continue to feel as they testified. But the trouble is that the organization will be controlled, at least in numbers, by others, and if they choose to differ with Dean Acheson or if they choose to differ with Governor Lehman, and if they outvote him, we would be committed just the same. In other words, suppose the U. N. R. R. A. organization by vote determined that relief carried rehabilitation along with it, and a little help in addition to that, perhaps in the way of better housing or better relief of other kinds.

Mr. VANDENBERG. No; let us wonder what would happen if they went beyond our conception of the agreement.

That is what the Senator wants to know, as I understand.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes. If they did that, with this unlimited statement at the very beginning that this Board has the power to enter into contracts and to undertake obligations, there is no telling where it would lead, in my judgment. That is why I was so insistent in asking the distinguished Senator if he did not think we had better put in a reservation limiting it to the appropriations made.

I agree in the main with all the Senator has so well said this afternoon, but I think we should be exceedingly careful in the language to be used, because our representatives' construction of the language will not be final. The final construction of the language will be made by the U. N. R. R. A. organization or administration.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, there is nothing I can say to the Senator beyond what I have repeatedly said in response to the same question put in a different form 15 or 20 times this afternoon. That is not said in derogation of the questions, because I think they are important.

All I can once more say, and to sum up with finality, is that if the Senator from Tennessee, as acting chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, ever confronts a situation under U. N. R. R. A. where the concept of it as presented to us by our own American authorities is violated, I hope he will see to it that every penny of appropriation is withdrawn; because it is the specific understanding that we shall have no obligations except such obligations as are written into our specific appropriation acts from time to time.

Mr. President, I now desire to conclude. If I have put my major emphasis upon the limitations in this pending commitment, it has not been intended in any way to be in derogation of the affirmative advantages which can flow from U. N. R. R. A. I believe that U. N. R. R. A. is an inevitable, unavoidable concomitant of this war. I believe that relief and contingent rehabilitation in the liberated areas are an inseparable part of the war effort itself and, therefore, that these functions should be the partnership responsibility of the United Nations. I know of no better way in which to serve these functions than through this cooperative, international organization up to the point where war relief leaves off and post-war reconstruction begins. I favor the passage of this joint resolution. But I have wanted to make it wholly plain that I favor its passage, not only because of the positive reasons which are convincingly urged in its behalf, but also because the purposes to be served are restrained within the limitations upon which I have lingered.

America will do her full part and will carry her full share of the load in the responsibilities of post-war peace and justice and security. Enlightened selfishness, if nothing else, will require of us that we join wholeheartedly in these co-operations. But, in my humble opinion, we must ever take counsel of the fact

that our own resources are not illimitable; and we must never neglect to vigilantly guard the internal necessities of our own country. In the peace problems of post-war world-wide reconstruction—whether economic or social—it would be fabulous providence for America to take U. N. R. R. A. as a pattern and to contemplate underwriting anything remotely like the share of world responsibility which we here temporarily accept as an unavoidable incident of war. So far as I am concerned, I accept it only because it is the unavoidable incident of war. I accept it in the overwhelming form in which we are required to underwrite it, only for that reason.

Mr. GILLETTE, Mr. McKELLAR, and Mr. TAFT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield the whole shooting match with great joy and pleasure. [Laughter.]

Mr. GILLETTE obtained the floor.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I wished to ask a question of the chairman of the committee, if he is willing to submit himself to a question. Will the Senator look on page 2, lines 21, 22, and 23, at the language:

The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold, and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations.

That is an unlimited power.

Mr. CONNALLY. No; I do not agree with the Senator.

Mr. McKELLAR. Let me explain for a moment, please. In my judgment, that is an unlimited power. If the U. N. R. R. A. were to make a contract to disburse \$5,000,000,000, instead of \$1,350,000,000, it could do so. Why not put in, after the word "obligations", an amendment, by way of reservation, something to this effect:

Within the limitations of the appropriations made for this purpose.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator that there are several reasons why that is not practicable. In the first place, the Senator is offering that language as an amendment or reservation to the agreement already signed.

Mr. McKELLAR. It could be done only by way of reservation, as I understand the matter.

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes. The Senator would have to place it at the end, by way of reservation.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me say to the Senator that I do not agree at all with his hypothesis. I do not believe that language gives the Administration any power to make a contract or to convey property or to undertake obligations beyond the limitations of this joint resolution.

Mr. McKELLAR. Then, why not say so?

Mr. CONNALLY. I do say so.

Mr. McKELLAR. Why not have the language of the joint resolution say so?



Mr. CONNALLY. I do not object to making it clearer. If we made an authorization for someone to spend a million dollars for a certain purpose, in order to spend it he would have to make contracts and assume obligations. Of course, this organization will have to do that. Every time it buys supplies it will make a contract; will it not? Every time it promises to pay someone at a future date for those supplies it will be assuming an obligation. But those things are contained within the limits.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is an all-inclusive power.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not grant the Senator that.

Mr. McKELLAR. And there is no limitation at all on that power.

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes; there is.

Mr. McKELLAR. I want to make this matter clear. I ask the Senator to turn to page 12, and I call his attention to the following language:

The amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have no doubt that the writers of that provision expected, for instance, so far as the Congress of the United States is concerned, that the money would be appropriated by the Congress.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is right.

Mr. McKELLAR. Under our system we have already given the power to the R. F. C. to make loans, and the money could be used for that purpose. Would the Senator be willing to accept an amendment, in the form of a reservation, after the words "appropriate constitutional bodies," to insert "in the case of the United States, the Congress of the United States"?

Mr. CONNALLY. I have great respect for the Senator's views, but I think that would be wholly unnecessary. I hold in my hand an amendment suggested by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] which, if adopted, might obviate the difficulty which the Senator faces.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator please read it?

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator from Ohio would add, at the bottom of page 15, the following:

No amendment involving any new obligation for the United States shall be made to the agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration without approval by joint resolution of Congress.

Personally I have no objection to that amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. I doubt if that would cure the difficulty of which I have spoken.

Mr. CONNALLY. I think the general language "appropriate constitutional bodies" is broad enough. I do not see any occasion for saying, "by the House of Representatives, by the Senate, and by the signature of the President of the United States." They are the constitutional authorities.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator is putting a tremendous obligation upon the Appropriations Committees of the two

Houses. When representatives of the Administration come before us and say, "We have an authorization for an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000, and we want to have the money appropriated," the Senator says that we can use our discretion. That puts the Appropriations Committees in a very awkward situation.

Mr. CONNALLY. It does not unless the Appropriations Committee is to be a printing office.

Mr. McKELLAR. It will not be a printing office.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let the Appropriations Committee discharge the functions which we are placing in its hands.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is not the question. The question is, Should not this joint resolution be made so specific that there will be no trouble over the amount of money we appropriate? That would help tremendously.

Mr. CONNALLY. I have tried to aid the Senator all I could in that respect by indicating what was shown in the testimony of the witnesses.

Mr. McKELLAR. That does not commit them.

Mr. CONNALLY. Certainly it does not commit them; but what is the use of having an Appropriations Committee with such powers if the authorization must go into all the details? We might as well appropriate the money in the beginning.

Mr. McKELLAR. No; I think not.

Mr. CONNALLY. I have great respect for the chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. President, I do not wish to encroach further on the time of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE].

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Texas and the Senator from Tennessee will conclude reasonably soon.

Mr. CONNALLY. I am ready to conclude whenever the Senator from Tennessee reaches his terminal facilities.

Mr. McKELLAR. Paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12, set forth on page 15 of the joint resolution, contains the following language:

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief.

In the first place, I do not know what "coterminous with relief" means, and I doubt if anyone else does. Waiving that question for the moment, the joint resolution applies to relief; does it not?

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. Why not say so?

Mr. CONNALLY. That is what we are trying to say.

Mr. McKELLAR. Paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12 says:

The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction.

The joint resolution applies only to relief.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is a quotation from the agreement which has been signed by the 44 nations.

Mr. McKELLAR. I know it is. That is exactly what I think we ought to correct at this time.

Mr. CONNALLY. We cannot rewrite the agreement unless we submit it to the 44 nations again.

Mr. McKELLAR. We can attach reservations. As an illustration of an appropriate place to attach a reservation, I read section 4, on page 15:

SEC. 4. In expressing its approval of this joint resolution, it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

I understood from the Senator from Texas and also from the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] that it was intended to include India. That language would include every nation in the world. I think it ought to be limited to what the committee intended.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let the Senator offer an amendment, and the Senate will vote on it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I certainly shall do so.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I assure the Senator from Tennessee that his contribution is very helpful.

It is with considerable reluctance that I find myself unable to support the pending proposal. There are various reasons why I am reluctant. One of the principal reasons is that I am on the short end of the classic ratio of 16 to 1, which was the vote by which the joint resolution was reported to the Senate. Members of the Foreign Relations Committee whose erudition and legal learning are far superior to mine reached a judgment other than the one which I reached. I wish very briefly to give the reasons for the conclusion to which I was forced in announcing my opposition to the pending measure.

In the first place, if I had listened to my heart instead of my head, I would be enthusiastically supporting the proposal. If it were a matter of the allocation of my personal funds to a purpose of this kind, I would not hesitate for a fraction of a second. But, Mr. President, when I am acting as a Member of the Senate, and when I am asked to authorize an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 of the resources of the people of the United States, I think I should try, I think I must try, and I know I have tried, to think the matter through so as to bring myself into a frame of mind represented by what the Highest Authority tells us—"That thou mightest be justified when thou speakest and be clear when thou judgest."

Reduced to its simplest terms, Mr. President, the question before us is this: Are we justified in passing a measure which authorizes the expenditure of \$1,350,000,000 of the people's money by an agency over which we have no control as to policy? That is the question. After careful thought I have reached the conclusion that there is only one answer to it.

What is this proposal? It is a proposal to implement, by making available funds. To implement what? Is it to



implement the activities of a bureau set up by Congress, to which we have delegated certain powers of administration? No. What is it? Is it to implement an act which has been placed upon the statute books by the Congress of the United States? No. What is it? Is it a proposal to implement by authorization a treaty entered into by the United States, which has gone through its various stages and has been approved and become a fixed thing, instead of a fluid thing? No. No such proposal is before this body.

The proposal is to implement an organization. What organization? An organization set up by a group of governments, including our own. The organization is called the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Who set it up? Who initiated it? Who motivated it, and what is it?

The agreement was signed—by 44 nations? No. It was signed by 44 governments or authorities—something new in our conception of international relations. A group of 44 governments or authorities have met and drafted a proposal, and signed it by their representatives.

Does it come to us as a finished thing? No, it is not a finished thing. We are asked to furnish the money to put it into effect. As I have said, if it were a treaty and were an established thing, we could study and understand its provisions. We could make reservations, as suggested by the Senator from Tennessee. We could make suggestions. We could refuse to confirm it. But we have no such authority. This is a fluid thing. It is not a static thing. Why is it fluid? Because by its very provisions it sets up a Council composed of one representative of each of the signatories, a Council charged with the duty of formulating policies for carrying into effect the purposes of the act. Just the moment we approve that, we approve that authority; we say, in effect, "All right; we are going to implement this with the people's money, and you may go ahead and change those policies you have provided in the provisions, because by this measure we are approving the provisions."

There has been much discussion this afternoon with regard to paragraph 11. I shall refer to it in a moment. It has been said that we are protecting ourselves. I am sorry the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] is not present. I love him and admire him, and frequently I follow him. However, the number of times this afternoon that he has assured himself there is no occasion for doubt or misunderstanding, the number of times he interrogated witnesses appearing before the Foreign Relations Committee in order to assure himself, show that in his mind there was that doubt, and that there is that doubt today.

I wish to interpolate here, while I am referring to that matter, that the Senator from Michigan has quoted two of the finest men in public life, namely, Mr. Dean Acheson, of the State Department, who has been chosen the American member of this Council, and Governor Lehman. The Senator has quoted their

statements of their viewpoints and of their ideas about what this policy should be.

I am glad to observe that the Senator from Michigan has now come into the Chamber. I was saying that he has quoted over and over again the two men to whom I have referred. I did myself the honor of referring to the Senator from Michigan. I am glad he has returned. As I have said, he has quoted Dean Acheson and Governor Lehman, two eminent gentlemen. But who are they? Governor Lehman at this instant does not represent the Government of the United States in this organization in any way, shape, or manner.

No longer than 24 hours ago a representative of the State Department said it was necessary to have someone to represent the United States. Governor Lehman is the international agent of this international organization. That is what Governor Lehman is. I do not impugn his statements. I do not question his sincerity. On the contrary, as I have already stated, I admire him as much as I admire any man in public life. But he would have nothing to say about it. He is to be the administrator of the policies formulated by the Council. He will not have a vote. By the express provision of this instrument, he will not even have a vote.

Mr. Dean Acheson is our representative—yes—and we are interested in his views, just as we are interested in the views of Governor Lehman. But Mr. Dean Acheson will have one vote in the Council. The Council is to be composed of 44 members representing governments or authorities—the new concept. Twenty-two or 23 of them will constitute a quorum under the procedure which has been adopted. A majority of that quorum could formulate policies. The United Kingdom or, rather, the British Association of Commonwealths, will have seven votes. I do not care anything about that, because their interests and ours will go along parallel, I hope, continuously. But the fact remains that we are to have one vote; and whatever may be the interpretation by Mr. Acheson as to what the provisions of this agreement are, it will be the interpretation of one man having one vote; that is all. He will be bound, and we will be bound by the policies adopted under the provisions of the instrument which we are now asked to approve, which provides that they may make the policies to carry into effect what the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] has very cogently called attention to. At this point I stop my discussion of that phase of the matter.

Mr. President, what is the purpose of the organization? I read:

The Administration shall have power—

I ask Senators to listen to the reading of the provision. It is not a question of what is thought by Governor Lehman, the man who now is the international agent—not the United States agent—the man who will have no vote, the man who will merely be carrying out the wishes or the purposes of the policy-making body. It is not a question of what his viewpoint may be. He will be an inter-

national agent. What will be their power? I read from article I:

The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold, and convey property—

We shall be approving that article if we pass the joint resolution—to enter into contracts and undertake obligations—

We would approve that authority on their part—

to designate or create agencies and to review the activity of agencies so created, to manage undertakings—

We would give them that authority.

Now I return to paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12, to which I wish to refer.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. I am very glad to yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. Let me call the Senator's attention to the fact that the agreement provides wholly unlimited power to enter into contracts and undertake obligations.

Mr. GILLETTE. Certainly it does.

Mr. McKELLAR. No restriction or limitation is placed on it. If they were to undertake to contract to furnish \$10,000,000,000 or \$50,000,000,000 for relief purposes, our Government would be honor bound to carry out the contract.

Mr. GILLETTE. Our Government would be morally bound, if not legally bound.

Over on the House side, in order to reassure themselves, as I am sure our distinguished colleague the Senator from Michigan has tried so many times to reassure himself, section 3 of article X was written so as to quote a portion of the oft-quoted paragraph 11 of Resolution No. 12 of the Council. If the joint resolution containing that portion of Resolution No. 12 were passed by the Congress, Congress would thus approve of the conception that we will not engage in a program of reconstruction, but that we will be limited to a program of rehabilitation, as provided in the preamble to this United Nations agreement.

What is said in the preamble? Among other things it says:

Assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production \* \* \*

Rehabilitation is within that concept, within that phraseology. If Senators do not believe that is what is meant, I call their attention to the various paragraphs of resolution No. 12. I may say in this connection that the council which we are asked to approve, which we would clothe with the power to exercise that authority, and which we would implement within these limitations as to amount, has already adopted 41 interpretive resolutions for the purpose of stating what they intend to do under that proposal. Do Senators know what they are?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. What, if anything, will we have to say about it?



Mr. GILLETTE. In a little while we will be asked to give it our blessing, I am quite sure.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. And our money.

Mr. GILLETTE. Yes; the cash to implement it.

But what do we find?

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator state what the 41 provisions are?

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Tennessee will excuse me. The provisions cover approximately 35 or 38 pages.

Mr. McKELLAR. I shall excuse the Senator.

Mr. GILLETTE. Forty-one were adopted at the first meeting. The Council can meet at any time. They must meet twice a year. They can meet at any time, on call, after 3 weeks' notice has been given, and they can adopt 41 more resolutions changing the policy. They can adopt a resolution eliminating paragraph 11 which has been quoted, and on which we express reliance. They can wipe it out tomorrow; and when we have recognized that authority we have recognized their right to do so. But what did they do in Resolution No. 12? I now have it before me. Following the preamble, it reads:

*Resolved*, That, subject to the provisions of Resolutions Nos. 1 and 17—

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. Certainly.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Will the Senator cite the page from which he is reading?

Mr. GILLETTE. I read from page 40 of the first group of resolutions which has been adopted implementing the agreement which is now before the Senate.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. GILLETTE. If there is a Senator in this Chamber who knows what those resolutions are, I should like to have him stand up now and be counted. If any Senator knows what is contained in the resolutions which, in effect, the Senate will approve if it passes the joint resolution, I wish he would stand. But listen. I read from paragraph 1 of Resolution No. 12:

Rehabilitation supplies are to consist of materials, such as raw materials, machinery, and spare parts needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated territories; and, within the scope of the Administration, the rehabilitation of public utility and services, so far as they can be repaired and restored to meet immediate basic needs, such essentials as light and water, power, transportation, and communication. These needs include rehabilitation of essential relief industries, such as those which provide food, shelter, clothing, medical supplies.

I shall now quote from section 5 on page 40 of this volume. I invite attention to this statement as bearing on the assertion which is made that the relief organization is to operate in a transition period, taking over, after the Army has gone in, in order to relieve distressed and suffering people as a military necessity.

Now listen. What does the Council we are approving say?

5. It is recommended that in cases where home production exceeds home consumption—

That has no reference to poor starving people—

the government or recognized national authority concerned should take all steps necessary to enable the excess of production available in a country to be put at the disposal of other liberated areas, which may need such supplies to cover their deficits.

6. It should be the policy of the administration to help those countries whose industries can be rehabilitated for production of relief and rehabilitation goods urgently required in other liberated areas.

Not as a matter of military necessity to feed starving people, but to enable a country to reestablish their industries and resume production so that they can start the flow of goods into other liberated areas. I am not quarreling with that if that is the purpose. What I am quarreling with is the suggestion that as representatives of the American people we should implement a proposal of that kind, an agreement of that kind over which we will exercise no control.

It is said it is merely an authorization, and that it will be necessary for the administrators to come to Congress and get the money. I have heard that assertion until I am sick at heart. I have not served in Congress so long as has the Senator from Tennessee and many other Senators, but I have been here 12 years, and I have heard a hundred times a year the statement: "This is only an authorization; do not worry about it; it is merely an authorization and they will have to come before the Appropriations Committee and justify their request for the money." Congress passes an act providing an authorization and then those interested in obtaining the money come to the Appropriations Committee and say, "You are not a legislative committee; this matter has been carefully considered by a legislative committee; they have gone into it, approved it, and reported it to the two Houses of Congress. Congress has approved it and acted on it. Your function is to make funds available when and as they are needed. It is not a question of a legislative proposal which Congress has passed on."

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. GILLETTE. I am glad to yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Senator from Iowa knows that he always impresses the Senator from Wyoming when he rises to speak, and I am listening with the greatest of interest to his remarks upon this most important subject.

Mr. GILLETTE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Not having the responsibility of serving on the Foreign Relations Committee—

Mr. GILLETTE. I assure the Senator that is the loss of the committee.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Senator is very kind. I have only had the present

opportunity to examine the language. So I ask the Senator if he will be good enough to turn to page 12 of the joint resolution which is before the Senate, where I find the first paragraph under the heading of "Supplies and resources," reading as follows:

1. Insofar as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall authorize, each member government will contribute to the support of the Administration in order to accomplish the purposes of article I, paragraph 2 (a).

That provision, paragraph 2 (a) of article I, is the paragraph which authorizes the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration—

To plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services.

I take it, therefore, that that deals with the very heart and soul of the agreement.

Then referring again to paragraph 1 on page 12:

The amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies.

So I ask the Senator, since that is specifically stated in words of almost one syllable in the agreement itself and appears to be a requirement that there should be a continuing supervision of the activities by the constitutional authorities of the member governments, if it is not, by that very language, clearly within the power and scope of the Appropriations Committees of the Senate and of the House to review every expenditure and to place limitations upon the expenditures whenever in the judgment of the Appropriations Committees it seems desirable to recommend such limitations.

Mr. GILLETTE. In answering the Senator from Wyoming I should say that I sincerely hope that the committees will take that viewpoint, but I call attention to the language which the Senator just read in connection with the language on page 13. There are two funds provided. One is for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of article I; the other is the administrative fund, and there are two separate provisions dealing with it. The first, to which the eminent Senator has just alluded, reads:

Insofar as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall authorize, each member government will contribute.

Now we are authorizing \$1,350,000,000, and insofar as we will authorize we will, of course, contribute.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. No; if the Senator will permit me, that does not follow because—

Mr. GILLETTE. I shall be glad to hear the Senator.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I should say that the joint resolution is an authorization for the appropriation of \$1,350,000,000. Sentence one which the Senator has just quoted says:

Insofar as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall authorize each government will contribute—



Now we are making the authorization; but observe the next sentence:

The amount and character of the contributions of each member government will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies.

That extends, it seems to me—I certainly hope it does—into the future, and it is a clear declaration that, so far as this authorization of \$1,350,000,000 is concerned, the character of the contribution may be determined from time to time by the appropriate constitutional body of this Government, which means the Congress of the United States.

Mr. GILLETTE. Which immediately brings up the question before the Appropriations Committee of a legal obligation or a moral obligation. If I said to the Senator from Wyoming, "When you are next in Cheyenne, where fine clothes are obtainable, buy me a suit of clothes for a hundred dollars"—I have not a hundred dollars, but suppose I made that request of the Senator—

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I would buy the suit, if the Senator just told me.

Mr. GILLETTE. The Senator would say, "What kind do you want?" I would reply, "I don't care—any color, any shade. You are authorized to buy that suit of clothes." The Senator buys it and brings it to me and says, "I bought your suit of clothes." I reply, "I don't like it. I don't want it." The Senator is "stuck with it." He paid for it.

Mr. President, what Appropriations Committee is going to take any such viewpoint? That is not done in our committees. They scrutinize, of course, but again and again and again question is raised as to the legislative authority.

Mr. O'MAHONEY rose.

Mr. GILLETTE. I want to give the Senator a chance to get the suit of clothes. I yield to him.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Senator means he is giving me a chance to give him some Wyoming clothes, and they are very excellent; and I may say they would be very well worn by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GILLETTE. Will the Senator withhold his interruption for a moment?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The point I have in mind, and on which I should like to have the comment of the Senator, is whether he does not believe that the inclusion in the agreement, and the presence in the joint resolution, of this particular language, is not notice to every member government, and to every government which may be seeking relief, and, more important than that, notice to those who administer the relief, that they are constantly under the supervision of the constitutional body?

Mr. GILLETTE. Let me interrupt the Senator. I should hope that would be the conclusion, but I remind the Senator that in the same instant we recognize the authority of this organization to do these various and sundry things.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Within these limits.

Mr. GILLETTE. The limits I have just read, "to acquire, hold and convey property, to enter into contracts and

undertake obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings \* \* \*." I do not know what they will conclude. We are recognizing their right to make any conclusion they desire.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Does the Senator believe that, with the presence of this particular language in the joint resolution, the administration handling this relief would have the authority to go beyond the amount and character approved by the constitutional body, the Congress of the United States?

Mr. GILLETTE. I certainly do. It would be a question whether they could hold us beyond the authorization, but they certainly have the right to attempt it.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. It seems to me it would be easily possible to make a legislative record here which would make it clear that they had no such authority to go beyond it. Personally, it is my opinion that this language is so clear, so explicit, so incapable of misunderstanding, that all who read it, including the administrators, must know that they are bound by the determination of the Congress of the United States as to the amount and the character of the contributions which they may make.

Mr. GILLETTE. That is a consummation devoutly to be wished, and it was a matter which was referred to by the Senator from Tennessee, when the distinguished Senator from Wyoming was out of the Chamber. The Senator from Tennessee suggested that we make it clear by amendment. Amendment to what? Amendment to an international agreement by action of the Congress, attempting to bind 43 other signatories? Of course not. We cannot do it. I wish we could do it. If so, we could clear up some of these questions.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator will yield, we can only amend by inserting a provision which would have to be agreed to by the other signatories.

I wish to call to the Senator's attention, and to the attention of the Senate, and especially of the Senator from Wyoming, that the language here is very peculiar. The provision is:

The amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies.

Offhand, one would think that meant the Congress of the United States, in the case of this country. I do not know whether it means Congress or not. It may mean Congress, but there is the R. F. C., which is a perfectly constitutional body. That body was created by the Congress under our Constitution, and it is one of the constitutional bodies of this Government. Suppose the Congress, through its Appropriations Committees, or without regard to the Appropriations Committees, should turn down an appropriation. Under this language there would be no reason in the world why an order could not be issued, under our law, to the R. F. C. to furnish the money, in such amount as Mr. Jones' organization, the R. F. C., might chose to put up.

If it means Congress, then the language should be changed to read, "by the appropriate action of the Congress of the United States." That is the only way to make it mean exactly what it is said it means.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, in that connection, I wish to refer to another matter in this very anomalous and amorphous thing we have before us for approval. It is that the funds which we make available must be accounted for. To whom? There is not a word as to that. They must be accounted for. There is only one thing which sheds a little light on it. On page 11, in section 5, it is provided that the Director General, Mr. Lehman, "shall make periodic reports." To whom? To the United States of America, which furnishes \$1,300,000,000? He shall furnish periodic reports both "to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the progress of the administration's activities."

For whom is he the agent? Mr. President, he is the agent of your people and my people, but he makes a report to the agency which he is representing, an international agency which is created, and we are asked to approve word for word what he says.

Let me state one or two relatively minor matters, and then I shall take my seat.

Mr. WHERRY. Will the Senator yield to me before he concludes?

Mr. GILLETTE. I shall yield to the Senator before I conclude.

The preamble, which is of course explanatory, says that the purpose of the joint resolution is to furnish the services enumerated to liberated areas. But what does the joint resolution itself provide? On page 3, section 2, subsection (a), is this language:

To plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations.

Does that mean liberated areas? Here is the joint resolution, my fellow Senators, authorizing the furnishing of this type of relief to the "victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations."

Is it merely for liberated areas, as a war measure? Does that sound as though it were a limited measure, a restricted measure, for liberated areas, when we clothe this amorphous thing with that authority, to spend that money, and negotiate those contracts, to rebuild those industries "in any area under the control of the United Nations"?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President—

Mr. GILLETTE. I promised to yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question. Is it his interpretation that subdivision (a) of section 1, article V, on page 12, in the words "the amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined by its appropriate constitutional bodies" is a restriction on the language in article I, paragraph 1,



which provides that the Council by a majority vote can enter into international contracts?

Mr. GILLETTE. Certainly.

Mr. WHERRY. So that this language on page 12 applies only to contributions which are made, but in the final analysis the corporation of nations, as I call it, or organization, if the majority of its members decide to enter into contracts, is not restricted in any respect by the provisions of this measure. Is that the Senator's interpretation?

Mr. GILLETTE. That is true. I wish to say that during the colloquy which took place immediately after noon today, in response to the interrogations by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar], the esteemed acting chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the eminent Senator from Michigan [Mr. Vandenberg], said, "Why, they will have to come back to you and justify the expenditure of the money. They will come back to you." Who are "they"? Mr. President, who are "they"? An international organization governed by a council composed of 44 members, nations, and authorities. Who are they? Whom are they going to send who will have a right to appear before an appropriations committee of the Senate or the House of Representatives and ask to be heard and justify expenditures? Who are they? We will have one member, the Honorable Dean Acheson; one vote, that of the Honorable Dean Acheson, and no more.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I wish to remark first that it is my belief that paragraph 1 on page 12 is a clear and specific limitation on paragraph 1 on page 2. That is to say, I believe that article V modifies, confines, and restricts article I. But I wish to ask the Senator if it would not be clearly so if on page 1 of the measure we should provide an amendment by inserting in line 5, after the word "Congress", the words "as provided by article V of the agreement hereinafter referred to", so that it would read:

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President such sums, not to exceed \$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate, as the Congress, as provided by article V of the agreement hereinafter referred to, may determine from time to time to be appropriated for participation by the United States—

And so forth.

Mr. GILLETTE. I think such language would be very helpful. It might go quite a way toward reassuring the Senator from Michigan and the Senator from Texas. The Senator from Michigan has done yeoman work on this proposal for the last 7 months. But every day or two he wants to be reassured as to the doubts which the Senator is now raising and which he is trying to clarify, because he does not believe it himself. The doubts still remain in his mind.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Iowa does not say that I am raising any doubts.

Mr. GILLETTE. No.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I am trying to clear away the doubt from the Senator's mind.

Mr. GILLETTE. But even if the language the Senator has suggested should be adopted, it would still leave the proposal open to the limitation, or attempted limitation of an organization whose policies we authorize other people to formulate without any reference to us.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. May I impose upon the Senator's time long enough to say that it seems to me to be clear that article V in the agreement was intended clearly to preserve to the constitutional authorities of the United States the power of determining from time to time what the policy should be, because it states in so many words that the contributions shall be made subject to those conditions.

The amendment which I suggest is such that it would clearly tie to the congressional authority the power of determining the character of the contribution. I believe that was intended, and if the Senator from Texas does not find any serious defect in the amendment which I propose, I think perhaps I shall offer it later. I think it merely states what is implicit in the resolution.

Mr. GILLETTE. The Senator's suggestions are always interesting, and usually helpful.

Mr. President, I should like to refer to another matter while it is in my mind. The contribution which the Senator from Wyoming has just been discussing is the proportionate contribution by the signatories to the instrument on the basis of 1 percent of their national income. I do not care to go into the question of the injustice of that proposal. It has been referred to in the Senate. At any rate that proposal has been made. But on page 13 there is a separate provision that—

Each member government undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the administration promptly its share of the administrative expenses.

Under the first proposal we are to contribute about 60 percent, \$1,350,000,000, or \$10 for every man, woman, and child. It is rather significant that \$1,350,000,000 is \$10 for every man, woman, and child in the United States. That is about 60 percent. The Senator from Texas says it is 66 percent. I think he is a little in error in his computation. I think it is about 60 percent. But our share in the proposed contribution to the administrative expenses is 40 percent. I will say to the Senator from Michigan that his repeated reference to the \$50,000 to be contributed by Iceland dealt with the contribution to the administrative expenses and not to the contributive share for relief and rehabilitation. Iceland's share is five-tenths of 1 percent. Our share in that matter is 40 percent, \$4,000,000, and I would vote to make it available tomorrow.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. I agree with the Senator from Iowa wholeheartedly. Senators may talk about limitations being placed by Congress on authorizations for appropriations, but when a department of our Government spends

more money than we authorize to be appropriated for the department and comes before the committees and asks Congress to appropriate money in a deficiency measure to make up the difference, what can we do about it? Senators rise in the Senate and perhaps criticize the department, but we say there is nothing else we can do except to appropriate the money, because it has already been spent.

Mr. President, just so sure as Senators are now sitting in their chairs, if we grant the proposed authority not only for relief, but for the building of manufacturing plants in any country, not only in countries which are retaken from our enemies, but in any country that the proposed organization may designate, whether it be India or in South America or in whatever country, the organization can vote on the question and say that a dam should be built here, and an electric power site here, a manufacturing plant here, and a railroad, or anything else, and we in Congress will have nothing to do about it.

Mr. GILLETTE. And we will not know anything about it until they come to us and ask for the money.

Mr. WHEELER. Yes; we will not know anything about it until it is done. The money is spent, and those who spend it will come to us and say, "In accordance with the authority granted us we have spent this money. We have contracted for the expenditure of so much money." Mr. President, are we not morally bound then to appropriate the money?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him at that point?

Mr. WHEELER. Certainly.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The appropriation laws dealing with relief matters which have been passed by the Congress in the past 10 years at all times have been full of limitations which were imposed by Congress. There were huge blanket appropriations made for purposes of relief. Frequently when relief organizations adopted programs which the Congress did not think should be carried on, the Congress wrote limitations in the laws and prohibited such types of programs. Our appropriation laws, I may say to the Senator, are full of such limitations.

Mr. WHEELER. I am not questioning that, but I say, on the other hand, that to my personal knowledge Congress has repeatedly in the last 20 years passed deficiency appropriation measures to provide money which has been spent or contracted to be spent by various departments of our own Government over and above the amounts appropriated for them.

It is now proposed to establish an organization which is not under the control of the United States Government, on which we have only one vote, which can set up all sorts of manufacturing establishments and come to Congress and say, "You are not going to run out on what you have already authorized this organization to do; are you?"

Who in this body will stand up at the time when there is this group of nations all over the world, and say "We are going to run out on the promises we have



made?" We have been accused time and time again of running out on agreements. Before we enter into the proposed agreement we should safeguard it so that other nations cannot say, after we have agreed to it, that we are "running out" on something.

As the Senator from Tennessee has pointed out, what is there to prevent the R. F. C. from loaning money to this organization, without ever coming to the Congress of the United States? Is there anything in this measure to prevent that? The R. F. C. is a constitutional body. It has the power to lend money. What is there in the pending measure to prevent the R. F. C. from lending the U. N. R. R. A. a billion dollars or any other amount of money? Mr. President, you and I know that the R. F. C. has loaned money to organizations and to foreign governments, and has never come to the Congress of the United States to request of it authority to do so, except for the general authority which has been given it; and we did not know anything about the loans that were made.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. Certainly.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I very much appreciate what the Senator has had to say about this matter. I can well understand that basically he is interested in the United States first, and is interested in saving whatever money we can save. We are told that 44 countries are going to contribute to this fund. I have before me a list of the countries. I should like to know whether the Senator has seen the list of the 44 nations which are supposed to contribute.

Mr. GILLETTE. Yes; I have seen the list.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, does the Senator know how many of the nations which are supposed to contribute to the fund are receiving lend-lease funds from us?

Mr. GILLETTE. I cannot answer that question. It was estimated that the combined contribution of the group of nations would be approximately \$2,000,000,000, and that our share would be approximately \$1,350,000,000.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I was wondering whether some of those nations, or all of them, expect to contribute to this fund from the lend-lease money we are giving them. If so, that would make us pay almost all, if not all, of the fund.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, in addition to that, I would say to the Senator that some of the so-called nations are not nations. They are authorities. They can be added by action of the Council, not by action by us. Who will be added to represent Poland? Will it be the Government in exile in Europe, or the new Polish Government to be set up under the approval of Russia? Who will represent Yugoslavia—the Tito regime or the regime of King Peter? They are authorities. How could they contribute? The governments in exile have no money—to a degree, at least—except what the Senator suggested we have been furnishing them. But we are expecting them to contribute we are

agreeing that they shall have an equal voice and an equal vote in the formulation of policies.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WALSH of New Jersey in the chair). Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield.

Mr. WILEY. I thank the Senator. I shall not enter into the debate with respect to whether the language of the measure is sufficient to limit the power. I merely wish to ask the distinguished Senator two questions. Suppose we disregard the joint resolution entirely; I should like to have the distinguished Senator's reaction to this question: Would not the President and, under him, the military, have the power to accomplish as a military measure what is provided for in the pending measure, thus making the charge almost entirely a charge upon this Nation?

The second question is this: Has not the Congress already given the President the power, under lend-lease, to provide funds to accomplish the purposes set forth in the pending measure?

Those are the two questions.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, in answer to the first question of the Senator from Wisconsin, let me say I do not agree that the military authority could properly and successfully administer relief and rehabilitation. After the military authorities have taken over an area, after they have driven out the enemy, there must be an interim period during which they must of necessity furnish relief to the destitute. But they are not set up and organized to do that for any length of time.

In answer to the second question as to whether the President, under lend-lease authority, could make use of lend-lease funds in order to accomplish the purposes set out in the pending measure, let me say that if the Senator will recall the language of the Lend-Lease Act, he will remember that the President has the right, under the Lend-Lease Act, to give away, transfer, and so on, any war materials which would be of any benefit, direct or indirect, to any nation, and which he thought would be of military value to the United States. The power under lend-lease and the President's discretionary judgment under it would be limited, of course, by that language.

Mr. WILEY and Mr. WHEELER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield, and if so, to whom?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield first to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator for the answer he has made to my questions; but it seems to me the Senator is taking too limited a view. For instance, in any nation such as Italy or France or any of the other occupied countries, after we shall be successful, as we hope, in driving out the enemy, we shall find chaos, we shall find the people depleted not only economically, but spiritually and mentally. It seems to me we cannot, from a military standpoint,

disregard the threat of volcanic consequences from such situations. If there is no other agency, would not the military or some agency under it have to handle such situations? It seems to me that follows as a natural consequence.

Second, it seems to me that under the very language of the Lend Lease Act quoted by the Senator, the Congress has given the President adequate power to meet that situation. In my opinion, the scope of the Lend Lease Act is that broad. I am sorry I am not a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations which heard all the evidence and the facts; but I have listened to the arguments presented on both sides. It seems to me that what we are doing is simply saying, "We will bring in an additional group of nations to undertake this tremendous job, or we will do it alone".

I should like to have the Senator speak on that phase of the matter, because it seems to me that is the final issue.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator from Wisconsin that I am very anxious to take my seat. I have felt better than I do now. I should like very much to conclude.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. I call the Senator's attention to paragraph 3 of article V, page 12, which reads as follows:

3. All purchases by any of the member governments, to be made outside their own territories during the war for relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United Nations agency.

I ask the Senator from Iowa whether that means that if we should have a severe drought in this country next year, and if we should have to buy grain from Canada, even as we are buying it now, virtually for relief purposes, would the United States have to obtain the consent of this organization before buying Canadian or South American grain, and would the purchase have to be made through the U. N. R. R. A.? According to this paragraph, it seems to me it would. If it would, it seems to me the Members of this body should know it.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I hesitate to think that that construction would be put on that paragraph; but under the proposal we are considering, it is impossible to know what construction could be placed on it, because it is impossible to know from one month to another what policy may be adopted.

Mr. AIKEN. I am not speaking of the construction. I am simply reading the language. It says that—

All purchases by any of the member governments to be made outside their own territories during the war for relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United Nations agency.

We are now buying grain for relief in this country.

Mr. GILLETTE. I will admit that that language might raise a doubt. I know it has raised a doubt in the Senator's



mind, and it would in mine. However, to repeat, I am very reluctant to believe that any such construction would be placed upon it.

Mr. AIKEN. I hope no such construction will be placed upon it; but nevertheless, the wording is there.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think we all realize that we must do something in the way of relief under the circumstances we are discussing today. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa a question. He is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Was any proposal made to the committee that we organize relief under that splendid organization which is so popular in this country, and which has done such a wonderful work not only in the United States but all over the world? I refer to the American Red Cross. Was there any proposal before the committee that we furnish the money to the Red Cross, and delegate to the American Red Cross the duty of furnishing relief to other countries? It seems to me that that would be a very proper way to administer relief. I wonder if any such proposal was made.

Mr. GILLETTE. No such proposal was made at any time when I was present at meetings of the committee.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield.

Mr. O'DANIEL. I should like to ask the Senator a question with reference to article I, which is set out in the joint resolution beginning on page 2. The language in line 21 is as follows:

The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold, and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations—

And so forth.

Does not the Senator consider that the language "undertake obligations" would give U. N. R. R. A. the right to borrow money? That is undertaking an obligation.

Mr. GILLETTE. It would certainly authorize the Administration to enter into a contract for the payment of money.

Mr. O'DANIEL. The language is "undertake obligations." And borrowing money is certainly "undertaking obligations."

Mr. GILLETTE. Whether the authority would be extended to actually borrowing money, I do not know.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Even if this language does not specifically give the organization authority to borrow money, U. N. R. R. A. certainly has the authority to change article I at some later date so that it will specifically have the power and authority to borrow money and it can do so without even asking our Government for our consent to change article I, or any other articles in their constitution. But it appears to me that article I undoubtedly already gives them power and authority to borrow money.

Mr. GILLETTE. The language is broad enough so that, within the general purposes of the proposal, it could certainly enter into any kind of a contract, even for the purchase of real estate.

Mr. O'DANIEL. If we should become a party to this organization, U. N. R. R. A., which deals in money by the billions, and it has authority to borrow money, it is quite likely that it might become involved in a substantial debt. In that case, we, being a party to the organization, would naturally feel a moral obligation at least to see that its debts were paid. If it borrowed the money from an agency of the United States Government, such as the R. F. C., and then later came to Congress asking for an appropriation to pay our share of the debt, the Congress could not well afford to deny the appropriation of our share of 65 or 70 percent of the debt, when a department of our own Government, R. F. C., for instance, would get paid the full 100 percent of the debt. Certainly, Mr. President, we are treading on treacherous ground if we become a major contributing member of an organization such as U. N. R. R. A., which has unlimited power and authority to borrow money.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield.

Mr. MURDOCK. As I understand, the agreement set out in the joint resolution has already been signed by 44 nations.

Mr. GILLETTE. By 44 governments or authorities.

Mr. MURDOCK. As I understood the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] something was added or attempted to be added, in the House of Representatives.

Mr. GILLETTE. Not to the United Nations agreement. The only additions were the paragraphs on page 15, at the bottom of the page, beginning with section 4. As I recall, the House added that provision, which was an attempt to bring within the purview of the authority the right to furnish relief to the India area.

Mr. MURDOCK. Is it the Senator's opinion that section 4 now becomes a part of the agreement of the 44 nations?

Mr. GILLETTE. Not at all. On the contrary, the express language of the joint resolution is as follows:

In expressing its approval of this joint resolution, it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United States which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

We recommend it, but there is no obligation on the part of the United Nations to accept the recommendation.

Mr. MURDOCK. The agreement ends in line 18, on page 15, does it not?

Mr. GILLETTE. No.

Mr. MURDOCK. Where does the agreement end?

Mr. GILLETTE. It is a little difficult to find it in the print. The end of the agreement is near the bottom of page 14, at the end of line 23, ending with the words "undertaken by it."

Mr. MURDOCK. Then, so far as that agreement is concerned, Congress can do absolutely nothing about it.

Mr. GILLETTE. That is correct.

Mr. MURDOCK. Because if it was signed authoritatively by whoever signed it for the United States, we are bound by it.

Mr. GILLETTE. We are bound by it if we accept it by the passage of the joint resolution.

Mr. MURDOCK. How does the Senator distinguish—if he does distinguish—between what is brought to us now and referred to as an agreement, and a treaty?

Mr. GILLETTE. If this international agreement had been presented to the Senate as a treaty for confirmation, it would have been subject to debate. It would have been subject to suggested amendment or change. As this is presented, it comes before us, not for the purpose of making any change, but in a situation in which we have no authority to make changes. It is simply introduced by reference in a joint resolution which provides for the implementation of the instrument which has been signed.

Mr. MURDOCK. In the opinion of the Senator, is the subject matter of the agreement which is now brought to us by way of reference a proper subject matter for a treaty?

Mr. GILLETTE. Yes.

Mr. MURDOCK. In the opinion of the Senator, should it not have been handled as a treaty rather than as an executive agreement?

Mr. GILLETTE. That is absolutely correct. If it had been brought here as a treaty, and the Senate, in the consideration of the treaty, had suggested an amendment, it would have gone back to the executive department, which would have consulted the treaty signatories and asked them whether they would accept the changes; but it was not so presented. Any change which we might make in the agreement would be ineffectual, because there are 43 signatories who are not consulted, and there is no opportunity for consulting them.

Mr. MURDOCK. Let me ask the Senator a further question, and then I shall be satisfied.

Turning to page 12, we find this language, which was referred to by the distinguished Senator from Michigan:

Insofar as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall authorize, each member government will contribute to the support of the administration in order to accomplish the purposes of article I, paragraph 2 (a).

Now we find that in the joint resolution it is proposed to authorize, by our constitutional authority—which, of course, consists of the Congress and the President—an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000.

Mr. GILLETTE. That is correct.

Mr. MURDOCK. Under what subterfuge, excuse, or pretense could the Congress of the United States later say that we were not obligated for the \$1,350,000,000?

Mr. GILLETTE. I do not know.

Mr. MURDOCK. Neither do I.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McKELLAR in the chair). Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Arizona?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield.



Mr. McFARLAND. Was it explained why the voting power was not set up in accordance with the amounts contributed by the various nations?

Mr. GILLETTE. Yes.

Mr. McFARLAND. What explanation was given?

Mr. GILLETTE. Regardless of the contribution of 60 percent by us, the fact is that some of the signatories are merely "authorities," without any national existence. Under the definition of our Supreme Court they could not be parties to a treaty. We recognize them as "authorities." Under the Supreme Court decision they could not become parties to a treaty; and yet they are to have an equal vote with Mr. Acheson, who represents us on that policy-making organization.

Mr. McFARLAND. Will the Senator explain why the voting power was not made to conform to the amount contributed by each nation? Why was not the voting power set up in that way?

Mr. GILLETTE. I wish I knew. The proposal comes to us in this form.

I hope Senators will allow me to conclude.

In closing, let me say that I regret the position I must take on this measure. Since I have been a Member of Congress I have stayed awake many nights considering the necessity which I felt incumbent upon me as a Senator to vote to implement plenary authority by blank checks, delegating to the various agencies, bureaus, commissions, and departments of the Government the right to spend money, under restrictions, of course, which we laid down in the delegated authority. I have worried about that. I have worried because I had given my approval to that type of legislation, which to me is repugnant to every instinct of democratic administration of a people's affairs.

I cannot bring myself to support a proposal to authorize the expenditure of \$1,350,000,000 of the American people's money by an organization which we did not create, an organization in which we would have but only one vote, an organization for the machinery of which we would give approval, an organization which is a policy-making organization with power to determine and change in the future its policies under which the money is to be expended and over which we would have no control except the negative control over appropriations when it asks us for additional money. The Almighty knows that it will be back here asking for additional money, because we are the ones who control the purse strings.

#### EXTENSION OF COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. BANKHEAD submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3477) to continue the Commodity Credit Corporation as an agency of the United States, to revise the basis of annual appraisal of its assets, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recom-

mend to their respective Houses as follows: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"That section 1 of the Act approved March 8, 1938 (52 Stat. 107), as amended, is hereby amended by deleting from the first sentence thereof the term '31st of March' where that term first appears therein and substituting in lieu thereof the term '30th of June', and by deleting from the second sentence thereof 'on the basis of the cost, including not more than one year of carrying charges, of such assets to the Corporation, or the average market prices of such assets for a period of twelve months ending with March 31 of each year, whichever is less' and inserting in lieu thereof 'on the basis of the cost, or, insofar as practicable, the average market price of such assets during the last month of the fiscal year covered by the appraisal, whichever is the lower'. The first appraisal of the assets and liabilities of the Commodity Credit Corporation on the basis established by this amendment shall be made as of June 30, 1944.

"Sec. 2. Section 7 of the Act approved January 31, 1935 (49 Stat. 4), as amended, is hereby amended by changing the designation thereof to section 7 (a); by striking out in the first sentence of such section 'February 17, 1944' and inserting in lieu thereof 'June 30, 1945' (this amendment to be effective as of February 17, 1944); and by striking out the period at the end of such section and inserting in lieu thereof a colon and the following: 'Provided, however, That the Corporation shall at all times maintain complete and accurate books of account and shall determine the procedures to be followed in the transaction of the corporate business.

"(b) The financial transactions of the Corporation beginning with the period from July 1, 1944, shall be audited by the General Accounting Office in accordance with the principles applicable to commercial corporate transactions and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Comptroller General of the United States: Provided, That the Corporation shall continue to have the authority to make final and conclusive settlement and adjustment of any claims by or against the Corporation or the accounts of its fiscal officers: Provided further, That a report of such audit shall be made to the Congress, together with such recommendations as the Comptroller General may deem advisable, and that each such report shall cover a period of one fiscal year: Provided further, That a copy of each such report shall be furnished the Secretary of the Treasury and that the findings contained therein shall be considered by the Secretary in appraising the assets and liabilities and determining the net worth of the Corporation under sections 1 and 2 of the Act of March 8, 1938 (52 Stat. 107), as amended: Provided, however, That nothing in this section shall be construed as modifying legislation authorizing the use of funds of the Corporation for administrative expenses and requiring accountability therefor.

"(c) The expenses of the audit as provided in this section may be paid up to and including June 30, 1946, from moneys advanced therefor by the Corporation, or from any appropriation or appropriations for the General Accounting Office, and appropriations so used shall be reimbursed promptly by the Corporation as billed by the Comptroller General: Provided, That any such advances or reimbursements shall be considered as nonadministrative expenses of the Corporation. For the purpose of such audit the representatives of the General Accounting

Office shall have access to all papers, books, files, accounts, financial records, warehouses, and all other things, property, and places belonging to or under the control of or used or employed by the Corporation and shall be afforded full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances in depositaries and with fiscal agents: Provided further, That the certified financial reports and schedules of the fiscal agents of the Corporation based on commercial audits in the usual course of business may be accepted by the General Accounting Office in its audit of the financial transactions of the Corporation as final and not subject to further audit verification.

"(d) Any examination of the corporate records shall be made at the place or places where such records are normally kept in the transaction of the corporate business, and the Corporation shall retain custody of contracts, vouchers, schedules, or other financial or accounting documents, either original or duplicate, relating to its nonadministrative transactions.

"Sec. 3. No funds appropriated to, borrowed by, or in the custody or control of any governmental agency (including any Government-owned or Government-controlled corporation) shall be directly or indirectly used by or made available to the Commodity Credit Corporation or any other governmental agency (including any Government-owned or Government-controlled corporation) to make any subsidy or other payment, or to pay or absorb losses, on any agricultural commodity or any commodity processed or manufactured in whole or substantial part therefrom, including milk and livestock and the products thereof, either to reduce, or in lieu of increasing, maximum prices established on such commodities under the provisions of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended, or Public Law No. 729, approved October 2, 1942, except as provided in section 4 hereof: Provided, That with respect to any such commodities for which programs involving such payments or losses have been announced on or before January 14, 1944, such programs may be carried out to the extent only that funds are available for such purpose under existing law, but such programs shall be completed not later than June 30, 1944: Provided further, That support prices shall continue to be maintained and announced for any such commodities pursuant to section 4 of Public Law No. 147, approved July 1, 1941, as amended, and loans shall continue to be made pursuant to section 8 of Public Law No. 729, approved October 2, 1942, but any maximum prices heretofore or hereafter established for such commodities shall not be below the support prices therefor or below the prices specified in section 3 of Public Law No. 729, approved October 2, 1942: Provided further, That none of the foregoing provisions shall apply to any payments or losses incurred in transactions with respect to domestic sugar beets and sugarcane and competitive domestic vegetable oils and fats and oil seed and oil seed meals: And provided further, That nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the making of parity payments or soil-conservation payments authorized under existing law, or benefits to sugar growers authorized under title III of the Sugar Act of 1937, as amended, or the sale of feed wheat as authorized by existing law.

"Sec. 4. (a) Within a period of one hundred and twenty days from the effective date of this Act, and within each six-month period thereafter, maximum prices heretofore or hereafter established on milk and the products thereof (pursuant to the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended, or Public Law 729, approved October 2, 1942), shall be adjusted on a regional or market basis as the case may require to the extent necessary to (1) reflect changes in farm labor costs, feed prices (including all feed fed whether purchased or home grown), and other costs since January 1, 1941; (2) place



the production of milk and the products thereof on a competitive basis with alternative opportunities which are available to producers of milk; (3) correct inequities as between markets; and (4) maintain or increase the production of milk and the products thereof for war and civilian purposes: *Provided*, That in determining the extent to which maximum prices shall be adjusted as provided herein, due consideration shall be given to historical and normal differentials customarily applied as between markets and regions: *Provided further*, That in no event shall maximum prices on milk and the products thereof be established below support prices therefor or below the prices specified in section 3 of Public Law Numbered 729, approved October 2, 1942: *Provided further*, That where minimum prices to producers of milk have been regulated under any agreements or orders pursuant to the provisions of the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, the War Food Administrator is hereby directed, within the periods prescribed in this section (relating to the adjustment of maximum prices), to adjust such minimum prices to reflect adjustments in maximum prices determined and ordered pursuant to the provisions of this section. Except as expressly provided herein, nothing contained in this section is intended, nor shall be construed to repeal, amend, or supersede the provisions of the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended.

"(b) In order to effectuate the purposes of paragraph (a) of this section, the War Food Administrator and the Price Administrator are hereby directed to hold public hearings on a regional or market basis as the case requires. For such purposes there shall be utilized the hearing procedure and the personnel of the Food Distribution Administration of the United States Department of Agriculture established under the provisions of the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, and such other personnel of the Department of Agriculture and the Office of Price Administration as may be required. As soon as practicable after the completion of the hearing, but in any event within the periods specified in paragraph (a), the War Food Administrator and the Price Administrator shall make public their joint findings based only on relevant substantial evidence of record at the hearing and the Price Administrator forthwith shall issue an order adjusting such maximum price or prices on the basis of and in conformance with such findings.

"(c) Any person (within the meaning of section 302 (h) of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended) who is adversely affected by the order of the Price Administrator may, within thirty days after the action adjusting such maximum price or prices, file a complaint with the Emergency Court of Appeals specifying his objections and praying that the order be enjoined or set aside in whole or in part.

"The War Food Administrator shall be made a party to the proceedings and upon service of the summons and complaint, the Price Administrator shall certify and file in the court the transcript of the proceedings and the record upon which the order adjusting such maximum price or prices was based. The proceedings in and the determinations, orders, and decrees of such court shall be subject to all applicable provisions of section 204 of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended; except, that wherever the term "Administrator" is used therein, it shall, for the purposes hereof, be construed to mean the War Food Administrator and the Price Administrator: *Provided*, That during the pendency of such proceedings the Price Administrator may not modify or rescind his order adjusting such maximum price or prices except upon the basis of additional joint findings on evidence adduced pursuant to the order of the court. The provisions of

this section shall terminate coterminous with the expiration of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended.

"Sec. 5. The Commodity Credit Corporation may sell at a loss perishable fruits or vegetables, owned or controlled by it, the increased production of which has been requested by the War Food Administrator, if there is danger of substantial loss through deterioration by spoilage."

And the Senate agreed to the same.

J. H. BANKHEAD,  
D. WORTH CLARK,  
JNO. THOMAS,  
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN,  
ROBERT A. TAFT,

*Managers on the part of the Senate.*

BRENT SPENCE,  
PAUL BROWN,  
WRIGHT PATMAN,  
JESSE P. WOLCOTT,  
FRED L. CRAWFORD,  
ROBT. W. KEAN,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. BANKHEAD. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. Is it the Senator's purpose to request action on the conference report this afternoon?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Yes. I ask for the present consideration of the report. There are a number of reasons for my desire to do so. The conference report is unanimous, and in substance it conforms to the attitude of the Senate. Only two things have been eliminated, and nothing has been added.

Mr. WHITE. It occurs to me that inasmuch as there are only a few Members of the Senate present it might be better to postpone consideration of the report. However, the Senator has said that it is a unanimous report.

Mr. BANKHEAD. It is a unanimous report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the conference report?

There being no objection, the report was considered and agreed to.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I submit an amendment to the pending joint resolution which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be read.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. At the bottom of page 15 it is proposed to insert the following:

No amendment involving any new obligation for the United States shall be made to the agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation without approval by joint resolution of Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, at what point is the amendment to appear in the joint resolution?

Mr. TAFT. At the bottom of page 15 of the joint resolution.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The amendment is not intended to be offered to the agreement?

Mr. TAFT. No; it is intended to be offered as an amendment to the joint resolution itself.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Mr. President, I submit certain reservations and amendments and ask that they lie on the table and be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments and reservations will lie on the table and be printed.

#### PETROLEUM REPORT—INVESTIGATIONS OVERSEAS IN CONNECTION WITH THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM (PT. 15 OF REPT. NO. 10)

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to submit an additional report from the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, pursuant to Senate Resolution 71, Seventy-seventh Congress, and Senate Resolution 6, Seventy-eighth Congress, authorizing and directing an investigation of the national defense program, being the report of a subcommittee of the Special Committee Concerning Investigations Overseas: Section 1—Petroleum Matters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the report will be received and printed.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, because of the lateness of the hour I shall not read the report, but I wish to invite the attention of the Senators to the fact that there is a copy of the report on their desks. This is the first report submitted by the committee following the return of the subcommittee which made the trip around the world.

The report contains the findings of our committee including the hearings which our subcommittee held in the various theaters of activity, particularly in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf area. It also includes considerable material taken from the hearings which the subcommittee held both before we left this country and after our return.

It also includes, Mr. President, a study of this problem made by our full committee, together with the individual reports made to the Senate by the five members of the subcommittee who made the trip around the world.

The primary purpose of this report is to present to the public the essential basic facts with respect to the supply and demand in the United States for petroleum production and the reserves of petroleum that have been proved in the United States. These figures indicate that although no catastrophe faces the United States, petroleum is very important to the future prosperity of the United States and our present demand for petroleum is so great, compared to the supply and the proved reserves, that prudence requires us to give now serious attention to formulating a national policy with respect to petroleum.

In its report the committee does not attempt to formulate such a policy but instead attempts to outline some of the major problems that will have to be considered before such a policy can properly



# H. J. RES. 192

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. McKELLAR to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, viz: On page 15, after line 25, insert the following new section:

1        SEC.     . In adopting this joint resolution the Congress  
2        does so with the following reservation:

3        That the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Ad-  
4        ministration shall not be authorized to enter into contracts  
5        or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of ap-  
6        propriations made therefor.

78TH CONGRESS  
2d Session

## H. J. RES. 192

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### AMENDMENT

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Intended to be proposed by Mr. McKellar to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

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FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed



# H. J. RES. 192

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. McKELLAR to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, viz: On page 15, after line 25, insert the following new section:

1        SEC.    . In adopting this joint resolution the Congress  
2 does so with the following reservation:

3        That in the case of the United States the appropriate  
4 constitutional body to determine the amount and character  
5 of the contributions of the United States is the Congress of  
6 the United States.

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## AMENDMENT

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Intended to be proposed by Mr. McKellar to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

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FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944  
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# H. J. RES. 192

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. McKELLAR to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, viz: On page 15, line 21, after the word "area" insert the following: "(except areas within enemy territory)".

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## AMENDMENT

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Intended to be proposed by Mr. McKEELAR to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

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FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944  
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# H. J. RES. 192

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. McKELLAR to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, viz: On page 15, after line 25, insert the following new section:

1        SEC.    . In adopting this joint resolution the Congress  
2 does so with the following reservation:

3        That it is understood that the provision in paragraph  
4 11 of resolution numbered 12 adopted at the first session  
5 of the council, referred to in section 3 of this joint resolution  
6 and reading "The task of rehabilitation must not be considered  
7 as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with  
8 relief", contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined  
9 to relief only.

78TH CONGRESS  
2D Session

## H. J. RES. 192

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### AMENDMENT

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Intended to be proposed by Mr. McKellar to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

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FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed



# H. J. RES. 192

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. O'MAHONEY to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, viz:

- 1        On page 1, line 5, after the word "aggregate," insert  
2 the following: "for such purposes".

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## AMENDMENT

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Intended to be proposed by Mr. O'MAHONEY to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

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FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944  
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed



# H. J. RES. 192

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. TAFT to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, viz: On page 15, at the bottom of the page, inserting the following:

- 1 No amendment involving any new obligation for the
- 2 United States shall be made to the agreement for United
- 3 Nations relief and rehabilitation without approval by joint
- 4 resolution of Congress.

## H. J. RES. 192

### AMENDMENT

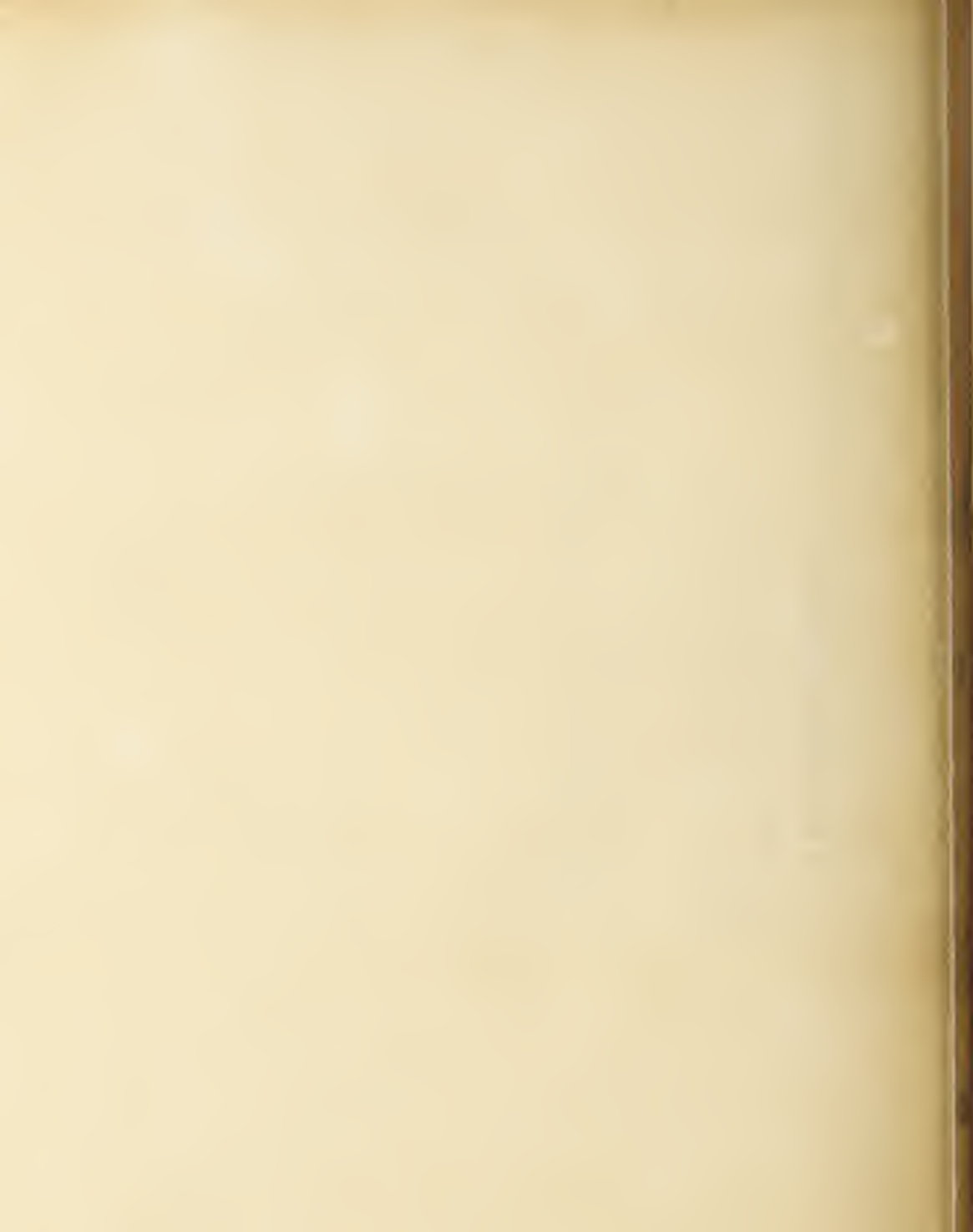
Intended to be proposed by Mr. TAYLOR to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

FEBRUARY 16 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 7), 1944

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed









Resolved, That in accordance with paragraph 3 of section 2 of the Printing Act, approved March 1, 1907, the Subcommittee on Contract Termination of the Committee on Military Affairs be, and is hereby, authorized and empowered to have printed for its use 2,000 additional copies of the hearings held before said subcommittee during the first session, on S. 1268, a bill to facilitate the termination of war contracts; S. 1280, a bill to provide authority to the Secretary of War to use funds now or hereafter appropriated for adjustment of contracts, and for other purposes; and Senate Joint Resolution 80, a joint resolution to prohibit the use of cost-plus-a-fixed-fee system of contracting in connection with war contracts.

Mr. WHITE. Is the Senator asking for immediate consideration of the report?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator indicate what the resolution is?

Mr. HAYDEN. It authorizes the printing of hearings held before the subcommittee on contract termination of the Committee on Military Affairs. It is a very important subject.

Mr. WHITE. I have no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and agreed to.

#### HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H. R. 4183) making appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, for civil functions administered by the War Department, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION—AMENDMENTS

Mr. BUSHFIELD and Mr. WILLIS each submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them, respectively, to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

#### MISSOURI RIVER PROGRAM—STATEMENT BY GOVERNORS OF MONTANA, NORTH DAKOTA, AND WYOMING

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to present and to have printed in the body of the RECORD a statement submitted today by the Governors of Montana, North Dakota, and Wyoming to the Flood Control Committee of the House of Representatives dealing with the development in connection with the Army engineers of an irrigation, reclamation, and power program on the Missouri River.

There being no objection, the statement was received and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, we have listened to Colonel Reber discuss the plans of the Army engineers for the development of the waters of the Missouri River and its tributaries. The plan is too general to permit intelligent comment upon it in any great detail. We believe, however, if carried into effect it will accomplish its purpose, which is to protect

the area below Sioux City from all future flood damage.

We note that to secure flood control below Sioux City the Army engineers were compelled to plan the construction of numerous storage reservoirs above Sioux City. These reservoirs have been referred to as multiple-purpose reservoirs. That is, they are to provide space to store floodwaters, which is later to be used for providing a wider and deeper navigation channel from Sioux City to St. Louis, for irrigation and other purposes, all of which are commendable.

Back in 1902 Congress enacted the Federal Reclamation Act creating the Bureau of Reclamation and assigned to that agency the task of making the old homestead law operative throughout the 17 arid and semiarid States of the West by providing an artificial irrigation water supply so that 160 acres of land would support a family the same there as in the more humid States of the Nation. The purpose of the homestead law was to open land to production, settle, and stabilize the country and develop it. The Reclamation Act was designed to extend the benefits of the homestead law to the arid and semiarid half of the Nation.

In view of the above it was inevitable that these two agencies of the Federal Government would come into conflict over the use of the waters of the upper Missouri River. Here were two separate Federal agencies working under entirely different basic laws, responsible to separate committees of Congress, and serving conflicting purposes; one seeking to store floodwaters to prevent flood damage and to reserve the water for later use in aid of downstream navigation, the other seeking to store the same floodwaters higher up the streams and tributaries for later use upon the land for the production of crops and the closer settlement of farm homes. To a certain extent one might say that the basic concept by the people living along the more than 2,000-mile course of the Missouri River from its headwaters to its mouth, concerning what constitutes the highest use of its water, is just as divergent as are the views of these two Federal agencies. Because of these divergent views of the people the Army engineers wisely agreed to submit their plan for the use of the waters of this river to the Bureau of Reclamation for comments looking toward a reconciliation of views, or a correlation of plans for an over-all basin-wide multiple-purpose development program which would more nearly satisfy the needs of the entire area. The Army engineers' plan, with the comments of the Bureau of Reclamation, were then wisely taken under advisement by the Bureau of the Budget while en route to this Committee of Congress on Flood Control. The Bureau of the Budget was sufficiently impressed with the comments of the Bureau of Reclamation to request the Bureau of Reclamation to rush to completion their over-all plans for the upper basin of the Missouri River and its tributaries which have been under way for several years and for which some 50 or more independent reports had previously been completed. May 1 was the date set for these two completed reports to be in the hands of the Bureau of the Budget, the administration's only available coordinating agency today.

We who represent the upper basin States of Montana, Wyoming, and North Dakota have believed that this was a fair and equitable procedure, that the two agencies guided by the administration's Budget Director as a sort of neutral referee, and with only a slight delay, could not help but come forward with a compromise that would be fair and equitable to all interests and to all sections of the basin and to the Nation.

Upon arriving in Washington we discover, however, that a third committee of Congress,

established to serve another phase of the work of the Army engineers (the Rivers and Harbors Committee) has reported a bill and is seeking a rule to bring it to a vote on the floor of the House. This bill would lay claim to and establish by law such claim, as shown on page 199, paragraph 495, of House Document No. 238, 35,000 cubic second-feet of the 37,600 cubic second-feet which constitutes the total average flow for the last 14 years of the Missouri River at Kansas City, as shown by records of the United States Geological Survey (1929 to 1942, inclusive). We accept this as a coincidence but request that an effort be made to amend that bill to protect the rights of our upper-basin States to an equitable portion of the stream's flow for domestic, irrigation, mining, and industrial purposes.

The Bureau of Reclamation has indicated that there is a minimum of 4,400,000 acres of additional land in the four upper-basin States that should be irrigated, enough to provide family-size farm homes for forty to fifty thousand additional farm families, America's greatest source of strength and self-reliance. This increase of irrigated farm lands would affect our respective States as follows: In Montana it would increase our present irrigation acreage by approximately 1,300,000 acres. In Wyoming, from the upper Missouri alone (the Yellowstone and tributaries) it would increase our present irrigated acreage from 547,000 to 1,147,000 acres. In North Dakota it would increase the irrigated acreage from 17,120 to 1,517,120 acres. Four million four hundred thousand acres of new irrigated land in the upper basin of the Missouri would more than add the production of a new State to that region, but most of all it would stabilize both our population and our production for all time to come and with the incidental power which such a program would develop, considerable industrialization of the area would follow, so that eventually the area could support double, or more, the present population.

We are not opposing the use of a reasonable amount of water for navigation below Sioux City but we are emphatic that the use in perpetuity of 32,000 or 35,000 cubic feet per second out of an average annual flow of 37,600 does not constitute either the most economic or the most beneficial use of such a valuable natural resource. If there could be inserted in the river and harbor bill or this committee should insert in your flood-control bill language which guarantees a certain fair and equitable portion of Missouri River water for upstream consumptive use (an amount which might be agreed upon) and provide further a program for ultimately installing locks and dams so that as upstream demands increased the lock and dam installation program could provide the same or better water navigation with less and less water, thus releasing more and more water for upstream uses, we believe that you would be pointing in the direction of a fair and equitable solution to the problem.

It is apparent to anyone that capital cannot be attracted to the construction of docks, tugs, or barges, or to irrigation works or farm improvements, until a fair, equitable, and permanent division of the use of the Missouri River water has been determined, and we doubt that any division which is not fair and equitable will be permanent.

We urge early conferences between the chairman of the Flood Control Committee, the Rivers and Harbors Committee, and the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation. We urge that further effort be made on the part of the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation to compose differences looking toward proper amendments to the river and harbor bill.

It is our present purpose to ask the proper committees of Congress to request the Bureau



of Reclamation to make their basin-wide report available to the Congress at the same time that their report goes to the Bureau of the Budget, in order to expedite the consideration of the over-all Missouri River program by committees of Congress and the Missouri River States committee.

JOHN MOSES,  
Governor of North Dakota.  
SAM C. FORD,  
Governor of Montana.  
LESTER C. HUNT,  
Governor of Wyoming.

#### REGIONAL ECONOMIES AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMY—ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

[Mr. SHIPSTEAD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address entitled "Regional Economies and the National Economy," delivered by the Vice President at Minneapolis, Minn., on February 14, 1944, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### ADDRESS BY SENATOR WALSH OF MASSACHUSETTS TO LITHUANIAN MEETING AT WORCESTER, MASS.

[Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by him to a Lithuanian meeting held in connection with the drive for the purchase of War bonds and the celebration of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the independence of Lithuania at Worcester, Mass., on February 13, 1944, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY—ADDRESS BY JUDGE ROLAND J. STEINLE

[Mr. WILEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address on the subject of juvenile delinquency delivered by the Honorable Roland J. Steinle, judge, circuit court, Milwaukee County, Wis., at a meeting of the Child Welfare School Conference, Milwaukee, January 21, 1944, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### SUBSIDY SAVINGS—LETTER BY CHESTER BOWLES

[Mr. MALONEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter on the subject of subsidy savings written by Hon. Chester Bowles, Price Administrator, and published in the New York Times of February 16, 1944, and an editorial from the New York Times in reply to the letter, which appear in the Appendix.]

#### WIN THE WAR—POEM BY JAMES PATRICK MCGOVERN

[Mr. GILLETTE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a poem entitled "Win the War," composed by James Patrick McGovern, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### ADDRESS BY SENATOR TUNNELL BEFORE POLISH SOCIETIES AND CLUBS IN DELAWARE

[Mr. WALSH of New Jersey asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Senator TUNNELL before the Council of the Polish Societies and Clubs in Delaware, at Wilmington, Del., on February 13, 1944, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### OIL FOR TOMORROW—ARTICLE BY WILLIAM PHILIP SIMMS

[Mr. REYNOLDS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article entitled "Oil for Tomorrow" written by William Philip Simms, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### STALIN MAKES THE PEACE TERMS—EDITORIAL FROM THE CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

[Mr. REYNOLDS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial

entitled "Stalin Makes the Peace Terms" from the Chicago Daily Tribune of February 15, 1944, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, in the course of yesterday's debate the able Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] submitted a question regarding the functions of the United Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which bore upon a thoroughly fundamental and important point in connection with it. He asked the able Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE], who had the floor at the time, whether there had been any consideration given to using the American Red Cross as the instrumentality for this service. The Senator from Iowa replied:

No such proposal was made at any time when I was present at meetings of the committee.

I think that answer is textually correct; there was no such proposal made. On the other hand, I should not want the Record to stand with any implication that that phase of the matter was not at least discussed in the committee. I read from the record of the hearings two or three questions and answers so that the Record may be complete, because I think the point raised by the Senator from Tennessee is thoroughly pertinent. In the course of the examination of Assistant Secretary of State Acheson I asked him this question:

Is there any conflict between U. N. R. R. A. and the traditional historical service of the Red Cross?

Assistant Secretary Acheson replied:

Mr. ACHESON. No; I should think clearly there was not. It is possible that there might be in some one phase, but there is not in the conception of this organization. The Red Cross at no time has undertaken, and I think I am correct in saying that it does not wish to undertake, large-scale relief. It is not equipped to do it, and it does not want to do it. What it is interested in is in the medical aspects of relief, the medical services, and the care of children and old people.

Senator VANDENBERG. Would there be any conflict at that point between U. N. R. R. A. and the American Red Cross?

Mr. ACHESON. No; I do not think there would. The U. N. R. R. A. agreement itself provides that any organization working in any territory shall do so with the consent and the approval of the Director General, and it is up to him therefore to get together with all these agencies and work out with each one what its appropriate job is.

Senator VANDENBERG. Has there been any sort of complaint at any time from the American Red Cross regarding the scope of U. N. R. R. A.?

Mr. ACHESON. Not that I know of.

I simply wanted to make the record complete, Mr. President, upon that thoroughly pertinent point.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I should like to ask the Senator if the M. E. R. A. was given any consideration?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Will the Senator explain those letters so that I may know what he is talking about?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I refer to the Middle East Relief Association.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am unable to say.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I wish to say that it was highly proper to make, and I am very glad that the Senator from Michigan has made, the correction as to any conclusion that might be drawn from the Record in my reply to the Senator from Tennessee. As suggested, I simply stated that no such discussion had taken place when I was present, which was true.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, yesterday I listened with a great deal of interest to what my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE], had to say in opposition to the pending joint resolution known as House Joint Resolution 192. I say I listened to him with unusual interest because I share in his opinion and because I look upon him at this hour with a great deal of admiration and with entire inspiration, for it has been my observation that on every occasion he has evidenced and demonstrated his interest in America. In other words, I look upon him as one who is more thoroughly interested in America and its future than he is in any other country of the world.

It is refreshing to find myself in the presence of such a man, for the very reason that our Nation seems to be filled with those who are evidently more interested in saving the world than in saving America itself.

Mr. President, I wish to state at the outset, without the slightest hesitation, that I am for America first, and so long as I remain a Member of this body I shall vote the dictates of my conscience as they lead me toward the ultimate interests of this country ahead of the interests of any other country upon the face of the earth.

The Senator from Iowa stated to us yesterday that at the time the vote was taken in the Committee on Foreign Relations upon the pending joint resolution he was 1 member of the committee against 16; in other words, the ratio was 16 to 1, as he expressed it on the floor of the Senate. He was the only member of the committee who voted against reporting the joint resolution. I voted to report it, as the Senator will recall, but at the time I did so I stated to the chairman, the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], in the presence of the members of the committee, that I was voting to report the joint resolution to the Senate because I wanted the American people to have the benefit of our discussion in this body in reference to the matter, and at the same time I told the chairman that I reserved the privilege of voting against the joint resolution in the Senate if I so desired.

Mr. GILLETTE. Will the Senator from North Carolina yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly.

Mr. GILLETTE. I am glad the Senator from North Carolina referred to the



colloquy which took place in the room of the Committee on Foreign Relations, because it occurred just exactly as he has stated. He announced at that time that he would probably oppose the proposal on the floor of the Senate. In referring to the classic ratio of 16 to 1 yesterday I perhaps did an injustice to the eminent Senator by suggesting that he had supported the joint resolution, when he merely supported reporting it to the Senate.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator, but the Senator did not do me any injustice at all.

Mr. President, the joint resolution before the Senate calls for the expenditure of \$1,350,000,000. I shall not read or discuss the entire joint resolution. I shall confine my discussion largely to the interests of our country, and to the amount of money which is sought to be appropriated in carrying forward the objectives of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution is entitled, "Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization," and the first paragraph reads as follows:

*Resolved, etc., That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President such sums, not to exceed \$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate, as the Congress may determine from time to time to be appropriate for participation by the United States (including contributions in funds or otherwise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and Associated Governments on November 9, 1943.*

Mr. President, I shall vote against the joint resolution. I shall not vote \$1,350,000,000 of the money of the taxpayers of the United States of America to be used by any international organization; and this joint resolution, as explained by the able Senator from Iowa yesterday, is not a thing in the world but a measure to formulate an international organization for which, as I say, we will put up all the money.

The time has arrived, the hour has struck, when we must look after our own interests. Every person, soldier and civilian, who today sits in the galleries of the Senate, is interested in this subject, because if the joint resolution shall be enacted, whereby we by our respective votes will appropriate \$1,350,000,000 to this international organization, it will mean taking \$10 out of the pocket of every man, woman, and child in the United States, and that will be merely the beginning. In other words, I contend that the \$1,350,000,000 will mean nothing but an ante in the jackpot.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I do not wish to interrupt the Senator's trend of thought, but in connection with the statement he just made of the international character of the organization, let me interpolate that the First Assistant Director General to Governor Lehman, I understand, is Sir Arthur Salter, and that the assistant to the Director General for setting up the personnel in the Bureau of Special Areas in the international field, is Mr. Metchnikov, of the

Soviet Union. In connection with the statement that Sir Arthur Salter is the First Assistant, and the discussion yesterday as to where relief would stop and rehabilitation and reconstruction start, I think it would be pertinent, and I know the Senator would be interested, to put into the Record a brief quotation from a speech made by Sir Arthur Salter just a few weeks ago to an American group of farmer cooperatives. I do not certify to the accuracy of this quotation because it was handed to me only this morning, but it is as follows:

Whoever relieves will rebuild. Whoever rebuilds will formulate the pattern of government.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am very much indebted to the Senator. It is true that when we begin relief, we begin rehabilitation, and when we begin rehabilitation, we confront the question of financing the entire world.

As I stated a moment ago, someone has to be able to say "No." It appears that we are so accustomed to saying "Yes" to appropriations that it is difficult for some of us to say "No"; but, so far as I am concerned, I am saying "No" now. I do not propose to give away any more money that belongs to the taxpayers of this country, money which we will need, and when we make the appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 we are merely voting to put the hands of the Treasury of the United States into the pocket of every taxpayer in the United States and take therefrom \$10; and that is but the beginning.

Mr. President, who is going to pay for this international organization? The taxpayers of the United States of America. If we do not stop this willful, sinful waste of money which belongs to the American people, the United States will be bankrupt.

Is it true that the United States is going to pay for all of it? Let us see. It is said that 44 countries will participate in this international relief program. I wish to give the names of the 44 countries which are going to participate in it. I obtained them from the report. They are: The Commonwealth of Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, the United States of Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, the French Committee of National Liberation, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Luxembourg, the United Mexican States, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippine Commonwealth, Poland, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Mr. President, we are called upon to pay \$1,350,000,000, which is two-thirds of the entire amount to be put up by all 44 nations, and, although we are called upon to put up two-thirds of the money, we have but one-fourth of the total vote in the affairs of the organization. In other words, despite the fact that we are putting up two-thirds of all the money which is to be contributed ini-

tially to this world-wide, power-politics international organization, we have but 1 vote out of 44 votes which are to be cast by the Council itself.

Mr. President, I say we are putting up more than two-thirds. Who is going to pay for it all? The United States of America is going to pay for the whole thing, just as the United States of America is paying for the whole war and for the rehabilitation of the whole world. Let us see whether that is so. We have what is called lend-lease. Last night when I left the Senate I called up the Lend-Lease Division of the State Department. I contacted a very courteous gentleman, who very kindly gave me the information I sought, Mr. East, of Lend-Lease, whose telephone number is Executive 7030, extension 707. I asked him to tell me which of the countries that are participating or about to participate in this world international organization were receiving lend-lease from us, and I found that every single one of the 44 countries which are supposed to put up one-third of the money in this international enterprise is today receiving lend-lease money from us.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. The Senator would expect Canada, would he not? Canada is not receiving lend-lease from us.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am coming to that.

Mr. AIKEN. But Canada is included in the list of 44 countries.

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is true. I am coming to that, I will say to the Senator. Every single country of those who are supposed to put up the one-third is receiving lend-lease from us today, with the exception of the Philippine Commonwealth and Canada. Canada, so I have been informed, pays cash for all the stuff she receives from us.

Mr. President, I asked Mr. East about Liberia, and he stated that he did not know whether or not Liberia was receiving any lend-lease, but I understand that Liberia has received several million dollars which we have poured in there by reason of her aid in the war. I therefore argue that we are not only called upon to put up \$1,350,000,000 but that we are giving money, we are giving lend-lease, to every single one of the 44 countries, with the exception of Canada.

Mr. President, I am vitally interested now in saving as much as we can of Uncle Sam's money, because I am afraid that one of these days we will wake up and find ourselves a bankrupt nation. At the present time we have a national debt of approximately \$300,000,000,000, and I venture to say without the slightest hesitation that within 2 years we will have a national debt of \$500,000,000,000. I am anxious to save all the money we can save for ourselves, in order that we may care for our own when the time comes that we must do so, for we shall be called upon to take care of our heroes when they shall have returned from the 72 posts at which they are stationed around the world.

Mr. President, we are now in desperate financial condition. I heard the able Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], the



chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, state on the floor of the Senate the other day that we have not only scraped clean the bottom of the pot, but that we had scraped it clean 100 times. Today we find that all we can raise in additional taxes is a bit over \$2,000,000,000, whereas the administration and the Treasury Department have called for the raising of more than \$10,000,000,000 of additional taxes. Yet here we are, in the desperate straits in which we find ourselves financially, proposing to give to an international organization, over which we have no direction, 1 percent of our national income.

Mr. President, I am interested in the boys who are to be returned to the United States. Someone said the other day that when the war is over, and when the men and women in uniform return to American shores, from every part of the world, that for the next 50 years no one will be elected to public office unless he or she has worn the uniform abroad, and that perhaps will be well for the country, since the men and women who in every part of the world are fighting and helping to keep America American, to save America for Americans, are going to make their demands upon this great Nation, and their demands will be based upon their conception of all they believe to be right and for the best interests of the United States of America.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Did I understand the Senator to say that the present national debt was \$300,000,000,000?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I say the present national debt and authorizations are in excess of \$300,000,000,000.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Does the Senator have a break-down of this sum?

Mr. REYNOLDS. No; I do not, but I will be very glad to obtain it for the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I wonder if the Senator would procure the break-down and place it in the RECORD in connection with his remarks?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be very glad to do so. I refer to total appropriations and authorizations. I repeat that within 2 years perhaps, and certainly before the war shall have ended, we shall have a national debt in excess of \$500,000,000,000. What I am interested in is saving something for the men who are fighting to keep America American. What I am interested in is saving something with which to care for our soldiers, sailors, and other members of the armed forces—men and women—all over the world who are fighting to save America.

Let us see, Mr. President. We talk much about the soldiers, we brag of them, we pay high tributes to them; but what I want to do is back up those tributes and back up those declarations by action. By that I mean saving something to care for the men who will be returned to this land blind, armless, legless, maimed, sick, incapacitated, and to care for the widows and the orphans this horrible war has made and will yet make. When we became engaged in this war, almost 25 years

after World War No. 1, we did not have enough beds in our hospitals to provide hospitalization for the veterans of World War No. 1. In preparation for this war we have made installation, or at least have planned for the installation, of 100,000 beds in hospitals. I am told that now the program will have to be increased and I surmise it will have to be increased to the extent of providing for the installation of 300,000 beds in our hospitals.

We are voting billions of dollars almost daily, and we speak of billions as we used to speak of millions, until the national debt is rising to such a point that it is becoming dangerous, insofar as perhaps it will be beyond our ability to care for those who will return from the war. Let us see. Today millions of our men and women are in uniform. It will be our duty to care for the sons, the husbands, the sisters, and the wives who are serving our country today and who are in uniform. When they come back hundreds of thousands of them will be maimed, blind, and deranged. It will be our duty to care for those veterans, and it will be our duty to care for those who are made widows and orphans by this war. If we continue spending money as we are spending it now, I wonder how we shall be able to care for men who are expecting us to be able to care for them in their physical misery, and who are expecting us to be able to care for their families when they are no longer able to earn a living for them.

Mr. President, some days ago I talked to Mr. Millard W. Rice, who formerly was legislative representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Today he is National Service Director of the Disabled American Veterans. I shall read a summary of a statement he made a few days ago before a committee:

More than 850,000 will be discharged with disabilities as the result of active service during World War No. 2, if the proportions of World War No. 1 are repeated, according to a statement made by Millard W. Rice, national service director of the Disabled American Veterans, recently before the Senate Committee on Finance, and on the basis of the same proportions, 1,250,000 World War No. 2 veterans will be in receipt of pensions for service-connected disabilities by 1970. But, the percentage of service-disabled veterans of World War No. 2 will very likely be more than out of World War No. 1, in view of the fact that World War No. 2 is a tougher and longer war, being fought on many more fronts, with the end not yet in sight. It, therefore, appears not out of reason to estimate that there might be anywhere from 1,250,000 to 2,500,000 wounded and disabled veterans out of World War 2.

Their care will impose a tremendous responsibility upon the Veterans' Administration, which demands an extensive expansion of its facilities. Therefore, the Veterans' Administration ought not to be imposed with the many proposed post-war adjustments for able-bodied veterans. Since first things should be taken care of first, the Veterans' Administration should remain the one governmental agency charged primarily with the responsibility of providing governmental benefits for America's service disabled and their dependents, without also being given the responsibility of providing for the various types of post-war adjustments for able-bodied discharges.

That was a statement by Mr. Millard W. Rice, national service director of the Disabled American Veterans.

Mr. President, I have before me a statement in reference to the subject matter under discussion. I desire to bring it to the attention of the Members of this body. We are perfectly willing to provide the unfortunates of Europe or of any other part of the world with such aid as we may be able to provide. We wish to provide the starving with food; we wish to provide the ill with medicine; we wish to do all we possibly can do for the unfortunates of the world. But we have arrived at the point where it appears to me that the one nation and the one people of all the world who are doing everything for the world are the taxpayers of the United States of America. I think we have done our part; I think we are doing our part; and we have done our part, and have continued to do our part, for a long time past.

Let us see. Not so long ago there were hundreds of organizations in the United States for the purpose of providing relief for Russia, for France, for Poland, for Czechoslovakia, for almost every other country in the world. There were so many such organizations and so much money was being collected from time to time that someone in America suggested that there be organized a similar organization for the relief of Americans themselves.

Only a few days ago I read a newspaper account of a private relief organization in New York which had sent many hundreds of thousands of dollars to Russia, and tons upon tons of clothing, medicine, and other supplies. So, for years past we have been collecting money and sending it to all the other countries of the world, and I think we have done our part insofar as such relief is concerned. We have helped our allies. We are cooperating with our allies. We are bearing more than our share of the war. We are giving our sons, our daughters, and our dogs. Even before we got into the war we gave England a number of destroyers. Even before the declaration of war we sent our sons out of the Western Hemisphere. Even before we got into the war we had men in England, Iceland, and Greenland.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WHEELER. I do not know whether the Senator saw the statement which was published in the newspapers the other day attributed to Mr. Sulzberger, owner and publisher of the New York Times. When the Senator was speaking of lend-lease, I was reminded of that statement. It will be recalled that Mr. Sulzberger, of the New York Times, was one of the most ardent supporters of lend-lease. It will also be recalled that those who were in favor of lend-lease were saying that lend-lease was for the purpose of keeping us out of war. That was said to be the purpose. It was not for the purpose of getting us into war. The other day, in speaking to the Red Cross, of which he is one of the officers, Mr. Sulzberger made the statement that



he was one of those individuals who believed that when we enacted the lend-lease law we went to war. He further stated that that was an act of war on the part of the United States.

I should like to have the Senator recall that that was exactly the statement which I made on the floor of the Senate. I said that when we voted for lend-lease we were voting for war. Now we find some of the very persons who were the strongest advocates of lend-lease admitting what I said on the floor of the Senate, that when we voted for lend-lease we voted for war.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am very much obliged to the Senator. I saw that statement in the newspapers. In that connection, I recall that when we were discussing lend-lease on the floor of the Senate, before we entered the war, it was said that the purpose of lend-lease was to help Great Britain. I heard the Senator speak on several occasions, and my recollection is that the Senator said that the passage of the Lend-Lease Act was a declaration of war.

I am speaking of aiding those across the water, to show that we have done everything we can. We are giving our sons and daughters. We are giving our blood. We are giving billions of dollars and bankrupting our Nation to help our Allies. There is nothing cheap about us; we are going the whole hog. All we want to know is how far we must follow and what we are to encounter on the road.

I recall that we were called upon to help those across the sea by lifting the arms embargo. That meant that we would be permitted to manufacture guns and place them on ships and put them in the hands of our friends across the seas so that they could kill their enemies. The able Senator from Montana voted against lifting the arms embargo. The able Senator from Montana stated at that time that if we lifted the arms embargo we would be an accessory to the crime; that we would be equally guilty, and equally involved, and that that was the first step toward war. The able Senator from Montana did not want the country to get into the war, and he voted against lifting the arms embargo.

Then came the proposal to repeal the neutrality law. We wanted to help the peoples of the world with whom we were in sympathy. A few months before we had enacted a neutrality law to keep us out of war. Then it was said, "If you will repeal the neutrality law, that will take us away from war." The Senator from Montana said that it would take us another step toward war, and the Senator from Montana voted against the proposal, because he knew that it would lead us to war.

Then came lend-lease. The Senator from Montana said:

I will not vote for lend-lease, because it is nothing more nor less than a declaration of war. It will take us into war, and we do not want war. We do not want our sons and daughters killed.

The Senator from Montana voted against it. Others said that all those steps were taking us away from war. Well, we are in war.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator will remember Mr. Herbert Agar, who was one of the leaders in the movement in support of the foreign policy of the administration, and one of the strongest proponents of lend-lease. He was also a proponent of the repeal of the arms embargo, and other measures.

Immediately after we enacted the lend-lease law, Mr. Agar made a speech in Boston and he quoted what I had said, and what other Members of the Senate had said. He said that I was correct. Other Senators had said that it was an act of war, virtually a declaration of war. Mr. Agar said that the statement made by those who said that it was for the purpose of keeping this country out of war was wrong, and that they were misrepresenting the facts to the American people. I stated that he said they were misrepresenting the facts. He used even stronger language than that.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am very much obliged to the Senator for his observations. I recall the matters to which he refers. I voted against lifting the arms embargo. I believed that such a step was a step toward war. I voted against the repeal of the neutrality law, because I knew it was a step toward war. I voted against lend-lease because I knew it would take us into war. I am glad I voted as I did. I recall that at that time the able Senator from Montana and I were both cussed from one end of the world to the other. We were called Nazis, Fascists, copperheads, appeasers, traitors, and everything else.

Why was the Senator from Montana called all those ugly names? Simply because he voted according to the dictates of his conscience, which led him to believe that those acts were steps toward war. The Senator from Montana did not want us to get into war. I mention that merely to show that we are doing all we possibly can; but we should not pauperize and bankrupt ourselves to help someone else. The time has arrived when we must start voting for the United States of America and quit trying to save the world.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WHEELER. A short time ago I happened to be at a dinner where a lady said to me, "You talk like an America Firster." I replied, "What are you—an America seconder? It seems to me that you must either be for this country first, or for this country second. Whether you are for this country or for some other country, I am glad to have it said that I am for America first, rather than for America second."

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator very much.

Under the lease-lend operations we have taken from the taxpayers of America billions upon billions of dollars and given them freely to all the nations of the world. I do not hesitate to say that in my opinion we shall never get back a

dollar of it. We have given billions upon billions of dollars of the people's money to other nations of the world. We are not "chinchy," we are not cheap; we are very liberal. It seems to me that sometimes we are too liberal with the taxpayers' money.

Furthermore we have put into uniform more than 10,000,000 men and women, who are now scattered throughout the entire world. They are as brave a group of men and women as the world has ever known.

Moreover, labor in this country has produced more during this war than the combined production of the Axis, or the combined production of our allies. We have done the greatest production job that any country has ever done. We have produced more than any other country in the world, or any combination of countries. We have provided ships by the millions of tons, with which to transport food, medicines, munitions, and everything else to our allies. As I stated a moment ago, hundreds of private charities are now in operation, and our generous, big-hearted people are contributing to them from time to time.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Of course, the Senator realizes that these exertions of the United States—that is to say, the billions of dollars contributed by way of lend-lease, and the billions of dollars spent by charities in buying goods, which billions of dollars have been contributed during this period, are now counted into the expanded national income in the formula set up by U. N. R. A. for the purpose of still further penalizing the United States.

In other words, the formula set up by U. N. R. A. is on the basis of a percentage of the national income of each country. Therefore, both things work against us. The expanded national income, by reason of the increased production which we have brought about to give the other countries lend-lease and charity, and also the more favorable exchange position which the United States has come to have by reason of that same operation, give an entirely fictitious national income to the United States in comparison with other nations. So it is my belief that instead of 65 percent of all the world relief, which it has been admitted the United States will bear, we shall be bearing actually somewhat in excess of 90 percent, when we consider the expansion of our national income due to lend-lease and the more favorable exchange position created by the same operation.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am very much obliged for the observations of the Senator from Missouri.

As I said a moment ago, in line with what the Senator from Missouri has said, instead of paying two-thirds of the expense we shall be paying about 90 percent of it.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield to me?



The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. OVERTON in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. If the Senator will permit me one further observation, we are asked to authorize an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000. I think most of us realize that that is merely an initial appropriation. While the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] spoke truly yesterday when he said that it is limited by the terms of the measure under consideration to this one appropriation—nevertheless we are being asked to set our feet on a course, and we shall have to pay the whole bill.

I invite the Senator's attention to the fact that if this one initial expenditure of \$1,350,000,000 were to be spent in the United States—to use one example, if it were applied to flood control in the Mississippi Valley, it would put the whole valley with all its tributaries beyond the danger of flood. The venture would pay for itself in 8 or 10 years, and render magnificent dividends in perpetuity from then on.

I believe that we owe a certain obligation to feed the desperate people of stricken countries. Nevertheless, when we talk about appropriating \$1,350,000,000, and paying approximately 90 percent of the total cost, after all is said and done, we are dissipating a very considerable portion of our national assets.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator very much. I think the Senator and I see eye to eye on this matter. The time has come when we must think at least a little about the United States of America.

In addition to that, let us see what else there is. We are scattering billions of dollars over the face of the earth. The other day a Senator stated that we had put about \$6,000,000,000 in Central and South America. Our armies which are now in Europe are buying up millions of tons of foodstuffs and spending millions upon millions of dollars for continued purchasing of foodstuffs for the purpose of feeding civilian populations and taking care of emergencies as they arise. As I have already stated, we now have before us a joint resolution to authorize the appropriation of \$1,350,000,000. That would be merely the ante. It would be only the beginning. The next thing will be rehabilitation. The joint resolution evidently means rehabilitation, because the words "relief and rehabilitation" appear in the title.

After that we shall have a world-wide bank. We have about \$21,000,000,000 in gold buried in Kentucky. It has been suggested that we organize an international bank, a world-wide bank. That suggestion has been made by many persons across the sea because they want us to set up a bank so that they can all borrow money from us. We shall be called upon to rehabilitate the whole world.

Since this war began many of the countries of Europe have called upon us to help them. Since the war began on September 3, 1939, more than 600,000 aliens from European countries have

come into the United States. They have left their native countries, ignored the interests of their nations, and have come to the United States, where they can bask in the sunshine of prosperity and safety instead of staying at home and looking after the interests of their respective countries. Six hundred thousand of them have come over here while our men and women in uniform have gone to their countries to fight over there for their national interests and the "four freedoms." We have been good to them.

In addition to all that, I read in the newspaper just the other day of the organization of another war relief agency. The Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson; the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau; and someone else constitute a committee of three. As I understand, their proposal is to bring into this country more persons from foreign countries.

In other words, we are pouring money out of our National Treasury, scraping it dry more than a hundred times, as stated by the chairman of the Finance Committee, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] the other day, skyrocketing our national debt to the point where perhaps we will not have money enough to pay pensions to widows, or care for our own armless, legless, and blind soldiers. We are giving our money away and at the same time permitting aliens from all parts of the world to come here and obtain jobs. Whether or not they come in on a temporary visa, once they get here they will never go back, and they will occupy the jobs which our soldiers and heroes of this war should have.

I again assert that the time has arrived for us to speak out in behalf of and in the interest of more than 10,000,000 of our men and women who are now in uniform, even if we do not care anything about the people who are paying the taxes. We should save American jobs for American citizens.

Before we got into this war we said in effect, "It is going to be wonderful." Many friends of mine came from North Carolina to see me. I remember one friend of mine from Greensboro, N. C., who was then with the collector of internal revenue. He called upon me and said, "Bob, I am joining up tomorrow. I will see you in a few months." I said, "How so?" He replied, "Why, we will whip the whole world in 6 months."

We have been in the war more than 2 years and we have not yet got started. We do not know where or when the war will end. We do not know how long it will take. Yet we are being asked to appropriate billions of dollars to be contributed to an international organization which is not under our control.

Consider what is happening in Italy today. After we had won northern Africa and Tunisia we were led to believe that we would sweep Italy without any difficulty whatsoever. We have been marking time there, mired down for weeks, which is attributable largely to the elements, for no braver men ever fought than our men. Consider that General MacArthur issued a statement the other day that winning the war against Japan was not a question of

merely jumping from island to island right into Tokyo. We do not know how long the war is going to last; we do not know how many of our sons and daughters are going to be killed and buried beneath foreign soil, thousands upon thousands of miles away from home. We do not know how many thousands of our sons and daughters are coming back deranged, without legs or arms, and of no benefit to themselves or their families, except for their presence. Yet we propose to vote \$1,350,000,000, 1 percent of our national revenue, to an international organization.

What about the international organization? I wonder how much it is going to cost. I should like to know something about the administrative expense of it. I asked the able Senator from Michigan yesterday how much Governor Lehman, the Director General, was going to get. He said he did not know and did not care. Well, I do not know, but I do care. Insofar as I am concerned, I want to save every penny we can for the rehabilitation of our boys and girls, men and women in uniform, when they come back, whether it be a year or 5 years from now. I want to have a nest egg for them, and that is why I want to save the money for them, and that is why I want to save the jobs for them.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WHEELER. I hold in my hand the veto message of the President of the United States, dated May 22, 1935, of a bill that was passed by the Congress of the United States, House bill 3896, to provide for the immediate payment to veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates, and so forth. I should like to call the attention of the Senator, if I may, to one or two statements which were made by the President at that time. He said:

The second "whereas" clause, which states that the payment of certificates will not create an additional debt, raises a fundamental question of sound finance. To meet a claim of one group by this deceptively easy method of payment will raise similar demands for the payment of claims of other groups. It is easy to see the ultimate result of meeting recurring demands by the issuance of Treasury notes. It invites an ultimate reckoning in uncontrollable prices and in the destruction of the value of savings that will strike most cruelty those like the veterans who seem to be temporarily benefited. The first person injured by skyrocketing prices is the man on a fixed income. Every disabled veteran on pension or allowance is on fixed income. This bill favors the able-bodied veteran at the expense of the disabled veteran.

Wealth—

The President said—

is not created, nor is it more equitably distributed by this method. A Government, like an individual, must ultimately meet legitimate obligations out of the production of wealth by the labor of human beings applied to the resources of nature.

The President of the United States never made a more direct and frank statement than that of the economics of finance.



Wealth is not created, nor is it more equitably distributed by this method. A government, like an individual, must ultimately meet legitimate obligations out of the production of wealth by the labor of human beings applied to the resources of nature. Every country that has attempted the form of meeting its obligations which is here provided has suffered disastrous consequences.

The President in his veto message then referred to what would happen to the Treasury. He said:

Some years ago it was well said by the distinguished senior Senator from Idaho that, "The soldier of this country cannot be aided except as the country itself is rehabilitated. The soldier cannot come back except as the people as a whole come back. The soldier cannot prosper unless the people prosper. He has now gone back and intermingled and become a part of the citizenship of the country; he is wrapped up in its welfare or in its adversity. The handing out to him of a few dollars will not benefit him under such circumstances, whereas it will greatly injure the prospects of the country and the restoration of normal conditions."

I cite that to show that at that time the President was worried about the payment of the soldiers' bonus because of the effect it would have upon inflation and the financial condition of the country.

I happened to be a Member of the Senate at that time.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Did not the President veto the soldiers' bonus?

Mr. WHEELER. Of course, the President vetoed it, and I am reading from the veto message which he sent to the Congress at that time.

Mr. REYNOLDS. He said we did not have sufficient money to pay it, did he not, and that it would create inflation?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes; that the bill would create an inflation if enacted at that time.

Mr. REYNOLDS. What amount of money did the bonus involve?

Mr. WHEELER. About \$2,000,000,000, as I recall.

I call attention to that fact because at that time we were seeking to pay a contract to the soldiers which we had agreed to pay, but to pay it to them in advance of the time when it matured. That was vetoed.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Will the Senator permit an interruption at that point, with the permission of the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. WHEELER. Certainly.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That was justifiable on the ground that the Government had not made the contract until 5 or 6 years after the time when the money was fairly owed to the soldiers. The Government had entered into a contract to pay the bonus at maturity, the provisions of the bill which the Senator is now discussing provided for payment before maturity. If the bonus had been given to the men when they were discharged from the Army, in the first place, the time at which it was fairly owed, a large saving would have resulted.

Mr. WHEELER. I thank the Senator for his statement.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator was entirely correct as to the theory on which the President was proceeding, but

the actual facts were that the measure which the President vetoed simply brought the contract to maturity at a time before it would have been brought to maturity under the terms of the contract which had been entered into. If the Government had made the contract at the time it should have entered into it there would have been a very considerable saving.

Mr. WHEELER. I am sure the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from North Carolina will recall the statements made upon this floor and the statements made in the reactionary press of the country to the effect that the payment of the bonus at that time would wreck the country, that to pay the soldiers \$2,000,000,000 would cause a tremendous inflation. That was the language used by the press and the President of the United States at that time.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, what was the national debt at that time, does the Senator know? It was about \$20,000,000,000, was it not?

Mr. WHEELER. As I recall, it was between twenty and thirty billion dollars.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Between twenty and thirty billion dollars?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes.

Mr. President, the bill which was vetoed was to pay a debt which we owed to the soldiers and which we had agreed to pay.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I voted for it, and I voted to override the President's veto.

Mr. WHEELER. So did I.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I wanted the soldiers to have some money then, and it is a good thing the Congress gave it to them then because I am afraid we will not have any left for them in this war.

Mr. WHEELER. Yes; if we are going to give the resources of this country away to foreign countries. I want to say that nobody on the floor of the Senate is more in sympathy with the unfortunate people and the refugees of stricken countries than am I, and I am perfectly willing to do whatever is necessary to help rehabilitate those countries and put back on their feet their people who have been ruthlessly driven from their homes by Mr. Hitler and his group. But I say that in doing that we are the trustees of the taxpayers' money. If we give away the substance of the taxpayers and burden the Senator's children and my children, and our grandchildren for the next 150 or 200 years, we will pauperize the American people, we will have to turn to the printing press, as Mr. Roosevelt intimated we would have to do if we gave the soldiers the \$2,000,000,000 bonus; or we will have to repudiate our debt, because we will not be able to service it if it keeps on rising by leaps and bounds, as it has been doing.

First, we are to give the President of the United States \$1,300,000,000 to be turned over to a group of 44 different countries, to be used as they see fit, when we have only 1 vote in the body, without any strings to it whatsoever; and when they once get it they will have authority, under the proposed legislation, to make contracts and more con-

tracts, and commitments and more commitments, and then they will come back to this country and say, "We have already made these commitments. While you have authorized only \$1,300,000,000, you are morally bound, under the provisions of the act, to give us more money and more money and more money to carry out the provisions of the act which you approved."

In the first place, if we are to pass anything at all, we should limit the amount to less than \$1,300,000,000, until we ascertain whether that much will be needed. Secondly, we should call on the President of the United States, to whom the money is to be turned over, to make quarterly reports to the Congress as to where the money is being spent and how it is being spent. For Congress just to turn over to any President unlimited sums of money, to be spent as he or someone else he delegates may see fit, would involve a violation of the oath of office which every Senator took to uphold the Constitution of the United States and protect the interests of the people of the United States, when they took their seats in this body.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall not violate my oath.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, I call his attention to the fact that under the remarkable set-up proposed, there are managing members and contributing members, and we are to be the principal contributing member, not only the principal one, but the controlling member, in the matter of contributions. It is admitted we are supposed to contribute 65 percent of the expenses of this organization. But other nations, some of which, for very good reasons, are not expected to contribute to the expenses of the operation, are permitted, by paying a modicum of the expenses of administration, to have the same voice in the administration of the fund that we have. For instance, the Russians. I have the very deepest and heartfelt admiration for the military achievements of the Russians. They do not think they should be included as contributing members, and I think there is very much in what they say, that they have a tremendous problem of rehabilitation themselves. They have been through the treadmill, they have been through the fiery furnace, and they say they should not be expected to contribute to the rehabilitation of some of the other countries, but if they should not contribute to the rehabilitation of some of the other countries, why should they have an equal voice with the United States in the administration of the funds by the contribution of a mere million and a quarter dollars to the administrative expenses?

It does not seem to me to be right, in the first place, that all contributing members should have the same voice in the administration, without regard to the amounts they contribute. In the second place, it does not seem to be right that noncontributing members should have the same voice as we, who will probably contribute three-fourths to the whole enterprise before we get through.



Mr. REYNOLDS. I am very much obliged to the Senator. Of course, some of the countries are making contributions toward the administrative expenses.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I think they should put up some of the administrative expenses, but the idea that the United States should have no greater voice in this matter than noncontributing nations seems to me unjustifiable. But after we once enact this proposal, Congress will have really signed off, they will not have much more to do with it, because it will be a commitment, no matter what the distinguished Senator from Michigan said yesterday. Although an American, and a very distinguished American, has been selected to be the head of the organization as an initial proposition, we are to have no more voice in the management of the concern, after contributing \$1,300,000,000, than our friends the Russians, who are contributing a million and a quarter to the administrative expenses. That does not seem to me to hold together.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GREEN in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I read now the contributions, by percentages, of the various governments to the total amount of \$10,000,000, decided on as the necessary administrative expenses:

	Percentage
Australia.....	1.50
Belgium.....	1.00
Bolivia.....	.10
Brazil.....	1.50
Canada.....	3.00
Chile.....	.20
China.....	5.00
Colombia.....	.30
Costa Rica.....	.05
Cuba.....	.20
Czechoslovakia.....	1.00
Dominican Republic.....	.05
Ecuador.....	.05
Egypt.....	.70
El Salvador.....	.05
Ethiopia.....	.05
French Committee of National Liberation.....	4.00

Where are they to get the money?

Greece.....	.50
Guatemala.....	.05
Haiti.....	.05

Haiti will have one vote the same as the United States will have.

Honduras.....	.05
Iceland.....	.05
India.....	4.00
Iran.....	.10
Iraq.....	.10
Liberia.....	.05
Luxemburg.....	.05
Mexico.....	.70
Netherlands.....	1.50
New Zealand.....	.30
Nicaragua.....	.05
Norway.....	.30
Panama.....	.05
Paraguay.....	.05
Peru.....	.25
Philippines.....	.05
Poland.....	1.00
Union of South Africa.....	1.00

	Percentage
U. S. S. R.....	15.00
United Kingdom.....	15.00
U. S. A.....	40.00
Uruguay.....	.20
Venezuela.....	.10
Yugoslavia.....	.70
Total.....	100.00

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. If the Senator from North Carolina will permit another interruption, there is nothing in the joint resolution, as I read it, or in the whole set-up, which would prevent the other governments from paying their contributions, if they desire, out of lend-lease funds. We may be paying 100 percent before we get through.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I might state to the Senator, in that connection, that I called up the State Department last night, the lend-lease division, and found that every member of the 44 nations which are supposed to make contributions to relieve the suffering of the world is getting lend lease, except Canada and Liberia. So, as the Senator has ably stated, these other countries can pay their part out of the money we give them. So we wind up by paying it all, just as we are going to wind up in everything else.

Mr. WHEELER. The following is a provision found in article X as to voting:

Each member government represented on the Council or on any of its committees or subcommittees shall have only one vote.

In other words we will have the same vote that Nicaragua will have, and the same vote Liberia will have.

Mr. REYNOLDS. In other words, we will have only one vote out of 44.

Mr. WHEELER. Whether we are to contribute all the money, or 40 percent or 60 percent—and I venture the assertion that we will contribute far more than 40 percent, because some of the other countries cannot contribute anything unless the money comes out of lend-lease—the other countries will have just as much to say as the United States when it comes to voting, as to where the money is to be spent, and how it is to be spent.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Absolutely, and I wish to make this further statement to the Senator in reference to the expenditure and distribution of the money: Russia will not be contributing anything in the way of money or supplies which are proposed to be distributed to the unfortunate people involved, as the Senator from Montana understands. Russia is simply aiding by way of contributing toward the administrative expenses. If the Senator will bear with me a moment, I believe I shall be able to show him that most of the money in question will go to Russia; that none of it will go to the Philippines. The Philippines are now under the direction of the Japanese. Neither is there mention of Singapore, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Bali or China. None of those places or countries are mentioned. All the proposed aid is intended for relief in Europe. Who is going to have charge of Europe? The Senator from Montana knows who will have charge of Europe after the war is over.

Mr. WHEELER. Does anyone question who will control or dominate Europe after the war is over?

Mr. REYNOLDS. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Certainly Russia is going to dominate Europe.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Stalin is going to own all of Europe and control all of Asia. He has already said he is going to take part of Finland, part of Poland, part of Rumania, and all of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Bessarabia. We know that one of the difficulties in Italy today arises from the fighting and the intrigue which is going on between the Fascists and the Communists over who shall have control after the war. One of the great troubles we find in Yugoslavia today, according to all reports we receive, results from the fact that the Communists and the Fascists there are at outs with one another. They are now fighting over who is to control Yugoslavia after the war, the Fascists or the Communists. It will all wind up in Mr. Stalin having control of all of Europe and there will be a renewal of the revolution in Spain after Franco is knocked off. Russia will have control of all of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece.

All the money it is now proposed that we provide will go to those countries. That is one danger about the matter. To whom will the money be given? It must be distributed over there. With whom will those who will distribute the money side? When it comes to dealing with Yugoslavia are those who have the matter in charge going to side with the young king's friends or with Mr. Stalin's representatives? The relief administration we are considering is one of the greatest instrumentalities of power politics we can possibly place in any one's hands.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLELLAN in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield.

Mr. WHEELER. I do not think we will have much to say respecting who will control Europe after the war is over. At this time it is very difficult to predict who will control Europe. But when we think of all the suffering there will be after the war is over we may reasonably conclude the chances to be that Russia will dominate Europe.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly.

Mr. WHEELER. I am opposed to the Fascists or the Nazis controlling Europe, but I also dislike to see the Communists run Europe. What I should like to see set up in Europe is some form of a united nations of Europe which would be based upon a democratic form of government similar to the one we have in the United States of America. I think it should be the aim of the United States to try to bring about some form of a united states of Europe, or at least something along that line, after the war is over. But I doubt whether we will have very much to say about the matter, because I think the actions of Russia heretofore have indicated both to Mr. Churchill and to the United States that Russia is going to pursue a course which she thinks is in her best interest, and



that she is going to tell us in so many words that it is practically none of our business what position she takes with reference to Finland, Poland, and other countries. If that takes place, there may be some persons who will want to go to war with Russia before this thing is over; but, so far as I am concerned, I shall be just as jealous to keep our country out of war with Russia after the present war is over as I was in trying to keep the country out of the present war before we got into it. If Russia dominates Europe, which I think she will to a very large extent, there will be those in this country who will want us to go to war with Russia, but I shall not be one of them.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I do not know about that. I think many persons who were crying "war, war; let us go to war," before we went into this war, have had a belly full of it. When we get through with this war, and have hundreds of thousands of our soldiers killed, and millions of them wounded, and not enough hospitals to take care of them, and when the country has no money with which to take care of them, and when our people will be broke, as they will be, and sick at heart because of the loss of our loved ones who are buried in the cold soil of foreign countries—then, Mr. President, I think those who were yelling, "war, war, let us have war," will have had a belly full.

Furthermore, Mr. President, I think that before we get out of the international mess in which we find ourselves the American people will come back to good old American nationalism. By that I mean that they will come back to thinking about their own soil.

We hear a great deal about rehabilitating the world, and what we are going to do after the war, and all this and that. What I should like to hear from some of the candidates for President is their pronouncement with respect to what their position is concerning world affairs. I think the candidates for President should let the people know where they stand with respect to international matters, and let the people know where we are now, and what our position is with respect to the rest of the world. Let us ask of each of the candidates, "Are you an American nationalist? Are you first for America? Are you first for your own country, or are you going to think about other countries first, and after that be for your own country?"

We ought to have a show-down between the interventionists, the internationalists, the world "globalonists" and starry-eyed pinks, all that crowd, and the America firsters and American nationalists.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator means those who are for America first and those who are for America second?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes.

Mr. President, I shall conclude in a moment. I wish to read something which John Marshall said:

When our own people are free from poverty and want and malnutrition it will be time enough to begin to plan to permanently suckle the world at the expense of American taxpayers.

He also very rightfully said:

The power to tax is the power to destroy.

Thomas Jefferson, who lived in Virginia and about whom we hear a great deal, but whose principles are not very widely followed or practiced, said:

It is the duty of the people to support the Government. It is not the duty of the Government to support the people. If we can prevent the Government from wasting the labors of the people under the pretense of taking care of them, they must become happy.

Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the Record as a part of my remarks an editorial entitled "Practical Help—or Sappy Sentiment?" The one who sent it to me did not say in what newspaper it was printed.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### PRACTICAL HELP—OR SAPPY SENTIMENT?

"Hottentot Internationalism" is the apt label that William P. Witherow, chairman of the board of the National Association of Manufacturers, pinned on all those schemes to leave a bottle of milk on the doorstep of every house from northwest China to Spitzbergen.

This Hottentot Internationalism, for which the American taxpayer will be asked to sweat out the money, is also the emotional base of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which is beneficent and humane in purpose, but which will, like so many beneficent and human contraptions of squandermaniacs and professional dogoodies, in the end make millions of Europeans and Asiatics dependent on our Treasury indefinitely.

In plain English, Hottentot internationalism will tend to make what is known as bums out of millions of persons who if left to themselves after the war might learn how to scramble to their feet in the pre-New Deal American way.

#### THE MEANING AND DANGER

Mr. Witherow expounded the meaning and the danger of Hottentot internationalism in these words in one of the liveliest and most unusual of the speeches made before the recent second war congress of American industry of the National Association of Manufacturers:

"Our compassion for a war-torn world should not fail to draw the line between sane benevolence and maudlin sentimentalism. Beyond that line lies the policy of Hottentot internationalism.

"A perpetual policy of free hand-outs for the world is not benevolence. It is a weakness—and of a dangerous sort. Sound charity stops at the point where it ceases to strengthen the recipient and encourages indolence. He who does out charity beyond that point is not only deceiving himself, but he is cheating the one he thinks to help. And that is equally true whether the object of spurious charity be a sidewalk panhandler, a great nation, or a hottentot.

"There are some who cling to the theory of Hottentot internationalism as our post-war policy. Although unfair, both to the American people and to the people it would pauperize, this attitude is still evident in some places."

It is evident in a good many places in the Washington regime.

In fact, this Hottentot internationalism seems to occupy the minds of almost every bureaucrat, Treasury bagman, and world superstatist in the National Capital.

It is all a part of the "mammy government" which they have partly succeeded in palming off on us in the last 10 years.

The U. N. R. R. A. is merely the N. R. A., Tugwellism, Ickesism and Hopkins' and Wallace's crackpotism played on world scale,

#### OUT TO REHABILITATE THE WORLD

They are out to rehabilitate the world, while it is America alone that should be the first thought of professional weepers over the pantless hottentots.

Mr. Witherow in the following defines the difference between maudlin sentimentality and practical philanthropy:

"Practical-minded Americans can see that the answer to the problem of the Hottentot is not to deliver a quart of milk to his doorstep every morning. The real answer is to help him find the way to a better life. Don't try to give it to him. Convince him of the value of effort, of the need for gathering a few more coconuts, and then buy these coconuts from him. Establish enterprise and trade. Then he can buy a cow of his own. With his cow and a few rhythmic motions he can be his own milkman. And instead of waiting for the international milkman—Uncle Sam—he can have not only a quart a day but a gallon a day."

In a word, let us help Europe and Asia get on their feet by pointing out to them that they have feet—that is, the will to come back by their own efforts.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I also ask to have printed in the Record an article by a well-known writer, Mr. Benjamin de Casseres, entitled "That Is an American."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Books, magazines, the mouths of foreign lecturers, the editorial pages of newspapers, and the radio are cluttered up telling us who the Russians, the Chinese, the Germans, the Italians, and a dozen or so other peoples are and what their particular "cultures" and political "ideologies" should mean to us. They work like riveters on our skulls.

This knowledge may have a certain value. But isn't it time for the whole world—and some millions of Americans included—to find out—

#### WHAT IS AN AMERICAN?

St. John de Crevecoeur, a Frenchman who settled in America in the eighteenth century, was the first man to ask—in 1782—that overwhelmingly vital question in these words:

"What, then, is the American, this new man?"

In 1782 De Crevecoeur could not answer that question definitely, or he was too near the making of that new man—the American.

But today, 161 years afterward, I will undertake to reply to De Crevecoeur's question.

#### The American:

He feels the emotion of mental, moral, spiritual, and physical liberty in every corpse and atom of his body all the days of his life—

So much so that he would rather live on one meal a day and have freedom of speech and pen than have three meals a day and be enslaved.

He feels walking about in his soul the living spirits of Washington, Jefferson, Paine, and Lincoln on the political level and Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry D. Thoreau, and Walt Whitman on the literary-philosophical level, and he partakes of their doctrine of rugged pioneer individualism with the same exaltation of spirit that those seven mighty new men announced it.

#### THAT IS AN AMERICAN

Knowing the immemorial crimes of the state and the crimes of a myriad of European and Asiatic rulers against the body and soul of the individual man and woman, he regards the state and all its blandishments and bribes for the purpose of absorbing him into its diabolic maw of suspicion—to say the least.

He sees in all forms of collectivism the enemy of his body and soul and of the United



States, in whose traditional roots of individual liberty he lives.

In holding to his deeply grounded instincts and ideas and in clinging tenaciously to his Fourth of July emotions, he cannot be moved by sneers and epithets like "horse-and-buggy" and "reactionary."

#### THAT IS AN AMERICAN

He is suspicious of any political or social idea that comes from Europe, whether it is labeled Lenin, Hegel, Marx, or Beveridge, that does not give him more liberty.

He knows that no idea that will make him a freer man politically and socially ever has, or ever will, come out of Europe.

#### THAT IS AN AMERICAN

He believes in his own unique destiny.

He believes that the grandeur and safety of his future lie in projecting himself along the routes of his past.

He combats with voice, pen, and vote all the alien-minded forms of public parasitism that are infecting the United States, whether they are called communism, fascism, state socialism, New Dealism, technocracy, or Beveridgeism.

He knows they are strangling hands out of Europe's and Asia's million-year-old charnel houses of war, slaveries, and tortures.

He wars on them—peaceably if possible, physically if necessary.

#### THAT IS AN AMERICAN

He believes in tolerance. But he is intolerant of all groups—Fascist, Communist, Socialist—whose very existences depend on the extermination of all opponents.

He believes in equality before the law, but opposes tooth-and-nail all forms of artificial legalized equality created by demagogues for the purpose of pulverizing 135,000,000 persons to a common Marxian level.

#### THAT IS AN AMERICAN

He is the foe of New Deal bureaucracy, which he knows is a form of superconstitutional government which will, in the end, wind up in a master bureaucrat—a dictator.

He opposes with all the pride, dignity, and self-reliance of a deep-soil native of this land all doles, hand-outs, cradle-to-grave security bribes—except to the helpless, the sick, the incapacitated, and the congenital, incompetent bum.

He will never give up his right to criticize any public official, from the President down, either in war or peace.

He walks upright, fearlessly, eye-to-eye, belonging to a people that was the first on the planet to do so.

His spine was not made to crook or his knees for crawling before those in power.

He is self-made—that is, no political or ecclesiastical power molded him against his will.

#### THAT IS AN AMERICAN

He is for free enterprise, which is a right implied in every line of the Constitution, and is the very breath of article 1 of the Bill of Rights.

He believes in competitive business and personal rivalries, in emulation, and in contest as a spur to better and greater accomplishments. And the sharper the rivalries the better.

He believes in a reasonable protective tariff, as Jefferson and Hamilton did, to protect his high level of living against foreign coolie levels.

#### THAT IS AN AMERICAN

He fights and sweats out taxes today to maintain this new kind of country—a country toward which all people's hands are pathetically stretched and toward which nearly all governments have their prehensile "pickers and snatchers" moving.

He is not fighting for Russia, for China, for England, or for France.

He is not fighting to dissolve himself in a fetid international witches' cauldron called a "world state."

He is not a "citizen of the world."

He is not going to transport his American sovereignty to the Kremlin or to Downing Street or to Geneva or to Chungking.

He is for America first—always.

#### THAT IS AN AMERICAN

He remains seated with the founding fathers in Independence Hall and in Constitution Hall.

He remains a nationalist.

He spurns internationalism as a device to pick his pocket and to gag his mouth and paralyze his pen.

He is a self-determined, aggressive, ever-watchful being, suspicious and cynical of all that Europe and Asia promise us.

That is a United States American; that is a Yankee Doodle American.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I wish to conclude by saying that I shall vote against the pending measure because it provides for an international organization, and that we shall have practically no say about the conduct of its affairs. When the proper time comes I shall submit a number of proposed amendments to the joint resolution. I propose to amend it by reducing the appropriation from \$1,350,000,000 to \$350,000,000.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Montana a question, with his permission.

Mr. WHEELER. Certainly.

Mr. WHERRY. Yesterday reference was made to Resolution No. 12, on page 40 of the pamphlet entitled "First Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration." Paragraph 5 of Resolution No. 12, which was particularly referred to, I now read:

5. It is recommended that in cases where home production exceeds home consumption, the Government or recognized national authority concerned should take all steps necessary to enable the excess of production available in a country to be put at the disposal of other liberated areas which may need such supplies to cover their deficits.

With that in mind, I should like to make an observation, and then ask a question. We are to contribute approximately 60 or 65 percent, I think, of the fund; at least our contribution is to be in the amount of \$1,350,000,000. What authority will determine whether we have a surplus of production? If the authority set out in the resolution determines that we have a surplus of production, if it makes the determination in good faith, and if this particular organization constituted of 44 members, or some subcommittee thereof is the legal authority, what would there be to prevent this organization from coming into the United States now, immediately after it is set up, and becoming a competing organization along with lend-lease and other agencies to purchase foods which we badly need in this country, especially for our armed forces?

I ask that question for the reason that the Senator from Montana made some remarks yesterday about that phase of the subject when the distinguished

senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE] was speaking on the joint resolution. As I recall, paragraph 5 of Resolution No. 12 was brought into the discussion, and the Senator from Montana made some reference to it.

The thing I am concerned about is this: We debated for several days the matter of consumer subsidies, because some felt strongly they would inflate prices. One of the organizations which has taken a great deal of our food and which has helped to inflate prices in this country has been the agency created under the Lend-Lease Act. Would not the force and effect of the creation of the agency proposed under the pending joint resolution be to place another competing agency in the field? If the new agency spent \$1,350,000,000, would not that in reality reduce our agricultural program of approximately \$3,000,000,000 nearly one-fourth? If that be true, it could create a hardship upon the consuming public in this country, and, in reality, we would be subsidizing the United Nations of the world, instead of helping our people at home.

If the statements I have just made throw any light on the question I should like to have the Senator from Montana answer. My question is asked in the light of the explanations made. I should like to have the Senator's reaction to the statements I have made and the questions I have asked.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, paragraph 5 of resolution No. 12 reads as follows:

5. It is recommended that in cases where home production exceeds home consumption, the Government or recognized national authority concerned should take all steps necessary to enable the excess of production available in a country to be put at the disposal of other liberated areas which may need such supplies to cover their deficits.

I assume that what is being referred to there is some liberated country which may have an overproduction or a production which exceeds its home consumption, and the thought is that such surplus should be used in other countries which do not have a surplus. It seems to me that other constructions could be put upon that language, however, since it is so broad that it could be interpreted in various ways. Nevertheless, that is the construction which I should say any reasonable body would place on it.

However, when we read paragraph 1 of resolution No. 12, on page 40, we find that it provides in part as follows:

1. Rehabilitation supplies are to consist of materials, such as raw materials, machinery, and spare parts needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated territories.

What does that mean? It means that the group to be formed under the joint resolution could buy machinery in one country and could set it up in other countries for use in those countries. If we examine the operations under lend-lease, the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act, and if we consider the amount of money we are furnishing through lend-



lease to other countries at the present time, we find that far more of it is going for other things than for war purposes; a far greater proportion is going, not for war, but for post-war uses.

For instance, I happen to know the president of a certain company in this country. He told me that his company—I will not give the exact figures—was sending to a certain country more than three-quarters of a billion dollars worth of equipment which was to be used, not as war materials, but for post-war rehabilitation, for the building of machinery and other articles to be used after the war.

Mr. President, perhaps my view is too narrow, and perhaps I am too old-fashioned. Of course, as I said earlier today, I greatly sympathize with the poor, unfortunate people of the invaded countries who are being driven from their homes and are being persecuted. In 1936, I returned from Europe and denounced Hitler for the persecution of the Jews that was occurring in Germany. I denounced him for it on many public platforms in this country. I have denounced the persecution of the Catholics in Mexico, and I have denounced every persecution of any class of people in any country on the face of the globe. But there comes a time when there is a limit to what the United States of America can give away for charitable or other purposes without dragging the great mass of the people of the United States down to a point where they will become beggars and paupers.

In this country there are some persons who think far more of Russia than they do of the United States. There are some persons who think more of some other country than they do of the United States of America, and all they are thinking about is how to get money out of the Treasury of the United States to send it to some other country.

I say the time has come in the United States of America when the American people should demand of their representatives in the halls of Congress that they put a stop to the wasteful and extravagant spending of money and the throwing of it away and the dumping of it across the ocean, when the result will be to ruin our own country.

Perhaps I may tell a story I heard the other day about two black-face comedians. One of them said, "You know, I have just been studying my history. You know, I just learned something about George Washington."

The other man said, "What was it?"

"Well," the first one said, "You know who George Washington was; don't you?"

"Why, of course. He was the father of his country."

The first man said, "Yes; and he was also the first President."

"That is right," the other one said.

"But," the first one said, "I will tell you something you didn't know." He said, "He took a silver dollar and threw it across the Rappahannock River."

The other fellow said, "Oh, that's nothing. We have got people now who have picked up the whole damn Treasury and thrown it across the Atlantic Ocean." [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I intended to vote for the pending measure until it was explained yesterday by the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE]. I think he rendered a great service to the Senate and to the people of the country when he explained the measure to the Senate. After listening to his explanation of it, I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that, so far as I am concerned, I owe a duty to the American people to vote against turning over \$1,350,000,000 to an international organization over which we shall have no control and in which we shall have only one vote, although we are asked to contribute more than 60 percent of the funds which will be given to that organization, to be spent as that group, composed of representatives of the various nations who are contributing practically nothing to it, says they shall be spent.

Will we receive any credit for it? Not at all. The people of the United States will not receive the credit for it. In my judgment, when the people of this country come to their senses and realize what is being done, when they realize that we are taking out of the pockets of every man, woman, and child in the United States \$10 to start with, and perhaps much more, we shall find an aroused public opinion in the United States which will condemn every Member of the Senate, which is so recklessly throwing away the money of the American people and spreading it to the four winds.

The American people are extremely sentimental. They are extremely sympathetic. In time of need they have come to the rescue of the people of every other country in the world. But, Mr. President, they have spent that money themselves. They have turned it over to the Red Cross or have given it directly and said, "Here is a gift." Never before in history have they turned money over to a group of nations without having anything to say as to where it is to be spent or how it is to be spent.

I have great respect for Governor Lehman. I think he is a great executive and a fine man. I also have great respect for our representative in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization. But I repeat that in my judgment we are taking a step which will result in every Member of the Senate who votes for it living to see the day when he will regret voting to turn \$1,300,000,000 over to foreign groups to spend as they will without any control by the United States.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the able Senator for his answer to my question. I should like to ask the Senator to answer another question.

Mr. WHEELER. I shall be glad to answer it if I can.

Mr. WHERRY. I did not hear all the discussion between the able Senator from Montana and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE] yesterday afternoon; but as I have studied the joint resolution I have been interested to know what the Senator's view is with respect to the restricted authority granted in article V, subparagraph 1, on page 12. Does the Senator feel that that provision satis-

factorily limits the authority granted in article I, subparagraph 1, which reads:

The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold, and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and in general to perform any legal acts appropriate to its objects and purposes.

The distinguished Senator from Wyoming felt that paragraph 1 of article V on page 12 restricted the amounts which might be appropriated and the contracts which might be entered into under the provisions of article I, subparagraph 1. Does the Senator care to express an opinion on that subject?

Mr. WHEELER. I am sorry I cannot agree with the distinguished Senator from Wyoming. I am giving only a curbstone opinion, because I have not looked into the question closely; but I am convinced that under that provision the R. F. C. could lend money to this organization without coming to the Congress. We have given the R. F. C. the broadest kind of power to lend money to organizations of all kinds. I call attention to the fact that Mr. Morgenthau has a stabilization fund of \$2,000,000,000, which he can spend in almost any way he desires. Why it was expressed in this language I do not know; but certainly before any money is spent it ought to be expressly stated in plain language that the Administration must come to the Congress of the United States.

The Senator from Nebraska knows, as do all other Senators who have had dealings with the bureaus and departments of Government, that once we give them power in loose language, they go far beyond the intention expressed by the Congress. That is true not only of this administration but of every administration. It has been true as long as I have been a Member of the Senate. We cannot be too careful about expressly stating our intentions in the simplest language so that there can be no question whatsoever about them.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator. I asked the question because of the experience we have had in the payment of consumer subsidies. I cannot find anywhere in the statute books the authority for such payments. This administration pays consumer subsidies. I do not believe it has the authority to do so.

Is there any doubt that a constituted authority—whether it be the R. F. C. or some other governmental agency—may be able to circumvent Congress? Should we not make plain our intention? If there is any agency in our Government from which the United Nations' relief and rehabilitation organization can obtain money to fulfill a contract which it enters into, which exceeds the authorization of \$1,350,000,000, it seems to me that it ought to be made clear that the only constituted authority to which it can go for an additional appropriation for an unfulfilled contract which may require more money than is allocated, is the Congress of the United States. If the administration feels that it is legal to pay consumer subsidies, as it is doing today without authority, will it not ex-



ceed the authorization of \$1,350,000,000 if it chooses to do so? I do not see any difference between a United Nations subsidy and a consumer subsidy here at home. If the organization can go to some agency other than Congress and obtain money which is not appropriated by Congress, we are indirectly granting larger appropriations to the organization than the limitation in article V on page 12.

Mr. WHEELER. I invite attention to a statement which has already been mentioned today by the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE]. The statement was made by Sir Arthur Salter in a recent speech to the cooperatives. He said:

Whoever relieves will rebuild, and whoever rebuilds will formulate the pattern of government.

This organization of 44 governments or authorities is to do the relieving. Russia will play a dominant part. Great Britain will play an important part, and we shall have 1 vote. If what Sir Arthur Salter says is true, that whoever relieves will formulate the pattern of government, what kind of a pattern of government will be set up in Europe after this war? Who will set up the pattern of government? I cannot believe that any Member of the Senate, under existing conditions and circumstances, can come to any other conclusion than that Russia will dominate Europe after this war is over. Some say that Russia will be so busy rehabilitating her own country that she will not be interested in other governments, and will not need to be interested in them.

With the poverty and misery which will exist in Europe after this war is over, what kind of a government will appeal to the masses of poverty-stricken people? Will they turn to the Government of the United States, or to Great Britain, which has been bombing them? Russia has not been bombing them. Or will they turn to the people who have been successful in resisting the Nazis, a people who believe in communism, which appeals to the masses of the people in their misery? Anyone in his right senses who knows anything about the psychology of the masses of the people of the world under such conditions must realize that Russia will dominate those countries. We shall probably rehabilitate them.

I am in sympathy with efforts to rehabilitate the starving people of stricken countries, whether they are to be dominated by Russia or by some other country, or some other form of government. However, I believe that the proposal before us is a blank check. My Republican friends have been out on the stump. Time and again they have criticized Democrats for giving blank checks to the President of the United States, and yet Republicans rise on the floor of the Senate and say that we ought to give a blank check, not to the President of the United States, but to a foreign group over whom we are to have no control.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. I have heard the Senator from Montana speak, and I did not intend to interrupt him. Like some bodies which have movement, he gets worse the farther he goes.

Mr. President, this is not a blank check to anybody. It is delimited as to amount, and it is delimited as to authority in as clear-cut language and fashion as we knew how to delimit it.

I do not care to comment especially on the other general remarks of the Senator from Montana. He has said that he is in sympathy with the liberated peoples. However, they cannot eat sympathy. Sympathy smells good, but it is not sustenance; it is not nourishment. The liberated peoples cannot eat sympathy. They cannot wear sympathy.

A little later in this debate I shall point out to Senators who are contending that we have no control over the organization, that I have a solution for that difficulty. The solution which I would suggest is merely to tell the other nations to get out of the way and let us operate the organization. We will furnish all the money and all the officers, and we will have absolute control. That is what we did in the First World War. Later in the debate I shall place in the Record facts showing that instead of \$1,350,000,000, which it is now proposed to appropriate, in the First World War we spent \$2,600,000,000, practically all of it out of our own pockets. If Senators would prefer to return to that sort of procedure and not cooperate with other nations, very well.

The value of the cooperation of other nations lies not so much in the amount they contribute as in their interest and obligation wherever they are able to do so, to rehabilitate themselves and provide relief for themselves. One of the cardinal principles of this organization is to urge and stimulate them to do so.

I did not wish to take up the Senator's time, but I could not resist the temptation at this point to express my views.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I wish to refer to what the Senator from Montana said in his concluding remarks with respect to Republicans who are now supposed to be approving blank checks. The remark must have referred to me because I am the only Republican who has risen to discuss this matter. I should like to say to the Senator from Montana that I have spent the last 6 months on the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee in trying to make sure that this will be no blank check. If he will compare the original agreement with the agreement which is now before the Senate he will find the present net result so totally different that he will, I am sure, on reflection, be inclined to say that the Republican Senator to whom he referred had done a pretty good job in seeing to it that this is no blank check. The best proof which I can give the able Senator from Montana that it is not a blank check is the language of Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson himself, which I again repeat in one sentence:

Congress would have complete power at any time to stop its contributions or to lay down the conditions as to their uses.

When I have achieved a concession from the representative of the Department of State that his power under this grant is limited as the language which I have quoted indicates, I respectively submit to my able friend from Montana that it is no blank check which I have recommended.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. I do not know anything about the work the Senator from Michigan has done, but I am sure he has worked hard and worked sincerely. Let me say with all due respect to him—and I have a great respect for him and I am personally fond of him—that I still contend that what we are asked to do is to give a blank check to the President of the United States. When the Senator says it is not a blank check, I assert that, while the amount is limited, a blank check is being given to this organization so that it may spend the money anywhere and in any way it may wish to spend it.

Does the Senator from Michigan think for one moment that the statement made by Dean Acheson is binding?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Certainly, I do.

Mr. WHEELER. Bless my soul, I have seen many persons come to Congress from various governmental departments, as have other Senators, and have heard them make statements as to what the policies were. I can cite the Senator to statement after statement made with reference to the policies of nearly every bureau, and we have seen the bureaus do exactly the opposite of what their representatives had told us would be done.

When the question of subsidies came before Congress, and we passed a bill granting subsidies, it was stated that subsidies would be given only for—what? Only for the producer in cases where there had not been sufficient production in this country to take care of the war needs. When I contended that the money would be given to the processors, distinguished Senators stood on the floor of the Senate and said, "Oh, no, not at all; that is not the purpose of it. It is to be used solely to be paid to producers." It was said that the processors and packers would be used as the agents of the Government of the United States, and that the subsidy would be passed on to the producer and the stock grower. I submit that there is not a stock grower in the United States of America who has received the subsidy, but instead it has gone entirely to the processor.

In reference to the F. C. C. legislation and S. E. C. legislation, if the Senator from Michigan will read the record of what the representatives of those organizations stated they would do, and then will recall what they later did, he will agree that such statements were not binding on the organizations. Therefore, I contend that the statement of the representative of the State Department—with all due respect for his hon-



esty and sincerity—is not binding on Congress.

I object to accepting as binding the statement of an individual who comes before one of the committees and agrees that his statement is what counts. What counts is what is written into the law, and how plainly it is written into it by the use of simple language, so that even the Supreme Court of the United States cannot misconstrue it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, if the Senator from Nebraska will indulge me for just a moment, the Senator from Montana does not need to waste any time in trying to prove to me that we have a slippery administration downtown.

Mr. WHEELER. It is not only true of this administration, but it was also true of the departments in Mr. Hoover's administration; it was also true in Mr. Coolidge's administration, and God knows it was true in Mr. Harding's administration, which was one of the most corrupt administrations the country has ever known.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator's precedents are now running into ancient history, which could be amplified in a bipartisan sense. The exhibits which he has presented here were all connected with the existing practice of the present administration. I could add several other exhibits to sustain and fortify the point which he has made. What I am saying to him is that that is precisely the reason why, so far as I was able to do so, I spent 6 months on the Foreign Relations Committee in trying to tie the language down in such a way that impositions on the congressional appropriating powers would not be possible under this grant.

I respectfully submit to the Senator from Montana that if he will study the entire resolution and the total hearings, and if he will contemplate the language in article V and article VI of the agreement which specifically limits our obligation not to this authorization but to the appropriations which are ultimately specifically to be made by Congress, which can be made under any limitations which Congress wishes to attach to the appropriations, he will agree that there is not even a remote parallel between the blank check he has talked about, which I as cordially condemn as does he, and what is contemplated under the present circumstances, which is not anything like a blank check.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. MURDOCK. If I have followed the Senator from Michigan correctly, the first agreement which was submitted to the Foreign Relations Committee, or which was called to its attention, was not at all in accord with the ideas of the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct; nor with the views of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. MURDOCK. Then a subcommittee was appointed, was it not, to go into the matter and that subcommittee, as I understand, had a great deal to do with the present text of the agreement?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. MURDOCK. After the text of the agreement had been worked out, did the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee then assure the President of the United States, who, I understand, signed the agreement on behalf of the United States, that the agreement was satisfactory to the subcommittee?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I cannot speak for the whole subcommittee, but, as one member of the subcommittee, I shall regretfully have to say to the able Senator from Utah that I had no hospitality at the White House for about 10 years; I have not been in contact with the distinguished President of the United States and I can give him no information whatever on that aspect of the affair.

Mr. MURDOCK. Does the Senator have any information as to whether or not that information did go to the President through the chairman of the subcommittee?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have no information whatever on the subject. All I know is that the ultimate agreement was approved by the State Department, which speaks for the executive arm of the Government in relation to this measure, and it was approved by the subcommittee, and it was approved by the full committee by a vote of 16 to 1.

Mr. MURDOCK. I thank the Senator.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, when I took the floor I did not intend to become a referee, so to speak, between Senators in this debate, but I want to thank them all for their contributions. And now that the senior Senator from Michigan is here I should like to get some information from him.

Mr. VANDENBERG. What does the Senator mean by that? I have been on the floor continuously in this debate.

Mr. WHERRY. I mean the Senator was not here when I questioned the senior Senator from Montana. What I am interested in particularly is the limitation of authority. The able Senator from Michigan, is present on the floor, I suppose, is present as much or more than any other Senator on either side of the aisle; and I should like to have his opinion as to the limitation of authority.

I got from his very forceful presentation yesterday, which I appreciated very much, that in the final analysis the way to control the thing is to limit the appropriations. I agree with him in that respect; but, after all, I think that the incident cited by the senior Senator from Montana is a parallel case, for if we have to resort to control of appropriations, then the administration can run around the Congress of the United States, and can get the money for contracts to which they have pledged their name by coming to the constitutional body, the Congress, for the money. That is my opinion, and in that connection I cite the illustration offered by the senior Senator from Montana, there is no authority on the statute books for the administration to pay a consumer's subsidy, and yet they found some reason for paying it, and they can find it again, if Congress does not choose to give the authority. I am asking

whether the senior Senator from Michigan feels that the authority proposed to be granted is restricted by article V, section 12?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am very glad to answer the question of the Senator, though I thought I had undertaken to make my opinion indubitably clear yesterday afternoon.

In the first place, let me say I recognize no analogy between this situation and the other appropriations to which the Senator has referred and other abuses of power by administrative agencies, because I repeat to the Senator that I think the language used in this agreement is the precise result of that experience in an all-out legislative effort to see to it that that sort of a tragedy shall not occur in respect to this particular administration.

I wish to give the Senator an example to prove that I think the administrative agencies are moving with a degree of good faith in respect to this adventure which I would agree has not been too evident in some of its other actions to which both the Senator from Nebraska and the Senator from Montana referred. I give the Senator this exhibit: The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was set up probably 4 months ago. It had been in preliminary operation I suppose for 60 or 90 days. During that time there were undoubtedly blank check appropriations particularly in respect to foreign affairs, in the hands of both the President and the State Department which might very legitimately have been drawn upon to make a preliminary contribution to this instrumentality on the part of the United States. Instead of that, the United States has not contributed one thin dime up to this hour and the State Department has said it to us in direct testimony before the committee that it will not permit one thin dime to be dedicated to this purpose until Congress has passed this joint resolution.

That is a totally different attitude, I submit to the Senator from the administrative attitude against which he appropriately complains and against which the able Senator from Montana complains. I cannot emphasize too strongly that in the 16 years I have been in this body, the greater part of it on the Committee on Foreign Relations, I have never had an experience like the present one in its total sympathetic cooperative attitude on the part of the State Department and what appears to be the wholehearted purpose to yield itself completely to the congressional intent and will in respect to this entire affair.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the able Senator for his statement.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WHEELER. I am not contradicting the Senator from Michigan, but that is not sufficient when we are appropriating a billion three hundred and fifty million dollars to an organization over which the United States is to have no control.



The senior Senator from Texas said that while I had great sympathy for the stricken people of various countries of Europe, those people could not live on sympathy, and he wanted to know whether I and some others of us wanted to have the Government of the United States spend what it spent before—\$2,600,000,000. I say "Yes" to that question. So far as I am concerned and so far, in my judgment, as the people of the United States are concerned, they would rather spend \$2,000,000,000 or \$3,000,000,000 or whatever may be necessary; but they want to know who is going to spend it, where it is going to be spent and how it is to be spent rather than to turn it over to a committee composed of Russia, Great Britain, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Liberia, and almost every other country on the face of the globe. Certainly the American people are generous, certainly they may be called upon to spend \$2,000,000,000 or \$5,000,000,000; but when we spend it let us spend it in the name of the United States of America. Let us spend it in the name of the people of the United States. Let us enable the people of this country to know when we are appropriating their money that it is going to be spent under the auspices of the people and the representatives of the people of the United States, and not be turned over to an international organization over which we have no control except to the extent of 1 vote out of 44. That is the position I take.

I am not complaining that the amount is \$1,350,000,000, but I say that it is time that the Congress of the United States of America begin to consider how much money will be left in the pockets of the people and how much of our resources will be left for the soldiers when they come back. We had better begin to determine whether or not we are going to reduce the people of this country to a state of poverty similar to that which prevails in Europe, China, and elsewhere in the world. We had better examine to see whether we are representing the best interests of our Government, or are representing the interests of some other government.

I appreciate that many of my colleagues do not agree with my philosophy with reference to this matter, but, so far as I am concerned, I shall not vote to turn over \$1,350,000,000, or much of that sum of money, to a group, to be spent by them, if I am the only Member of the Senate to vote against it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Will the Senator from Nebraska yield to me?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I wish to make a further observation, apologizing to the able Senator from Nebraska for the intrusion on his time.

With much the Senator from Montana says, in its general over-all application, I am in total agreement. In fact, that is the reason why I took 2 hours on the floor of the Senate yesterday in trying to emphasize the fact that I think the limitations upon the grants in this agreement are far more important than the grants themselves.

The Senator says that he prefers that we should spend our own money, under

our own administrative responsibility. So do I. But this happens to be tied in squarely with the war effort. It is definitely and specifically and indispensably part of the war effort. It links squarely in behind the Army as it moves on from a liberated territory, and it would be just as sensible to say that we will not have anything to do with the war itself, except as we can totally run our own Army, and totally disregard essential cooperations with the other armies of the nations of the earth.

I insist that as a peacetime operation—and I said it 50 times yesterday—I would consider it fabulous improvidence if this particular agreement were to stand as a precedent or a model or a pattern for any part of our post-war reconstruction world-wide responsibilities. It is nothing of the sort. It is definitely and specifically a part of the war effort, which cannot be avoided. If U. N. R. R. A. does not do this task, the Army itself will have to stay behind and do it. It must be done in some such partnership fashion, and I have yet to hear of a better way to do it than the one proposed.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield to me further?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. I understand the Senator's position that it is part of the war effort and just as necessary as carrying on the war. I do not subscribe to that view. I think it is the wrong philosophy, and that it is not borne out by the facts.

Of course, we have to follow up and take care of and feed the people of the liberated territories, but is there any reason why we should turn this money over to 44 different countries, they to have the say as to how it shall be spent? If we are to spend it, let us turn it over to the appropriate agency of the United States and let that agency say whether they will spend it in cooperation with Great Britain, or in cooperation with Russia; but let us not turn it over completely to somebody else to say how the money is to be spent, with the United States having 1 vote out of 44, or whatever the number may be. I do not think that can be justified on the ground that it is carrying on the war. I am just as anxious to see the war carried on to a successful conclusion as is any other Member of this body, notwithstanding the fact that there are many people and many organizations which, because one who believes in the United States, and in protecting our interests, does not agree with this or does not agree with that, want to brand him as something other than an American.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is not implying any such attitude on my part?

Mr. WHEELER. Of course not, not for one moment, but I do say to the Senator, in all sincerity, while I agree with everything he has said regarding helping to feed stricken and starving people as a part of the war effort, it should be done by a Government agency, and we should let that Government agency work

in cooperation with Great Britain, or let them work in cooperation with Russia, or with the other nations; but let us not turn the money over to a group of countries, many of which have little or no interest in the matter. Let Great Britain and the United States say how the money is to be spent in eastern Europe and Italy, and how it is to be spent in Yugoslavia, if we go into that country, how it is to be spent in France, in Belgium, and in Holland. Why turn it over to many other countries, and let them squabble as to how it is to be spent?

I think it is a serious mistake to have such an organization saying how the money of this country is to be spent. It cannot be justified, in my judgment. I would rather spend more money and have it controlled by some agency of this country, and have it cooperate with Great Britain, or cooperate with Russia when it relates to Russian territory, or cooperate with China when it relates to Chinese territory, than let a lot of countries, many of which have not anything in common with Great Britain or with the United States, say where and how the money is to be spent.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I should like to state again that when I asked for the floor I did not intend to make a speech on the joint resolution, but I feel that if I have made no other contribution than to have had the senior Senator from Michigan, the senior Senator from Montana, and the senior Senator from Texas, express their views and observations, I have really done something to throw light on the measure. I once again desire to thank them all for using the time. I had only sought the floor to ask a question about some of the terms and provisions of the joint resolution.

Now that some of these most important matters have been called to my attention, and in view of some of the statements which have been made, I wish to say that certainly I am not one of the Republicans who desire to give this administration, or any other administration, a blank check. I also wish to say that, regardless of how I shall vote upon the pending joint resolution, I want it thoroughly understood that I am willing to go just as far as anyone else in providing relief for the people of the liberated countries, and, in my opinion, all Senators are agreed on that. We want to do our part, and accept our responsibility, and I shall gladly join in any appropriation necessary to effectuate that purpose.

There are, however, one or two things I do not want to see done. The senior Senator from Michigan has convinced me at least of the importance of the provision in the bill limiting the authority. The crux of the joint resolution is the limited authority attempted to be written into it, and I agree with what is proposed in that regard. If we are to approve the measure, we must provide limited authority, we must know the obligations we undertake, and we must know what is to be expected in the event the obligations, or further obligations, may be renewed.



On that account, I asked whether or not the senior Senator from Montana felt that article V, on page 12, limited the authority conferred in article I, on page 2. It seems to me that article I, on page 2, goes much further in intent than the restrictions provided in article V, on page 12. It seems to me that as the joint resolution is written, the organization of 44 nations could enter into contracts, which would not be terminated, which would not be expected to terminate before the appropriation would become exhausted. Then the only thing the U. N. R. R. A. could do, would be to come back to some constitutional body. To what constitutional body would it come? Would it come to Congress, or to the R. F. C., or some other Government agency, and say, "Here, we spent this money, you gave us the authority, and now we want you to make good on the promise."

Mr. President, I do not want to be challenged later as giving even moral support to a promise we do not expect to fulfill.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. By any stretch of the imagination does the Senator think that the R. F. C. could be defined as an "appropriate constitutional" body?

Mr. WHERRY. I will answer that question by asking the senior Senator from Michigan this question: Does he think that the constitutional body has been defined in the measure as the Congress, or as some agency from whom the U. N. R. R. A. can obtain money when it needs it?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator cannot get me into any quarrel over charges which he makes against this administration with respect to use of funds which it may obtain contrary to the specific intention of the Congress of the United States. I wish to say again, that is the reason why this thing intrigued me from start to finish, and I tried to find if it was possible to put down in black and white a rule which was binding.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. I ask, What is a constitutional body? A constitutional body is any body which is created under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. The R. F. C. is a constitutional body.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The R. F. C. could not remotely be considered to be a constitutional body under the language in question at the point where it appears in this measure.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator is a great lawyer, and he knows—

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Montana must not be sarcastic. One of my virtues is that I am not a lawyer. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, what is a constitutional body? We create various bureaus which are arms of the Congress of the United States, and they are quasi-legislative bodies. I say that under the language in question the R. F. C. can contend that it is a constitutional

body. It is a body which is created under the Constitution of the United States. It is not the intention of the Senator from Michigan that it should be so considered, and it is not the intention of many who helped to draft the proposed legislation; there can be no question about that; but why not say in plain simple language, so there can be no question about it, "the Congress of the United States"?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The reason is very simple and obvious. The language in this agreement applies to all the nations signatory to it. We have to describe the appropriate constitutional body which, under any given form of government, has the constitutional control of appropriations. I do not think the Senator upon reflection would really undertake to certify the opinion that the R. F. C. is a constitutional body in the accepted sense of that phrase.

Mr. WHEELER. No; I agree that it is not in the accepted use of that phrase. The Supreme Court of the United States has differed not only with me but with great constitutional authorities in the country whose reputations as constitutional lawyers go far beyond mine—and I do not claim to be a constitutional authority—as to what is the meaning of the phrase.

The Senator from Tennessee suggested yesterday—and I think his suggestion to be very appropriate—that a provision should be inserted in the measure that, with respect to the United States, those who represent us in the organization cannot come back here and obtain money without the consent of the Congress.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I rose for the purpose of making a suggestion similar to the one just made by the Senator from Montana. This language can easily be changed so as to make absolutely certain what is intended. The Senator from Michigan very strenuously asserts that it was the intention that only the Congress of the United States should have the decision. If that be the case, then I suggest that after the word "bodies", on page 12, line 9, the period be stricken and a comma or a dash inserted, followed by the words "in the case of the United States, the Congress", or "in the case of the United States it means the Congress of the United States."

The reason I make that suggestion is that, as we all know, several years ago, under the Constitution and in a perfectly constitutional way, we gave the Reconstruction Finance Corporation the power to borrow money on the bonds of the United States, and we have since given the President power to use such money for a great many purposes similar to those in question, and I think unquestionably the R. F. C. could be construed to be a constitutional body. The Senator from Michigan and the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] both say that it was intended that the Congress of the United States was the body which should appropriate the money. If that is what is intended, let us remove all doubt, be-

cause it is a very important matter, as we all know, and we ought to say exactly what we mean, and mean exactly what we say in this matter. For that reason I have suggested an amendment after the words "constitutional bodies" to add "in the case of the United States the Congress of the United States is meant."

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator from Tennessee for his statement.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not care to prolong this metaphysical constitutional argument with respect to the difference between a constitutional body and any other body. This question, however, arises in the United States not only in respect to the Federal Government, but in respect to all the States. Most of the interpretations which have given to that subject with respect to the State constitutions, which are more numerous than the interpretations with respect to the Constitution of the United States, have to do with offices and bodies within the State which have been divided into constitutional and statutory offices and bodies.

As a rule, constitutional offices or bodies have been held to be those which are specifically established in the constitution under which they exist. Other offices created by legislation in the States are regarded to be statutory offices and not constitutional offices, although they are created under power given to the legislatures by the constitution under which they operate. So there is a very clearly drawn distinction between statutory offices and constitutional offices, and I think the same distinction would apply to the R. F. C. or to any office created by Congress as an agency of Congress or the Government, as distinguished from the bodies which are specifically created by the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I suggest a further exhibit as identifying the meaning of the language.

Mr. WHERRY. Which language?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The language which is causing the able and vigilant Senator from Tennessee so much trepidation.

Mr. McKELLAR. Not trepidation, but actual fear.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Well, I am sometimes impressed by the Senator's fears and sometimes I am not. I am referring to the language on page 12 in line 9, "appropriate constitutional bodies." I respectfully suggest that the first sentence of the joint resolution says:

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated—

And so forth—  
such sums—

And so forth—  
as the Congress may determine from time to time to be appropriate for participation by the United States—

And so forth. Read in connection with that clear and unequivocal statement it



seems to me, if I may again use the word "fantastic"—it seems to me to be fantastic to think that anyone would undertake to say that the appropriate constitutional body to make appropriations in the United States or to provide one nickel for this institution, would be any other than the Congress itself.

I simply wish to add, and then I am through for the day, that if I so totally lacked confidence in this administration that I feared it would distort the words "constitutional bodies" to mean the R. F. C. in order to go behind the barn and cheat the intent of Congress, I certainly would not vote for the joint resolution at all, just as I have never voted for the administration at all. [Laughter.]

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. I simply wish to say in connection with what the Senator from Michigan has said, that I have every confidence in the present administration. But we are confronted with a question as to the meaning of words. We all here say that what we intend is that the money to be used for the purposes of the joint resolution is to be drawn from the Treasury of the United States after action by the appropriate committees of the Congress and by the Congress itself. If we all mean that, why do we not say precisely what we mean?

I have had the legislative drafting service of the Senate prepare an amendment which contains this language, and I challenge any Senator—it makes no difference who—to rise and say the language I propose will not carry out what it says we mean. Of course, we must do this by way of reservation; we cannot put it in by way of amendment, because it must be agreed to by the other nations. The language is as follows:

SEC. —. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

That in the case of the United States the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount and character of the contributions of the United States is the Congress of the United States.

That is exactly what the Senator from Michigan says his language or the language of the joint resolution as reported intends. If that is what it intends, why not say so?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, just a further word, and then I shall keep the promise I made a moment ago.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I hope the Senator will not make such a promise. We like to hear the Senator from Michigan; he is always interesting.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator insists on this identification, which seems total surplusage to me, instead of attempting to do it by reservation to the agreement as it is carried in the resolution, that procedure obviously requiring subsequent consent from other governments, inasmuch as it is dealing solely with the domestic question, I suggest that the Senator attach his definition at the end of the joint resolution, so that it will relate to the portion of the joint resolution which refers to the activities

of our own Government of the United States. In that way it would be just as effective.

However, I wish to add that I think it is surplusage. I think it would be just as sensible to say that wherever the word "President" is used in the joint resolution it means Franklin D. Roosevelt until next January, and then it means someone else.

Mr. McKELLAR. It might not; he might be President after next January. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, we hope he will not be. [Laughter.]

I desire to make a concluding statement, and then I shall yield the floor. I wish I felt as confident about the limitations in the joint resolution as the senior Senator from Michigan seems to feel. I cannot feel other than that article I, on page 2, goes a long way toward having this organization enter into obligations which will go far in excess of the appropriation now sought to be authorized, and that then the organization will come back and want additional appropriations. Of course, we add a limitation by requiring that the request for additional appropriations must be brought to the Congress, as the senior Senator from Michigan has so ably and forcibly shown here this afternoon.

But my decision as to whether I shall support the joint resolution will depend upon whether this thing can be buttoned up and sewed up with respect to the limitation of power.

I do not want to provide for this administration or any other administration a loophole which will enable it to exercise powers beyond the powers intended to be granted under the pending measure. I saw now that it seems to me there is a question. Question has been raised all the way through. The fact that the able senior Senator from Michigan stated over and over again that there were limitations, and yesterday charged the Appropriations Committee that they were the only ones to pass on this matter, convinced me that there is some doubt as to whether the pending measure contains sufficient limitation of authority.

I say that for the reason that it is my humble opinion that contained in the agreement is the substance of provisions which should be contained in a treaty. If that be so, a favorable vote by two-thirds of the Senate should be required, instead of a majority vote by both Houses of Congress. For that further reason, I feel we should see to it that the limitations are contained in the joint resolution.

I appreciate the amendments which have been submitted; and I hope other amendments will be submitted, so that we shall have a piece of legislation which will require that Congress, not any other body which might be interpreted as being a constitutional body, shall be the one to pass on the question whether we shall appropriate and continue to appropriate for contracts which will be made, not by the Senate, not by the United States Congress, but by a group of 44 nations joined in an organization in which we shall have only one vote. We

will not obtain protection there. We must obtain it in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] gave an exact definition of constitutional and statutory offices and bodies. There should be no confusion at all on that point, because the courts have unanimously, I think, interpreted "constitutional offices" just as the Senator described them—those that are authorized or named in the Constitution itself.

The joint resolution now pending before the Senate is based wholly on the agreement which is found in the document I hold in my hand, entered into at Atlantic City on November 9, 1943. That agreement is the foundation of the joint resolution, and is based upon it.

Mr. President, whatever is contained in the joint resolution obtains its authority from the agreement. I desire to call attention to the fact that the agreement is certainly in treaty form, if not in name. What we are undertaking to do here is to approve, by implication at least, an agreement entered into with some 40 foreign nations, having to do with a continuing subject. It is not a finished subject; it is not an agreement that they shall perform some individual act, and then end. It is a continuing subject for whatever length of time may be necessary.

So, Mr. President, I am greatly concerned about the meaning of this contract, about the method by which it was entered into, and about where it will lead the United States of America. Under our form of government this country can enter into an agreement in the form of a treaty with another nation or other nations only by the act of this body. The distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] has said that this proposal is not a treaty. I do not know. It is certainly a treaty in form, if nothing else.

Chiang Kai-shek, being a dictator over his country, can sign a treaty, agreement, contract, or whatever it may be called, by placing his name on it. Joe Stalin, being a dictator in his own country, can bind his country to a contract, agreement, treaty, or whatever it may be called, by placing his name on it. As to whether or not Winston Churchill can bind Great Britain by placing his name upon an agreement, I do not know; but I do know, without any if's or and's about it, that the President cannot bind his country by placing his name upon a contract or agreement without the approval and consent of this body.

The agreement which I have before me was made weeks ago, without the knowledge or consent of the American people and without the knowledge or consent of this body. It has never been submitted to us for approval or confirmation. It was signed on behalf of this country by the President of the United States.

It is provided in the joint resolution that this agreement, contract, treaty, or whatever it may be called, shall go into effect upon his signature. Therefore, this contract went into effect on the day the President of the United States signed it, without the knowledge or consent of this



body and without the knowledge or consent of the American people, and, in my opinion, without any authority to do so. In my opinion, that is one of the most serious things in connection with this joint resolution and the contract or agreement upon which it is based.

I should like to invite the attention of the Senate to a few of the things which cause me great concern. If it were not for the very able discussion and explanation of the senior Senator from Michigan yesterday I am quite certain in my own mind that I would vote against the joint resolution. In my opinion, he has shown that the joint resolution is in reality a part of our war effort. If that be so, we are bound to do some things which we would not otherwise do. That is why I have been so concerned about the language of the contract and whether or not the Senator has satisfactorily explained it to us.

Yesterday I asked the Senator from Michigan who is to control the interpretation of this sort of agreement. He said he did not know, but he presumed that the 43 other nations which signed the agreement, contract, or treaty would control, and our one little vote would be pretty ineffectual in deciding the interpretation of the contract.

We shall be up against the same thing that we were up against in connection with the so-called Moscow agreement or pact of a few weeks ago. I was much interested in it. I have never seen the exact terms of it. I do not know what it is, except as it is reported in the newspapers. However, I find news comments to the effect that there are three distinct, separate, and somewhat contradictory interpretations placed upon the Moscow Pact by the three principal countries involved.

If we can believe the press reports with respect to the Moscow Pact, Russia has interpreted it to mean that no central European federation will be tolerated by Russia. Russia interprets it to mean that there will be no artificial union of powers in Russia, and that there will be no buffer states between Russia and the rest of Europe. That is the Russian interpretation of the Moscow Pact.

What does our Secretary of State say about it? His interpretation is in complete disagreement with that of Russia. Secretary Hull says that the Moscow Pact means that there shall be no more alliances, no more spheres of influence, and no balance of power.

How does England interpret the Moscow pact? England interprets it to mean that it is necessary for England to have the balance of power which has been controlling Europe for hundreds of years, in order that England may continue to exist.

Those are the three interpretations of the Moscow Pact by the three principal countries. The interpretations are completely at variance. I use that only as an illustration of what may happen when this agreement goes into effect, if it is not already in effect. There may possibly be 44 different interpretations as to what the contract means; and certainly the United States of America

would receive short shrift from its associates if our interests should happen to conflict with those of other nations.

I invite the attention of the Senate to one or two things in the joint resolution. Yesterday the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar] called to our attention the powers to be conferred upon the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. They are set forth in article I, subparagraph 1, on page 2 of the joint resolution.

The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold, and convey property—

That is a pretty broad grant of power to this Council, made up of representatives of foreign governments. There is no limitation as to where property may be acquired, how it may be acquired, or what amount may be acquired. The Administration is simply given power to acquire property.

The Administration is to have the power to convey property. It may buy and sell property anywhere in the world. Under the provisions of this section it may "enter into contracts and undertake obligations."

What obligations? What contracts may the Administration enter into without our knowledge and consent? We are bound by article I, subparagraph 1, to turn over the operation of the whole program to a council of foreigners.

The Administration is also to have the power—

to designate or create agencies—

We might lend them some of our bureaus, but this Council is to have power to create any number of new ones—

and to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings, and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects and purposes.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. Having raised the question as to what this organization is, what would the Senator say is the legal effect of the organization? It cannot be a partnership of nations, can it, because nations are unable to be partners? How would the Senator class the organization?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I class the agreement as a treaty, and the organization might be termed a "league of nations" or a "confederation of nations." I believe the point raised by the Senator is fundamental.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I yield.

Mr. WILLIS. Does the Senator have any information as to how this agreement was approved by other countries? Did they submit it to their respective legislative bodies for approval? Has the Senator any information on that point?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I have no information on that point.

Mr. WILLIS. I have seen no statement concerning how the agreement was received and approved in other countries.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. According to the pamphlet issued by the committee, or by

the Council of the United Nations at its first session, purportedly the heads of the various nations signed the agreement. That is the only information I have on the subject.

Mr. WILLIS. The Senator has no information as to their constitutional authority for signing?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. No; I have not. I know that it is necessary that the legislative bodies of France and England approve any agreement entered into by their representatives.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I notice that on page 2 of the joint resolution the Administration, which is the association, takes unto itself the power "to acquire, hold and convey property."

Mr. BUSHFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. FERGUSON. Would not such power be determined entirely by the place and location at which this association was attempting to exercise the power?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Will the Senator restate his question?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have stated that on page 2, line 21 of the joint resolution now under consideration, the following language is set forth: "The Administration"—which is the association, "shall have power to acquire, hold and convey property." Would any such act be governed by the laws of the area in which the association or Administration attempted to hold or convey property?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. The Senator means that the Council would have on authority unless the laws of the particular nation involved approved the act of the Council.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Perhaps the Senator is correct.

Mr. FERGUSON. In the attempt to determine what kind of an association this is, let us consider this question: Because a sovereign nation cannot be sued without its consent, the United States, for instance, certainly could not be sued and could not sue, could it?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. FERGUSON. So, when we come to the language which states that the Administration has the right "to enter into contracts and undertake obligations," do we not have to say that these contracts and these obligations must be interpreted by the law of the area in which they are to be entered into? How could this association enter into a binding contract here in the United States? It certainly could not enter into a contract upon which a suit could be based and maintained, could it?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I do not believe so, unless by this resolution such authority is granted.

Mr. FERGUSON. That is what I was coming to. By adopting this resolution do we approve and ratify this particular organization?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I think we do. I think it is unquestioned that the minute the Congress gives its O. K. to this resolution it approves the whole U. N. R. R. A.



Mr. FERGUSON. Do we classify this as being an executive agreement at the time it was entered into, and assume that we are now ratifying that executive agreement, and insofar as the Congress of the United States is authorized to do so, are creating an organization approved by the United States Congress?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. It would seem so to me. We are going further than that, if I may be permitted a suggestion. The minute we approve this resolution we approve the contract which was entered into by the 44 nations, and approve by a vote of this body, a treaty in form.

Mr. FERGUSON. If I may inquire further, when we say that we are approving all contracts, is it not true that we are approving them only insofar as moral obligations are concerned? In other words, this creates no legal obligation, because the United States as a Nation cannot be sued unless it consents to the suit. However, we can create moral obligations in the minds of our people and in the minds of the people of other nations.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. FERGUSON. And when we have a moral obligation and no legal obligation, we are more strongly bound to carry out the moral obligation, to a certain extent, than we are to carry out the strict terms of a legal obligation.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. The Senator is absolutely correct.

I now return to the point which I started to discuss a moment ago. I refer to section 5 on page 11 of the resolution. The language to which I refer reads as follows:

The Director General shall make periodic reports to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the progress of the Administration's activities.

Yesterday, in connection with the discussion relative to those reports, I raised the point that the Congress of the United States would know nothing about what was going on under this contract except what it gained from the newspapers.

The next sentence of this paragraph reads:

The reports shall be made public except for such portions as the Central Committee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Nations, to keep confidential.

By that language we have surrendered every right to know what is taking place on the part of the Council, and what it is doing. Yesterday I asked the distinguished Senator from Michigan if the Congress would be informed and he said, "Oh, yes; the President informs it." I am sorry to differ with my distinguished friend, the Senator from Michigan, but the President does not inform us. Support for that statement is found on page 12 of the joint resolution, article VI, reading as follows:

The Director General shall submit to the Council an annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration.

To that extent only would the President report to Congress the money he had received, and the money he had paid out. The report would perhaps be in

the form of an itemized statement. However, there are no reports provided for in this resolution to be furnished Congress or anyone else concerning what this organization of foreign governments does with our money in carrying out the program of relief, and all the activities implied in the joint resolution.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to offer an amendment at this point, on page 11—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair wishes to advise the Senator that a committee amendment is now pending. The Senator may offer his amendment now only by unanimous consent.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I thank the Chair. I wish to state the purpose of the amendment, and then I shall ask unanimous consent to offer it, if I may do so. On page 11, line 11, following the word "Council," I propose to add the following words, "and to the Congress"—just those four words. In other words, I wish to provide that these reports must be made to the Congress as well as to the Council.

Mr. TAFT. The Senator means the Congress of the United States?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Yes; the Congress of the United States of America.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to offer the amendment.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, -I think we should follow the orderly procedure. The Senator will have an opportunity to offer his amendment, but I do not think the pending committee amendment should be set aside for the purpose of allowing a Senator to offer another amendment now.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Very well. Is there any objection to having the amendment printed so that it may lie on the table?

Mr. BARKLEY. Oh, no; the Senator has that right.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, I send the amendment to the desk.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator proposes to offer an amendment to the agreement itself, which in turn would have to be ratified by all the other nations.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Yes; I presume that is true. However, I think it is most essential that the Congress of the United States shall know what takes place under the agreement.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, the Senator realizes that as to the language of the agreement itself, if we are to amend it so that Congress shall be notified by the Director General, as well as by the Council of the organization, every other nation signatory to the agreement will have the right then to amend the agreement so as to provide that its legislative body shall also be notified.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I cannot see why that should not be done.

Mr. BARKLEY. In that event we would have this agreement going back and forth for an interminable length of time before we would really know what it was.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from South Dakota yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. I ask the Senator from South Dakota especially in what respect will he say that the amendment he would offer on page 11, line 11, would alter the requirement provided in section 2 of the resolution itself and on page 15, lines 1 to 3, which read:

The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any such appropriations and of operations under the agreement.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. There is no requirement, as I read the joint resolution, for a report on the activities of the Council. The President is to report on expenditures of money and on operations under the funds placed in his hands, but we will know nothing about what is going on and about what the Council may have done. That is the purpose of my amendment.

Mr. DANAHER. I thank the Senator.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President—

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I did not hear the precise amendment offered by the Senator, but I gathered that it was to that portion of the joint resolution which embodies the agreement itself. As the able Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] has said, if we modify the agreement, then it has got to go back to every nation which is a party to it, and if it were not approved by all these nations it would be a nullity, and they would not be bound by the provisions of the agreement. In other words, if we amend the agreement it will have to go back to be ratified again by all who have heretofore approved it, or it will be a nullity as to those who do not assent to the reservation or amendment. I think I am correct in that respect.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Let me say to the Senator that the interest and welfare of the American people are far more important than the welfare or the interest of 43 other nations, and it is our job to try to protect the American people first.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator will permit me, I think everyone agrees with the Senator in the statement he has just made. The only point I had in saying anything was inferentially to suggest that the Senator's amendment might be added at another place, a later place in the joint resolution, and not be added as an amendment to the agreement which is simply recited in the joint resolution.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I appreciate the suggestion of the Senator, and thank him.

Mr. President, as I stated in the beginning, and now repeat, I do not oppose now nor would I oppose at any time assisting in any manner that we could toward the relief of people who have been stricken in this tragic war. I do not want to be placed in the position of appearing to oppose that objective. I am only calling attention of the Senate to some of the provisions of the joint resolution which are detrimental to our people, but not for the purpose of opposing the resolution itself.

The very point the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] brought



about a moment ago was mentioned yesterday by me in a query submitted to the senior Senator from Michigan. My query was:

While we have the legalistic right to do thus and so, as the Senator has so clearly pointed out, is there not a moral obligation to go along with the agreement and fulfill all its terms, regardless of what Congress may decide to do in the future?

To that question the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] replied as follows:

I do not think so; and when I have concluded my schedule of limitations, I think the Senator will agree with me that the situation is fairly clear.

Immediately before that question I asked the Senator from Michigan this question:

Mr. President, I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from Michigan a question. If the other forty-odd members of the Council should place a different interpretation upon some decision than our own representative or our Congress places upon it—

Mr. VANDENBERG. It would be just too bad.

That is the point which was brought out by the junior Senator from Michigan. If we enter into this contract, if we approve all the provisions set forth in the joint resolution and in the contract, it will be "just too bad" for us and probably for the world if we do not go along with the proposal.

A Senator said on the floor yesterday that we can withdraw from this organization if we want to at any time and thereby relieve ourselves of the obligation. But, Senators, that is not true. We cannot withdraw from the organization at any time we want. The provisions of the joint resolution itself take care of that, but the moral obligation, stronger by far than the legal part of it, prohibits us from withdrawing. If we enter into commitments and obligations across the water, if we start rehabilitation programs across the water, even though they be mismanaged to our disgust and our anger, and we want to get out of the organization, we cannot get out of it; we are in it to the finish. We are in it not only because of the moral obligation but we are in it because the joint resolution itself says the only way in the world we can get out of the agreement is to serve notice at a time 6 months after the agreement goes into effect, and then we cannot get out for 12 months after we have served such notice. The last provision of the joint resolution says it shall terminate on June 30, 1946, which is a trifle over the 18 months it would take us to get out of the organization. So in my opinion, Senators, the provision with reference to withdrawal and being relieved of the obligations is simply a futile gesture and does not mean a thing in the world.

In another portion the joint resolution provides that before we can get we must make every payment and perform and finish every commitment we have said we would undertake. So while Senators may talk about withdrawal, there is no such thing as withdrawal. We have got to take the thing as it is, and know we are going through with it, or stay out of it. That is the decision the

Senate must make when it finally comes to vote upon the joint resolution.

Mr. President, I am wondering in what position we are with regard to the resolutions which might be considered to be in the form of amendments, some 34 of them, which are included in the report of the organization. Some of them go pretty far; some of them really commit us to do things which, in my judgment, do not appear in the joint resolution itself. If the Council can change the picture by subsequent resolution or amendment, or whatever it may be called, what is to prohibit the Council, loaded against us as it is at the start, from changing the agreement and the resolution to suit themselves?

Senators, I think this matter is so serious that we should give it plenty of time before acting upon it, not with the idea of opposing proper proposal along this line but with the idea and hope of protecting the interests of this country and preventing the waste of our substance.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3477) to continue the Commodity Credit Corporation as an agency of the United States, to revise the basis of annual appraisal of its assets, and for other purposes.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

H. R. 205. An act conferring jurisdiction upon the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of Florida to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of all persons who have claims for damages or losses allegedly resulting from the construction, further development, and improvement of the Intracoastal Waterway, Miami to Jacksonville, Fla., and for other purposes;

H. R. 213. An act for the relief of Edward H. Smith;

H. R. 399. An act for the relief of John Sims;

H. R. 547. An act for the relief of Kernan R. Cunningham;

H. R. 550. An act for the relief of Mrs. Renzie Graham.

H. R. 610. An act for the relief of Pacific Dry Dock & Repair Co., Inc.;

H. R. 850. An act for the relief of George M. Louie;

H. R. 1311. An act for the relief of Dan Crofts;

H. R. 1388. An act to authorize the acceptance of donations of land for the construction of a scenic parkway to provide an appropriate view of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park from the Tennessee side of the park, and for other purposes;

H. R. 1442. An act for the relief of Lafayette Gibson;

H. R. 1467. An act to record the lawful admission to the United States for permanent residence of Rev. Julius Paal;

H. R. 1854. An act for the relief of Ethel Cohen;

H. R. 1872. An act for the relief of J. E. McCoy & Son;

H. R. 1934. An act for the relief of Mrs. Donald B. Johnston;

H. R. 2075. An act for the relief of Charles R. Hooper;

H. R. 2199. An act to amend an act entitled "An act in relation to taxes and tax sales in the District of Columbia," approved February 28, 1898, as amended;

H. R. 2340. For the relief of the Postal Telegraph-Cable Co.;

H. R. 2580. An act to grant the consent of Congress to a compact entered into by the States of South Dakota and Wyoming relating to the waters of the Belle Fourche River Basin, to make provisions concerning the exercise of Federal jurisdiction as to those waters, to promote the most efficient use of those waters, and for other purposes;

H. R. 2639. An act for the relief of William M. Tucker and Nelda M. Tucker;

H. R. 2690. An act for the relief of Oswald L. Sawyer;

H. R. 2691. An act for the relief of Tom S. Steed;

H. R. 2804. An act for the relief of Ruth E. P. Phillips, as executrix of the estate of Amos Russell Phillips, deceased;

H. R. 2924. An act to give effect to the Provisional Fur Seal Agreement of 1942 between the United States of America and Canada; to protect the fur seals of the Pribilof Islands; and for other purposes;

H. R. 2976. An act to grant military rank to certain members of the Navy Nurse Corps;

H. R. 3001. An act for the relief of James T. Rogers;

H. R. 3076. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Arthur J. Martin, Jr., a minor;

H. R. 3153. An act for the relief of the estate of Jennie I. Weston, deceased;

H. R. 3189. An act for the relief of Thomas Lewis;

H. R. 3329. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. Charles H. Morhouse;

H. R. 3332. An act for the relief of Spencer Meeks;

H. R. 3428. An act to amend sections 6, 7, and 8 of the act entitled "An act to provide for the leasing of coal lands in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes," approved October 20, 1914 (38 Stat. 741, 743; 48 U. S. C., secs. 440, 441, 442);

H. R. 3477. An act to continue the Commodity Credit Corporation as an agency of the United States, to revise the basis of annual appraisal of its assets, and for other purposes;

H. R. 3504. An act for the relief of Wade Bros., a partnership composed of M. J., G. W., and Ovid Wade;

H. R. 3605. An act to provide for reimbursement of certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as the result of fires in tents used as quarters by members of the Twelfth Naval Construction Battalion, Long Island, Alaska, on December 26, 1942, and May 26, 1943, respectively;

H. R. 3606. An act to provide for reimbursement of certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as a result of a fire at the outlying degaussing branch of the Norfolk Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va., on December 4, 1942;

H. R. 3607. An act to provide for reimbursement of certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as a result of a fire in tent L-76 at the Amphibious Training Base, Camp Bradford, Norfolk, Va., on March 15, 1943;

H. R. 3760. An act authorizing the President to present, in the name of Congress, a Distinguished Service Medal to Lt. Gen. Thomas Holcomb, United States Marine Corps; and

H. R. 3916. An act to permit the construction and use of certain pipe lines for pneumatic tube transmission in the District of Columbia.



## UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I should like to say a few words on the joint resolution. The questions which I asked the able Senator from South Dakota might indicate that I was against the joint resolution. That is not the case. I believe that we should try to make up our minds as a Congress to determine whether or not we want to appropriate the sum of \$1,350,000,000 for relief and rehabilitation. I have come to the conclusion that that should be done by the Congress of the United States. I realize that this is an unusual piece of legislation. It is in effect an approval of an executive agreement by the President of the United States which he entered into last November. It is unusual in that, by adopting a joint resolution to authorize the appropriation of money, we are asked—and I believe the Senate will do it—to approve that executive agreement.

There is no doubt in my mind that the joint resolution does not authorize the R. F. C. or any other statutory body to finance this association of nations. I think the able Senator from Kentucky gave a proper definition of a constitutional body. I should like to add that I think the distinction between a constitutional body and a statutory body is that the Congress has the power and the authority to abolish or to alter in any way a statutory body, whereas it has no authority to abolish a constitutional body.

The constitutional body referred to, I am satisfied, because of the wording in the agreement, is the Congress of the United States. The R. F. C. does not appropriate money. "Appropriate" is not a proper term when applied to what the R. F. C. does. It may lend money, it may advance money, but it does not appropriate money. The word "appropriate" as used in the joint resolution clearly refers to an appropriation by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. President, I am of the opinion that when, by the joint resolution, we enter into this agreement, we should carry out every letter and every word of it, and that we should be prepared in the future not to expect to look too closely into what the money has been used for, because when we ratify the agreement, we are giving authority to the governments of the United Nations to go into the war areas and, approving their discretion and their judgment, to the best of their ability, to grant relief and bring about rehabilitation as they may see fit, so far as this Government is concerned, to the amount mentioned in the first part of the joint resolution, on line 4, which is \$1,350,000,000.

Mr. President, I for one am willing to go along with the proposal. I do not

believe this should ever be considered as a precedent indicating that the Senate of the United States is relinquishing its right to approve so-called Executive agreements, or is relinquishing its right in the future to approve treaties, and it should be clearly understood that by approving this agreement, we are not giving away or altering in any way the Constitution of the United States or our constitutional authority to approve treaties as treaties, and that we have the right to approve Executive agreements if we are called upon later to appropriate money.

We are not by this act determining what is an Executive agreement and what is a treaty. We are ratifying the proposed agreement as an Executive agreement, and we are authorizing an appropriation of a certain sum to carry it out.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, I ask consent at this time to offer an amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read, and I shall ask then to have it printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to amend article X, on page 15, by the insertion of the following:

SEC. 5. None of the funds appropriated in pursuance of this authorization shall be expended in the promotion of any educational, religious, or political program in any country in which rehabilitation is carried on.

In the first line on page 11, it is proposed that "Sec. 3" shall be changed to "section 6."

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I intend to vote for the joint resolution, but with a good many reservations and doubts, and I should like therefore to explain why I intend to vote for it.

Yesterday I asked the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] as to the nature of this particular proceeding, and it was suggested that this is something new, that it is an executive agreement to be approved by a majority of both Houses of Congress. That is something different from what we have understood as executive agreement, and something different from a treaty.

What concerns me about the proposal is that if the Executive can enter into an agreement and say, "I make this agreement subject to the approval of the Congress," and thereby relieve himself of the obligation of making a treaty and submitting it to the Senate for approval by a two-thirds vote, we are establishing a precedent which would be very dangerous indeed, because if by executive agreement there can be set up an international food relief organization, and it can be removed from the treaty field simply by saying it shall be subject to approval of the Congress, then exactly the same thing could be done in the case of a league of nations; a league of nations could be established subject to the approval of the Congress, and at once we would lose entirely the power to carry out the treaty-making process provided in the Constitution. That applies if that is the reason behind it. I do not think it is the reason.

Mr. CONNALLY. Will the Senator from Ohio yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Without expressing approval of or dissent from the philosophy of the Senator from Ohio, he is aware, is he not, that the last World War was finally terminated by the United States not by the ratification of a treaty, but by the adoption of a joint resolution, in which we endeavored to claim all the benefits and privileges of the Versailles Treaty without assuming any of its obligations? That was a departure, too, from constitutional procedure.

Mr. TAFT. What the Senator states is that we did not assume any obligations, and the whole question about a treaty is whether we assume obligations, so that I do not think there is any precedent in that respect. We may have ended the war by joint resolution, we may have recognized the settlements made, but so long as we did not assume any obligations, it cannot be said that under the Constitution we should necessarily have to act by treaty.

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the Senator from Ohio yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. So far as the process which the Senator is discussing is concerned if we can by joint resolution accept the benefits of a treaty to which we are not a party without violating our procedure, or the proprieties, is there any difference between that and undertaking obligations which might ensue under the same sort of procedure?

Mr. TAFT. I think so, yes. If we can get any benefit, I do not suppose we care whether we ratify the instrument or not. The question is, can the Executive, without two-thirds of the Senate, assume obligations? That is the substantial question. I do not think we did get any benefit, that is, to the extent of getting any benefits of promises from any nation to do anything. In effect, we attempted to recognize the settlements made, the boundaries fixed, in the Versailles Treaty, but, so far as I know, we never received any benefits from it.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. In line with the argument the Senator has been making, and in spite of the fact that he says he intends to vote for the joint resolution, I should like to ask him whether, if such a joint resolution as this were enacted, and once we set such a precedent—and despite the fact that the Senator from Michigan so ably argued yesterday that we were not setting a precedent, it seems to me inescapable that we are—he believes it is likely that at anytime in the future any treaty will ever be presented to the Senate under the constitutional process as provided by the Constitution itself? It seems to me this is a far-reaching departure, which is a congressional recognition of the principle of executive agreements to be approved by Congress, rather than treaties to be approved in accordance with the constitutional requirement of a two-thirds majority.



Mr. TAFT. That is the difficulty I have been trying to get over, but I do not think it is a precedent, if the Senator wants to know my view.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I have been trying to get over it, too, and I find myself unable to get over it in any logical way I have heard discussed. I listened to the very persuasive speech of the Senator from Michigan yesterday, hoping that I could be convinced by it, but unfortunately I find myself in the position of regarding this as a bypassing of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, there is, however, without any doubt, an authority in the President to do certain things by executive agreement. Where the line is between what can be done by executive agreement and what can be done by treaty is uncertain, but I hope at least to suggest where that line is. My conclusion is that this is properly an executive agreement; not an executive agreement because approved by Congress, but valid before approved by Congress. In fact, the resolution says so in so many words on its first page:

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated \* \* \* such sums \* \* \* as the Congress may determine from time to time to be appropriate for participation by the United States \* \* \* in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and associated governments on November 9, 1943.

So the validity of this agreement in no way depends on the action of Congress. Congress is asked to appropriate money to support it, and the agreement itself makes it clear that we are free to do so or not, as we choose. But the agreement is a valid agreement. The organization has been established. Governor Lehman has been appointed Director General. The whole thing is set up. This is not an executive agreement approved by Congress. This is an executive agreement. Its validity stands or falls on the question whether it is an executive agreement or a treaty by the United States. If it is a treaty it should be submitted to the Senate for ratification by two-thirds vote. If it is an executive agreement it does not have to be submitted to Congress at all, except as Congress may be asked, and as it may be necessary, to provide money.

Executive agreements may be made, and if they are in the proper field of executive agreements, they stand or fall on their own bases. But of course if money is necessary to be appropriated in connection with them, Congress must be asked for the money. That is the situation as I see it now. We do, by appropriating money, indicate that we approve of the agreement, but such approval is not essential to the validity of the agreement.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator has the Constitution before him on his desk. I wonder if he would be good enough to point out the provision of the Constitution which authorizes an executive agreement.

Mr. TAFT. I think there is a provision which would apply in the general power to conduct foreign relations. The Senator will find many Supreme Court opinions dealing with the right of the President to make executive agreements. I wish I could say that the Senator is correct, that we could not enter into any obligation with a foreign nation without making a treaty, but that is not a fact. It is not supported by precedent. Precedent after precedent has supported the right of the President in certain fields to make executive agreements. The important thing for us is to determine what those fields are, and to see that the executive agreements are held to the fields where there is a proper scope for the making of executive agreements.

A year or two ago I cited to the Senate a book written, as I recall, by Mr. McClure, who was in the State Department, in which he maintained that anything could be done by executive agreement. If that is so, the function of the Senate in foreign relations has come to an end.

I do not think that extreme position is tenable, but it is taken by some persons. I am afraid, however, that once this is done, as the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] suggested, it will be said that if this is a new thing, and if it is based simply on the principle that anything can be done by executive agreement if it is submitted to congressional approval, undoubtedly it will be used as a precedent for every other negotiation.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. If the Senator will permit me, I will say that I am very familiar with the book to which he referred, which was cited not only by the Senator from Ohio on the floor, but cited at great length before the Finance Committee by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY].

What I dread about the joint resolution is that no matter what excuses may be made for it, it comes here in the precise form of the suggestion made by a responsible official of the State Department, evidently put out more or less by authority, although signed by his own name, that in the future it is entirely constitutional and possible to bypass all submissions of treaties to the Senate, and to proceed in this very way, according to the very model presented in the pending joint resolution, without ratification by the Senate according to the provisions of the Constitution.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Before the Senator answers the statement made by the Senator from Missouri I wish to call attention to certain words of the Constitution.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

Now here is a treaty, and it is certainly a treaty, because it is an agreement with 43 other nations or subnations. Forty-three of them agree with us.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. All financed by lend-lease.

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not know whether they are all financed by lend-lease; but here is an agreement, as we know, with foreign countries, submitted to the Congress and not to the Senate. A treaty is an agreement between foreign nations, as we all know. Here is a proposed agreement with 43 other nations. It is just as plain as the nose on a man's face; there cannot be any mistake about it. Under those circumstances, since the Senator is not able to put his finger on any provisions providing for executive agreements with foreign nations, except the provision I have read in the Constitution, I am sure there cannot be any doubt about its being a treaty.

Mr. TAFT. I wish the Senator from Tennessee were correct. I mean I wish that were the law. But it is not the law. Supreme Court opinion after Supreme Court opinion has held that under the general power the executive power shall be vested in the President of the United States, and possibly in connection with his power to appoint ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, the President of the United States has certain power to enter into executive agreements with foreign nations. I cannot cite to the Senator the cases which have so held, but there have been many of them. I should like to agree with the Senator. I wish it could not be done. But, unfortunately, I am afraid it can.

I might ask the Senator from Tennessee, did he himself vote for the trade agreements?

Mr. McKELLAR. Which agreements?

Mr. TAFT. For the Trade Agreements Act?

Mr. McKELLAR. Congress passed an act dealing with trade agreements.

Mr. TAFT. Yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. That measure was passed within the constitutional limitation. The President signed it in the usual way. I have no doubt that we could make an agreement of that sort. But that is something that dealt with trade. The Constitution gives us power over interstate and foreign commerce, and we simply exercised that power. It is a specific power contained in the body of the Constitution, which anyone can see. But there is not a word in the Constitution with respect to executive agreements.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, before we go further I should like to run over the classes of executive agreements as I have analyzed them, and I must admit that my study is not complete and that I may not be entirely correct.

In the first place, there is no doubt that minor matters may be dealt with by executive agreement, and the most usually cited instances of minor matters are postal agreements as to the transmission of mail, the honoring of the stamps of other countries, and extradition treaties—so-called treaties, but which actually in most cases have been made by the President without submission to the Congress.

I think it is generally true that all minor matters, or matters which do not assume any substantial obligation with



foreign nations, may be handled by the President by executive agreement.

In the second place, in the field of minor matters the Senate not long ago approved the so-called Panama agreement. It was not really a minor matter. That agreement was approved by a majority of both the House and the Senate. I have no doubt the Senator from Tennessee voted for it. I think I voted against it on the ground that it was an amendment to a treaty, and so it seemed clear to me that even though it were minor it ought to be done by a treaty. But my impression is that the Senator from Tennessee voted for it. If it was valid, it was valid on the ground that it was a relatively minor matter, a matter of business negotiation which was not particularly important.

Where the line is to be drawn between minor matters and important matters, I cannot say; but I think we can insist on having classified as major matters certain things which do not fall within that classification.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question. Does he consider an authorization of an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 a minor matter? I consider it a major matter.

Mr. TAFT. If the executive agreement had been an agreement to put up \$1,350,000,000, I would have been inclined to regard it as a major matter, which should be submitted by treaty.

But there is another reason why I think the pending matter can be handled by executive agreement.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Speaking of executive agreements, I find by reading the list of signatories to the agreement the President signed for us, without our knowledge or consent, that 13 of the signatories to the agreement signed it with reservations requiring approval by their own legislative bodies.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, undoubtedly the trade agreements can be justified only on the ground that they can be handled by executive agreements; because if it were merely a matter of domestic law, such an agreement could be changed the moment it was made; whereas, under the trade agreements procedure, when an executive agreement is made, without action being taken by either House of Congress, to bind the United States for 3 years not to change its tariffs, that is something which Congress by itself could not do. It could only be done, I think, under the treaty-making power; and I voted against the agreements on that ground. But the agreements were voted for by a majority of the Congress on the theory that such matters could be handled by executive agreement. I suppose it might be said that 3 years is a very short time, and that if at the end of 3 years a change could be made, the matter would not be so important that it could not fall within the rule applying to minor matters which can be dealt with by executive agreement.

There are also matters which are clearly matters of domestic policy which

can be handled by action of a majority of both Houses. If, for instance, we desire to authorize a policy of lending money to foreign countries, I think that is a domestic matter, although it may be carried through by agreements with foreign nations, and although, when authorized, we obligate ourselves to make those payments. But, obviously, I think it could be established by congressional authority, and then Congress would have to appropriate the necessary money.

In any case, any of these minor matters may have to be submitted to Congress, because one thing which is true of an executive agreement is not true of treaties, and that is that an executive agreement cannot modify an existing statute. An existing statute may prevail over an executive agreement. I am inclined to think that an executive agreement can be changed by statute if it attempts to deal with domestic law. But that question, at least, has not been settled.

There is another type of executive agreement which I think can be made, and that is an executive agreement by which the President binds himself with respect to his policy for the balance of his term, in reference to matters within his power. That is the only justification for the executive agreements. We entered into an executive agreement with the other United Nations that we would not make peace with Germany without their approval. The agreement was not submitted to Congress. Congress is the only body which can make peace. I do not think the agreement is binding on Congress. I suppose that so long as the President continues in office he can bind himself not to make peace; and he is the only man who can initiate a treaty of peace.

So, I assume that the pending agreement may be good for the remainder of the President's term, but that after his term is over it will no longer be binding on the United States. Thus, Mr. President, I think the President can undoubtedly by executive agreement bind himself for the remainder of his term to pursue some policy.

It seems to me that justification for the U. N. R. R. A. agreement can be sought in only one way, and that is that it is a part of the war effort. Undoubtedly during the war the President may combine our armies. He is now authorizing the American armies to serve under foreign commanders.

The pending measure is strictly limited to 2 years. If it runs beyond the actual end of the war it will still be a part of the war, as I see it; and I am inclined to believe that by Executive action during the war the President is going to have to enter into a whole series of agreements with foreign nations, that will not affect post-war policies. That, to my mind, is the nature of this particular agreement.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. I was going to suggest—I sought to secure the Senator's attention a few moments ago on that particular point—that we assume the fol-

lowing situation: As Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy, during a state of war, what is there to prevent the President in the exercise of his powers in that function to call together representatives of the other United Nations, and to say to them, "We are going to have to provide some relief so long as the war continues. Acting as President of the United States, I will hand over to you some money, and set up this fund, if I can get the money from the Congress."

Is not that about what the pending measure would mean?

Mr. TAFT. That is about it; yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. And what is there to prevent him from meeting with the other chiefs and saying to them, "I will do this if I can get the money from Congress?"

Mr. TAFT. I think that would be the case. I think there may be many other agreements. If they are confined to the operations in the war effort, I think they may come under the general power of the Executive to enter into agreements. Of course, if they require money, the agreements would have to be approved by Congress, if money for use under the agreements were desired.

But, apart from that, I believe the pending measure is a war measure. If we do not provide for relief, the Army can do it. Armies are obligated to see that everything possible be done to feed the people of occupied areas into which they go. Under lend-lease we have already authorized the making with other nations of agreements which may provide exactly the same relief, except perhaps not in enemy countries. The making of lend-lease agreements is clearly an Executive function authorized by Congress, and the money is provided by Congress; but an executive agreement is not a treaty. The agreements that have been signed with foreign nations are executive agreements, and their validity depends upon the statutes passed by a majority of the Members of Congress. Executive agreements are not treaties.

Mr. President, what I think is not an executive agreement is the proposal for a United and Associated Nations stabilization fund. That was submitted by Secretary Morgenthau to the members of the Banking and Currency Committee and the Finance Committee. On July 28 he submitted it again. It has been revised. It is in the form of an agreement. But Secretary Morgenthau himself said:

The international stabilization fund of the United and Associated Nations is proposed as a permanent institution for international monetary cooperation.

It seems to me that is of such outstanding importance, it is of such permanent policy, that I cannot see how we can enter into an agreement with England and other countries to set up a joint stabilization fund to which large sums of money must be contributed, unless we are willing to do so by treaty.

The distinction which I see is that the pending joint resolution is limited to 2 years during a war, as a part of war operations, whereas the international stabilization fund would be a permanent plan for the welfare of the world.



We have an even more extreme case, I think, in the agreement submitted by Secretary Morgenthau as the preliminary draft outline of a proposal for a United Nations bank for reconstruction and development. That fund is also to be a permanent fund. It grows out of the war, but has no relation to the war. I cannot see how we can enter into an agreement with the other nations to put up a certain amount of money unless the matter is submitted to the United States Senate in the form of a treaty.

Obviously a final agreement to enter into an international organization for the maintenance of peace, with the obligation to use our armed forces to enforce the peace, as is contemplated in the Connally resolution, must be by treaty. I do not feel entirely confident of my position, but there is no doubt in my mind that executive agreements can be made, and I believe that cooperation between nations at war together justifies this thing being done as an executive agreement. It is not the fact that this must be submitted to Congress. It is the fact that this thing itself is part of the actual operation of the war.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. I think the Constitution does recognize the difference between a treaty and an agreement. The first subsection of section 10 of article I relates to treaties. It provides as follows:

No State shall enter into any treaty—

And so forth. That is an absolute prohibition. But in subsection 3 there is a qualified prohibition relating to agreements, namely:

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, \* \* \* enter into any agreement—

And so forth. I do not care to discuss it, but I think there is an express recognition of the difference in quality between agreements and treaties.

Mr. TAFT. Whatever may be in the Constitution, by the construction of the courts today there is no doubt of the Executive power to make agreements. The only important thing is to define what falls within the field of Executive agreements, and what falls within the field of treaties.

I certainly do not think that the important thing, from my standpoint, is that it cannot be made an executive agreement simply because it may be said that it must have the approval of Congress, and that anything can be put into an executive agreement if we reserve the right of Congress to ratify it. If we do that we end forever the whole power of the Senate to pass upon agreements, treaties, or obligations with foreign nations. I am voting for this proposal solely on the ground that it is a part of the war effort, and something in which we can properly engage.

Mr. President, as to the question of policy I have also had some reservations. I do not question the importance of undertaking relief. I served in the American Relief Administration immediately after the end of the last war. I saw per-

haps \$2,000,000,000 distributed during a year or more for the relief of foreign nations. I think we never received better value for our money. I think it created more good will than it was possible to dissipate by some of the things we did afterward.

I feel very confident that the proposed relief is a part of our whole war effort. So long as we are involved in the war, it seems to me that we must carry through the obligation and see that the war is conducted with as little harm as possible, particularly to the people who are fighting on our side. I believe that kindness and liberality of treatment are what distinguish us from the Germans and the Japanese so far as occupied territories are concerned. Certainly I do not wish to follow a policy which would subject us to an unfavorable comparison, in many cases, with what the Germans and Japanese have done. They have done much to condemn them, but there have been instances of their having done exactly what is proposed here.

I am opposed to financing our future trade by loans to foreign countries, but the prevention of starvation is another matter. Although I do not believe that the joint resolution goes so far as to provide assistance in the restoration of order, I should be willing to contribute machinery or whatever may be necessary to get the economic machine going again in those countries, provided it comes from this country. I should vote against the joint resolution with the greatest regret. I think it embraces a policy which we should approve. I am sure that if we were to reject the joint resolution, it would be construed as a disapproval of that policy.

I do not believe that an international organization can be an efficient distributor of relief. If I had to initiate the program, I would propose an international council, in which everyone could speak up, whose members would constantly confer, but who would leave the actual administration of the relief to the particular country which was prepared to put up the money for the relief. I think such an organization would be more efficient. That was what we did after the last World War. I believe that in that instance we did a very efficient job. It was done promptly. Even before the armistice came, we provided for the accumulation of great stocks of supplies. We put ships in motion the moment the armistice came. We were able to negotiate with every other country. We had some difficulty with the blockade, because the British would not lift it immediately; but I am perfectly certain that if that had been an international organization it would have been 6 months before anything could actually have been done. Perhaps we have more time to plan now; but up to this time the Army has been doing the work, largely because the other organization has not been able to get started, or to find sufficient funds.

I believe that an organization which has six masters, and cannot do anything that will offend a particular nation, is likely to be a slow and rather unsatis-

factory organization. On the other hand, the Administration has the initiation of foreign policy. It has chosen this method. I may be mistaken. Perhaps the organization in this case can be made as efficient as individual administration.

I believe that if we are to provide food, and are to be generous, we ought to have full credit. I doubt very much if, in the intricacies of an international organization, with employees from every nation in the world, there will be such credit. After the world war we had a small organization from the food administration. The whole distribution was made by the United States Food Administration. The organization was officered by Americans. When the war ended we must have taken 500 men out of the Army who wanted to stay awhile longer. They went into every country in Europe. They were fine, upstanding men. They made a favorable impression for the whole American people. The people to whom relief was being administered appreciated what they were doing. All the way from Armenia to Rumania, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Finland, American supplies were distributed largely under the American flag. I think that was a more satisfactory method than that which is here proposed.

I somewhat question the wisdom of having a council of four deciding how and where the distribution shall be made, when, as a matter of fact, only one of the four will really provide any of the relief supplies. Great Britain will make a contribution, but obviously England has no food or other resources. The British contribution will come very largely from Canada and Australia. The Canadians have been most generous. For example, in the Greek relief, they have been more generous than has the United States. They have been more concerned with feeding children in occupied countries than we have. Certainly the Canadians should participate. I do not see why the relief should not be distributed by a council made up of those who are to supply the relief.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. Under the proposal now pending, it will be possible for relief to be given to India, will it not?

Mr. TAFT. With the consent of the British, yes.

Mr. BREWSTER. Why is the consent of the British necessary? Is that simply because they have jurisdiction over the territory? Section 4 of the joint resolution is the one which provides for assistance.

Mr. TAFT. Section 4 provides as follows:

In expressing its approval of this joint resolution, it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

In another section there is an agreement that relief may not be carried on



in the territory of any member government without the consent of the member government, if I correctly remember.

Mr. BREWSTER. What troubles me in that connection is the very great evidence of want which we saw in India. Thousands were starving. Apparently the situation is still continuing. That is a primary responsibility, I assume, of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The thing which greatly impressed me was that much of what Canada or Australia would be able to do would, under the ordinary laws of humanity, go first to those for whom they are primarily responsible. It seemed to me as I saw many of the 350,000,000 Indians that it would be a very great drain on the resources of any nation which undertook adequately to supply their needs.

Mr. TAFT. I believe the House of Representatives wanted to make clear that there was nothing in the agreement which would prevent distribution of relief to India. I do not think there was.

Mr. BREWSTER. India has not been an occupied nation. There has been practically no encroachment on the territory of India; has there?

Mr. TAFT. That may be true.

The provision to which I have referred was in article VII, reading in part as follows:

Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary.

That language would certainly limit the distribution of relief in India.

Mr. BREWSTER. Does the Senator mean that the Indians would come under the definition of "military necessities" existing in the area? The hostilities have encroached very little on the territory of India. They have been chiefly in Burma, I believe. But India might well come under the language "military necessities."

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. On page 3, beginning in line 5, may be found the answer to the Senator's question. The language reads in part as follows:

To plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food—

And so forth. If the people of India can be considered as victims of the war—and I believe the starvation there is attributed to the war in that area—

Mr. BREWSTER. It has been caused largely by the cutting off of the rice supply by the Japanese occupation of Burma.

I think this matter has arisen under the language found near the beginning of the agreement, which has so often been referred to:

that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy—

And so forth. I think that is the basis on which it is usually thought of as being designed for the relief of occupied territory.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. In just a moment. My impression is that under paragraph 2 (a) of article I, reading in part, that—

Subject to the provisions of article VII, the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows: (a) To plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations—

India would be covered, even if the other clause had not been included.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Of course, if occupation is the test, the British have been in hostile occupation of India for nearly 200 years.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I do not wish to detain the Senate. There is this to be said in favor of a joint organization, and that is that I think we do want today to emphasize our desire to cooperate with the other United Nations as closely as possible. Probably it is very important today that we make it clear that we are prepared to engage in that cooperation, because some of the other allies seem to be forgetting the fact that cooperation is also necessary on their part. However, I do not believe that such a policy can be said to be definite enough to justify any change in our policy. It can be said for this method that it emphasizes tremendously our desire to cooperate just as closely as possible with the other United Nations. Therefore, I shall vote for the joint resolution, although I do not like the method provided for in it, and I have some doubts about that. I have indicated the fear, at least, that it will be used as a precedent for other things for which I do not think it can properly be used as a precedent. However, since the administration has chosen this method of achieving an object which I think is all-important in the war effort, I propose to vote for the joint resolution.

#### PHOENIX-TEMPE STONE CO.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MURDOCK in the chair) laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 375) for the relief of the Phoenix-Tempe Stone Co., which was, on page 1, line 6, to strike out "\$1,500" and insert "\$1,000."

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 16, which will be stated.

The amendment of the committee was, on page 16, line 2, to strike out "at the

conclusion of 2 years following the termination of hostilities on all fronts unless specifically extended by an act of Congress" and insert "on June 30, 1946."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I offer an amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 15, after line 25, it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. —. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

That the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall not be authorized to enter into contracts or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of appropriations made therefor.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Texas will accept the amendment.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I assume the Senator, by the language contained in the amendment, does not mean to limit the expenditures by the entire organization to the amount we would appropriate; does he?

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no.

Mr. CONNALLY. What the Senator means is that he does not want the organization to assume any obligation—

Mr. McKELLAR. Any obligation beyond that of the appropriations which would be made by the Congress.

Mr. CONNALLY. As to the United States?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. I have no serious objection to the amendment.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator whether his amendment would be a reservation, or an amendment to the text of the agreement?

Mr. McKELLAR. It has been stated by the chairman of the committee, and I believe generally acquiesced in by most Senators on both sides of the aisle, that the amendment should appear as a separate section on page 15. That will be satisfactory to me.

Mr. CONNALLY. It would have to be in that form, because it could not be an amendment to the agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I send to the desk another amendment which I offer, and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 15, after line 25, it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. —. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

That in the case of the United States the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount and character of the contributions of the United States is the Congress of the United States.



Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Texas will accept the amendment.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator agree to have included in his amendment, in line 4, after the word "character", the words "and time"? The language would then read:

That in the case of the United States the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount and character and time of the contributions of the United States is the Congress of the United States.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have no objection to the modification.

Mr. BARKLEY. In that connection I may add that the time of the contribution will be determined by the act of Congress appropriating the money for it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think it will; but I have no objection.

Mr. WHITE. What the Senator from Kentucky has said probably is true, but I think it would avoid controversy if those words were inserted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee adopt the modification suggested by the Senator from Maine?

Mr. McKELLAR. I adopt it.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I suggest that the Senator's amendment is somewhat didactic. It solemnly states what everyone knows, or should know—that in the case of the United States the constitutional body of the United States when it comes to appropriations is the Congress of the United States.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator will accept the amendment, I will plead guilty to the charge.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not care to argue with the Senator from Tennessee about fine distinctions as to language, because of course the Senator is much more familiar with distinctions in the use of language; he has been in the Senate so much longer than I have.

Mr. BARKLEY. I wish to caution the Senator from Texas against making suggestions to the Senator from Tennessee along that line.

Mr. CONNALLY. I realize that the admonition the Senator from Kentucky gives me arises from an experience he had regarding raiment, during a colloquy with the Senator from Tennessee.

I shall not endanger my own safety in that respect, though I see no objection to saying that A is A and B is B.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Senator, and I hope that the Senate will adopt the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that the Senator from Tennessee adopted the suggestion of the Senator from Maine and modified his amendment accordingly?

Mr. McKELLAR. That is correct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the modified amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I offer another amendment.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I think the Senator has had his quota. He has had two amendments added to

the joint resolution. Has he still another one?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes. I offer another amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 15, after line 25, it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. —. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

That the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall not be authorized to enter into contracts or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of appropriations made therefor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I have one more amendment, and then I shall yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 15, line 21, after the word "area", it is proposed to insert "(except areas within enemy territory)."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I would not be in favor of that amendment. I do not know what the circumstances are, but there may be place within enemy territory where we would want to furnish relief, for instance, Formosa. That island certainly is within enemy territory. I have no great objection to furnishing some relief to enemy countries. I think we are obligated when we invade them to afford relief if they are without other means of support.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I hope the Senate will not adopt the amendment, and I trust the Senator from Tennessee will not insist upon it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I shall have to do so. Under the joint resolution as now written relief and rehabilitation may be furnished to any enemy country. The members of the committee, as I understood, said that it was intended by the provisions of section 4 to include India only, and that it was not intended to include Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, and various other nations of the earth.

Mr. TAFT. What about Sicily and Italy? Are they not enemy countries? They have been enemy countries, and portions of them maintain they still are. Certainly the definition is a very doubtful one.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am quite sure the Senator from Ohio would not want, and I do not believe any other Senators would want, to give relief to that portion of Italy which is now under the control of Germany. Under the provision, I repeat relief may be extended to enemy countries taken over. I hope the Senator from Texas will reconsider the matter, accept the amendment, and take it to

conference, anyway, and let it be considered there.

Mr. TAFT and Mr. BARKLEY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield, and if so to whom?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield first to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. TAFT. The only ground on which Italy could be included in the joint resolution would be on the ground that they had ceased to make war. The only time we could possibly afford relief to people of Germany would be when they have ceased to make war. So, either it excludes Italy, or it does not mean anything. I think it excludes Italy, and I think it is fully intended that we should distribute relief in Italy and Sicily.

Mr. McKELLAR. I understood that both the distinguished Senator from Texas and the distinguished Senator from Michigan, members of the subcommittee, stated that the purpose of this provision was to include India. I can see a reason for that, and I am perfectly willing that that shall be done, but unless the provision is limited as I suggest, let us see what the result would be. Our bomber planes and other planes have been raining bombs over Berlin, and I presume they have caused a great deal of loss of life and injury to persons and to property. Is it the idea of anyone that we should go to Germany and make reparations for that damage?

For instance, suppose we have destroyed the greater proportion of the buildings in the city of Berlin, is it possible that we are going there and give relief to rehabilitate that city and restore it? What is the use of blowing it up if we are going to make the American people pay the bill for restoring it? It does not seem to me that we ought to provide for it in this joint resolution, and I hope the Senator from Texas will reconsider, and take the amendment to conference.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, the amendment, as we know is proposed to be added to the India section. I do not know whether the Senator from Tennessee thinks he is prohibiting U. N. R. R. A. from distributing relief in enemy countries by putting it into the India section. If not, if it only affects India, of course, the amendment does not mean anything.

Mr. McKELLAR. I submitted it to the draftsman of the Senate, who is a very competent and efficient man, and I believe that it will have the effect he says it will have. I told him what we wanted to do, that we wanted to provide for relief in India, as the committee has stated it was their purpose to do; but not to extend it to enemy countries. India is not an enemy country. I presume a number of Senators have been to India and have seen the conditions which have been portrayed here this afternoon—a tremendous horde of poor, dilapidated, and hungry men, women, and children. It would be the height of charity to help them, but in order to help them I do not think we ought to put a provision in the joint resolution by which we would be



obligated to help the people in enemy countries.

Mr. BARKLEY, Mr. TAFT, and Mr. BREWSTER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield, and if so to whom?

Mr. McKELLAR. I believe the Senator from Kentucky was on his feet first, and I yield to him, and then I shall be glad to yield to other Senators.

Mr. BARKLEY. I wish to call the Senator's attention to the fact that section 4 provides that:

In expressing its approval of this joint resolution, it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The crux of that paragraph is found in the words "any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease." Suppose we go into some Japanese territory in the Pacific, as we have conquered territory that was formerly under Japan, suppose we go into portions of Germany which from a military standpoint will become important to the operations of the United Nations, and we find famine and disease there that would jeopardize even the safety of our own Army. If we included the amendment of the Senator, then we could not do anything to relieve that situation. It seems to me inasmuch as we are undertaking to provide by the section that relief may be afforded in any area important to the military operations of the United Nations, where there is famine and disease, we ought not to restrict it if the area happens to be a strip of enemy territory.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, in this war every inch of Germany is important to the military operations of the United Nations; not a single foot of German territory is unimportant to the military operations of the United States in the war, and for us to invade that country and then obligate ourselves at the same time we invade it to furnish relief to those who may be suffering or dying by reason of famine or disease seems to me to be monstrous.

Mr. BARKLEY. Suppose we go into Germany. As we go into Germany, the territory we take over behind the Army must be administered.

Mr. McKELLAR. There is no question about that. That is not what is being referred to here.

Mr. BARKLEY. It may be.

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Army proceeds, let us say, into the middle of Germany. The Army does not want to take charge of all the territory it may have occupied, and U. N. R. R. A. would take charge in order to relieve it. It is in that sense that the Senator's amendment would even prohibit the U. N. R. R. A. from going in behind the Army at any stage and undertaking to relieve famine and disease which might themselves affect the safety of the Army.

Mr. CONNALLY. Will the Senator from Tennessee yield at that point?

Mr. McKELLAR. I shall yield in a moment. When the Army takes charge of any part of Germany, it is not Germany any longer, but it is the property of the United States or of the Allied Nations.

Mr. BARKLEY. It is enemy territory.

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no; it is anything else but enemy territory. It is Allied territory in the sense of the meaning here. Of course, they would have a right to do it.

I yield now to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I should like to call the attention of the Senator to the last portion of the paragraph which was read by the Senator from Kentucky. The effect of this section, that is, section 4, is not to amend the agreement but merely to state the recommendation of the Congress in this regard.

I should like to have the opinion of the Senator from Texas, in charge of the joint resolution, as to whether or not section 4 would have any effect whatsoever, so far as the agreement is concerned, or so far as the authorities who will operate under it are concerned.

Mr. CONNALLY. If I may be permitted by the Senator from Tennessee to answer—

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. So far as the legal effect is concerned, I do not think section 4 has the force of law. Other terms in the agreement and in the preceding portions of the joint resolution, define where the relief shall be expended. As I view it, this is merely a suggestion to the organization, that if they can find a way to do what is needed, it is hoped they will do it.

Mr. TAFT. Will the Senator from Tennessee yield to me?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I wonder whether the Senator would be satisfied if the amendment read, "except areas occupied by the enemy." It seems to me that would reach what the Senator is trying to cover.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think it would, and I modify my amendment to that effect.

Mr. TAFT. That would be entirely satisfactory.

Mr. BARKLEY. What effect would the amendment, even as modified, have in Finland, for instance, which is enemy territory to some of the United Nations, although not to us, or in Norway? Would they be regarded as enemy territory?

Mr. McKELLAR. No; neither of them would be regarded as enemy territory, because they are not enemy territory to us, certainly not.

Mr. CONNALLY. I ask that the amendment be restated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment as modified.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to insert on page 15, line 21, after the word "area", the words "except areas occupied by the enemy."

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not think there is any danger of our extending any relief to territory actually occupied by the

enemy, and I shall not resist the amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. Very well.

Mr. OVERTON. Before the amendment is acted on, Mr. President, I should like to say that I do not know that the amendment as modified carries out the intention of the Senator from Tennessee. Suppose some of the United Nations should be occupied by the enemy, suppose a part of England should be occupied by the enemy; could not relief be sent into that territory? I think it should say, "and while occupied by the enemy."

Mr. McKELLAR. I think the suggestion of the Senator is well taken, and I further modify my amendment by accepting his suggestion. Let the clerk state the amendment with that modification. I think clearly it should be so corrected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment as now modified.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 15, line 21, after the word "area", it is proposed to insert "except within enemy territory and while occupied by the enemy."

Mr. CONNALLY. Just a word, Mr. President. I wish to quote from the report of the committee, on page 9, which shows that there is no purpose to do what the Senator from Tennessee is seeking to prevent:

The policy resolutions adopted by the Council specifically provide, furthermore, that the Council must approve the scale and nature of such operations and that all expenses of operations in an enemy or ex-enemy country should be borne by that country.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the modified amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

The amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I offer an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 15, after line 25, it is proposed to insert the following:

No amendment under article VIII (a) of the agreement involving any new obligation for the United States shall be binding upon the United States without approval by joint resolution of Congress.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I have no objection to the amendment. It has been worked over by the committee and the State Department, and we have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, some time ago I offered an amendment in line 11, page 11. I wish to withdraw the amendment, because of the suggestion made as to it being mixed up with another provision.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment was never formally offered, and the Senator has a right to withdraw it.



Mr. BUSHFIELD. I offer the amendment, which I now send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 15, after line 25, it is proposed to insert the following:

The Director General shall make periodic reports to the Congress of the United States of America covering the administration's activities.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I do not know that there is any objection to having the amendment agreed to, but the Director General is not an officer of the United States, he is not under the control of the United States, he is an officer of the organization we are proposing to set up by the agreement. What legal power have we to direct him as to what he shall do with respect to the administration of his office? That is not a captious question, because I think it is generally agreed that we as a Nation, singly, and by ourselves, have no control over the Director General. It happens that today the Director General is an American citizen, but suppose that some time in the near future he should happen to be a British citizen or a Chinese citizen, would we have any right to say to him that he should make a separate report to the Congress of the United States?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. We might not be able to enforce the provision, but so long as we held the purse strings, I think they would submit a report to us.

Mr. BARKLEY. I think they would do that anyway, but the question whether we have the power legally to control the Director General is what we are considering. If we cannot control him, I have some doubt as to the wisdom of making such a gesture.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I have no objection to the purpose of the amendment, but if we are to do what is proposed at all, it seems to me the amendment should be leveled at the American member of the Council, who will be our member. Another safeguard is that before any appropriations are made the organization must come before Congress, and I assume that the one who comes before Congress will be our representative, or the Director General, Mr. Lehman, and he will have to make a report, and we will ask, naturally, what they did with the money previously provided. It seems to me the effect of this might be offensive to some of the other nations, since it might seem that we were assuming to take charge and dictate.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Would the Senator have any objection to the amendment if it were modified so as to read "the American member of the Council," instead of "Director General"?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I should like to ask the Senator what he finds lacking at the top of page 15, where the language is:

The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any such appropriations and of operations under the agreement.

Is not that the appropriate point at which to require reports?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. No; I feel that that language refers only to the expenditures and the receipts of money.

Mr. BARKLEY. The whole operation is under the agreement. Not only appropriations but all operations are under the agreement. Everything done is under the agreement.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. My thought was that that language did not go far enough. That is why I submitted my amendment, so as to require someone who could do so to report to Congress what the organization was doing.

Mr. VANDENBERG. We thought we were doing precisely that thing in the language on the top of page 15.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from South Dakota will not insist on his amendment. It seems to me the language just quoted by the Senator from Michigan completely answers the Senator's suggestion. The language provides that the President shall submit reports. He is the man who is shot at, instead of some subordinate. It seems to me the language is entirely adequate, in addition to the additional safeguard which is provided by the necessity for coming to the Appropriations Committees.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Suppose the President should not submit a report of the organization's activities?

Mr. CONNALLY. Of course, someone can always express such a fear. The President, however, does submit reports when it is provided that he shall do so by act of Congress. The President has to come to Congress for every dollar he receives.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. We are still waiting for the report on the Food Congress held last winter.

Mr. BARKLEY. That was not held by direction of Congress.

Mr. CONNALLY. I hope the Senator from South Dakota will not insist on his amendment. It seems to me the provisions of the bill are quite adequate.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I do not feel that the provisions of the bill go far enough. Regretting, as I do, not being able to agree with the views expressed by the Senator from Texas, I shall ask for a vote on my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. BUSHFIELD].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I have not heard any Senator protest against the proposal that the United States provide \$1,350,000,000 of the money paid into the Treasury by American taxpayers who are so loaded down with debt and weary and tired of taxes now that they can hardly budge. It is proposed that we shall put up \$1,350,000,000 of their money, which we shall need so badly to provide for our veterans when they return, and place that money in the hands of a group of foreigners to do with as they please. As a Member of the United States Senate I protest against it. If there shall be but one vote against

the proposal I shall vote against the United States putting up \$1,350,000,000 of the hard-earned money of the weary taxpayers of this country and placing it in the hands of a group of foreigners to do with as they wish.

Mr. President, I can now see that the Senate is going to vote the \$1,350,000,000. In view of the fact that we are putting up two-thirds of the money, and that perhaps, as the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] said today, we shall probably put up 90 percent of the money, because all the 43 countries participating in this matter are receiving lend-lease from us, with the exception of Canada and Liberia—in view of the fact that we are putting up virtually all the money to feed all the world, I think at least 50 percent of the money contributed by us could be spent in the purchase of American farm products and machinery, medicines, and such other things as are going to be used by this world-wide distributing organization.

Therefore, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 1, line 5, after the figures and words "\$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate", it is proposed to insert ", of which 50 percent shall be spent for the purchase of farm products and other supplies in the United States."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, in view of the fact that this organization is not controlled by us, that we have only 1 vote in 44, and in view of the fact that we are participating very heavily in this war, and that the lives of our men are in jeopardy in virtually every part of the world, and, in view of the further fact that we are interested in the preservation of the lives of those men, and that we do not want any foreign organization to interfere with our military activities, I maintain that before the proposed international organization composed of 44 nations, in which we have 1 vote, is permitted to go into a territory and to begin its operations, the Chief of Staff of our Army who is in charge of that particular territory should be consulted in order that the activities of this foreign international organization may not interfere with our military operations, or be likely to do damage to any operations which are in the minds of our military authorities to be carried forward.

In line with that thought I offer an amendment which I send to the desk, and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 16, after line 4, it is proposed to add a new section as follows:

SEC. 6. No program of relief or rehabilitation or policy contemplated or proposed by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be placed into operation, without it having first been submitted



for approval to the Chief of Staff of the Army of the United Nations in charge of the area in which the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration proposes to operate.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, that is already taken care of in the joint resolution where it is provided that within military areas nothing shall be done by the organization without the consent and cooperation of the commander of our armed forces in that territory.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I ask for the adoption of my amendment, Mr. President, because I think its provisions are specific. I am under the impression that probably our military commanders would welcome a qualification of that sort, so there would be no question about the organization coming in and interfering with their military program.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, it is my understanding that our Army is making expenditures of millions of dollars in buying foodstuffs for the purpose of making distribution to the civilians of different countries in which we operate. In view of the fact that we have a Government school in Charlottesville, Va., where we are training men to administer aid and to participate in suggestions relative to government in the respective countries after we enter them, I am rather of the opinion that those individuals whom we have in the field now would be better prepared to handle this relief than any foreign organization we might set up. Therefore, I think the appropriations should be made to the Army to augment the money they have now for that particular purpose in emergency cases. I, therefore, offer an amendment to that effect, which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. It is proposed to strike out all after the resolving clause and to insert:

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time to time such sums as Congress may determine to be necessary, to the Army and Navy, for use of military governments established in occupied countries for the adequate conduct of relief and rehabilitation and related necessary activities. A complete record shall be maintained by each military government of all expenditures and submitted to Congress in semiannual reports of the Army and Navy, whichever the case may be.

It is proposed to amend the title so as to read: "Joint resolution authorizing the appropriation of funds for use by military governments established in occupied countries in conducting relief and rehabilitation and related activities."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I believe we are all in agreement that there is no greater humanitarian organization upon the face of the earth than the American Red Cross. The American

Red Cross is considered to be one of the finest organizations of its kind that was ever formed anywhere in the world. For many years it has done a magnificent job, a job of which not only we in America are proud, but of which the people of the world are actually very proud; because during its existence the American Red Cross has administered to the sick, the wounded, and the unfortunate in almost every section of the entire world.

In view of the fact that the American Red Cross is an American organization, in view of the fact that we are actually to put up 90 percent of all the money to be used under the pending measure, in view of the fact that the American Red Cross already has a world-wide organization, and that we have implicit faith in it, and that all other nations of the world have implicit faith in it, I think the fund should be administered by the American Red Cross.

However, instead of providing in my amendment, or my substitute, as it might be called, that \$1,350,000,000 shall be authorized to be appropriated, I have provided that not to exceed \$350,000,000 in the aggregate shall be authorized to be appropriated. I ask that the Senate direct that the money for relief be distributed by an organization we know, not by an international organization in which we shall have virtually no voice—only one voice among 43 others.

Mr. President, I send my amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. It is proposed to strike out all after the resolving clause, and to insert in lieu thereof the following:

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums, not to exceed \$350,000,000 in the aggregate, as the Congress of the United States may determine from time to time to be appropriated, and such sums to be used for relief among the populations of areas liberated by the armed forces of the United Nations. Such sums shall be administered solely by the American Red Cross, using the facilities of their international organization.

Sec. 2. The American Red Cross shall submit to Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any such appropriations.

Sec. 3. Relief shall be defined as aid in furnishing food, clothing, shelter, the prevention of pestilence, and recovery of health of the peoples of the liberated areas.

Amend the title so as to read: "Joint Resolution authorizing an appropriation of funds to be administered by the Red Cross for relief in areas liberated by the armed forces of the United Nations."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I submit the last amendment I propose to offer, and send it to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to strike out all after the resolving clause, and to insert in lieu thereof the following:

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$350,000,000—

Mr. REYNOLDS. No, Mr. President; not \$350,000,000,000, but \$350,000,000.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to insert:

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$350,000,000 to be expended under the direction of the President, for the furnishing of food, clothing, medicine, and other absolute essentials of life, to relieve starvation and suffering among individuals in those countries which have been overrun by, or have directly suffered from hostile action of, the enemies of the United Nations in the present war.

Amend the title so as to read: "Joint resolution to authorize the appropriation of \$350,000,000 for use in relieving starvation and suffering in countries which have been overrun by, or have directly suffered from hostile action of, the enemies of the United Nations in the present war."

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CONNALLY. Does the record show that the amendment provides for \$350,000,000,000 or \$350,000,000?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I corrected the clerk's reading of the amount. The amount stated in the amendment is \$350,000,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amount carried in the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. Three hundred and fifty million dollars.

Mr. REYNOLDS. But, Mr. President, considering the way the Congress appropriates billions of dollars, one might think the amount was \$350,000,000,000 instead of \$350,000,000. I suppose the clerk mentioned \$350,000,000,000 because the national debt has almost reached that amount at the present time.

Mr. President, I think this matter is of great concern to everyone in America. I do not desire to take up very much of the time of the Senate in discussing the amendment. I have offered the amendments in order that my record may be clear. I want the American people to know I am not going to vote \$1,350,000,000 for a group of foreigners and aliens in an international organization to spend all over the world.

I submitted the amendment to cut down the amount to \$350,000,000; \$350,000,000 is a great deal of money—a very great deal of money. We do not know where the money will be spent; we do not know to what particular use it will be put. We know it will be spent in stricken countries, but at the same time we do not know exactly what organizations there will be called upon to make the distribution; because in an organization of this kind there is bound to be some politics. It is almost inevitable that there will be some politics in it—just as we see today, in Italy, a fight occurring between the Fascists and the Communists, and just as we see occurring in Yugoslavia today a fight between the Fascists and Communists.

We in the United States are being called upon to put up virtually all the money to be used to feed all the world,



just as if we had not already done everything possible in that direction. Mr. President, we have done a great deal. Not only have we done a great deal through governmental action, but let us see what we are doing through private activities. I read a brief newspaper article which bears on that point:

SOVIETS GIVEN \$16,781,333 IN RELIEF GOODS LAST YEAR

NEW YORK, February 14.—Russian War Relief, Inc., announced today that \$16,781,333.74 worth of clothing, medical supplies, and miscellaneous articles were consigned through it to the Soviet Union last year.

In a report to the agency's board of directors, Edward C. Carter, president of the organization, said that clothing comprised 70.07 percent of the shipments; medical supplies, 20.42 percent; seeds, food, and miscellaneous items, 4.35.

Mr. Carter said that of the relief goods consigned \$7,742,430 was contributed in goods by Americans. The remainder was received in cash contributions through war chests and the National War Fund, he said. Administrative, promotion, and operating costs total 4.43 percent of income, the report stated, an amount which Mr. Carter said was believed to be the lowest ever achieved by a comparable agency.

The 1944 goal, recently announced, is \$21,000,000, which includes a \$9,000,000 allocation from the National War Fund.

So, Mr. President, we find that from private charitable sources the Soviets were given \$16,781,333.74 worth of clothing, medical supplies, and other articles last year, and that the goal for this year is \$21,000,000, to be collected in this country and to be sent to the Soviets.

I think we have done our part, and I am protesting about our chucking away the money of the taxpayers of our country.

Mr. President, the reason why I keep harping on the matter is because, scattered all over the world we have 10,000,000 or 11,000,000 men and women in uniform who are dying and bleeding and suffering. When the war is over, we shall have to take care of their widows and their orphaned children, and we shall have to take care of hundreds of thousands of invalids—veterans who will be armless, legless, blind, or deranged. The question is, when the war is over will we have the money with which to take care of our own veterans who will have gone forth to fight for the Four Freedoms throughout the world?

I am interested in that, and I think the time has come to cut down the amount to be authorized. If we approve the pending measure as it now stands, it will really be our recommendation for an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000. Of course, Mr. President, we all want to help those who are afflicted. We all appreciate the suffering which is being experienced by the unfortunate people in the invaded countries, and our heart goes out to them in sympathy. But, Mr. President, charity must begin at home. If we give away everything now, what shall we have left for our own veterans when the war is over? And only God knows when the war will end. No one else knows. The war may last for years.

I am pleading today in the interest of our men and women—our soldiers who are fighting on 72 fronts throughout the

world. I hope to God we will save enough so that we shall be able to buy the medicine and food and to furnish the nurses required in order to take care of the hundreds of thousands of wounded who will return to this country after the war is over. I ask for a vote on the question of cutting down the amount from \$1,350,000,000 to \$350,000,000. Let us give away \$350,000,000. We have plenty. They will do what they want with it. But for God's sake, let us save \$1,000,000,000 of this money for our own soldiers.

Mr. President, in this connection, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point an article written by Constantine Brown in his column entitled "This Changing World," and a newspaper article in reference to a young American hero who has returned to this country blind, broke, and 20.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star of January 25, 1944]

#### THIS CHANGING WORLD

(By Constantine Brown)

If a section of the United States were hit by a major tragedy and funds for its relief and rehabilitation had to be obtained by private contribution in which, say, Thomas Lamont, was the principal contributor, no one would be surprised if his representative were given a decisive voice in the distribution of the funds.

It appears, however, that what seems logical in regard to domestic affairs is not logical in a large-scale international undertaking.

Congress has been asked to appropriate \$1,350,000,000 for the relief and rehabilitation of the devastated and hungry areas of the war-stricken world.

The people of the United States never have been stingy in assisting other nations when they were in distress. Americans contributed hundreds of millions after the World War to feed not only our former associates, but they sent aid into Russia, which at that time was ostracized by our Government, and into Armenia to save millions of people from starvation.

The relief and rehabilitation of Europe, the United Nations Governments have decided among themselves, must no longer be based on charity. All parties concerned must do their bit to raise a large fund to help the starved peoples of Europe and Asia soon after their liberation from the Axis yoke. Industries and public utilities which have suffered so much from the "torch" policy of the Germans and the Japanese and from aerial warfare, will have to be restored to permit quick economic rehabilitation. The devastated areas comprise practically the whole of Europe—with the exception of the few remaining neutral countries—and the major portion of China.

For this purpose the United States, which has the largest national income of the world, probably will be assessed an amount equal to 1 percent of its 1943 income.

It is immaterial whether or not the 1943 figure represents the real income of the United States or is an inflated amount due to war conditions. It is argued in some quarters that American industry will remain very busy long after the war, since it will be forced to produce for the whole civilized world everything from hairpins to machine tools and planes.

But what appears important to many legislators—even though they are going to vote for the required appropriations—is that

while the American taxpayer is the heaviest contributor to this undertaking, the United States has only a 25-percent voice in the handling of both relief and rehabilitation.

A committee of four forms the directing council of the U. N. R. R. A., in which Britain, Russia, China, and the United States are represented with equal voice, although there is a most unequal contribution of funds.

Nations which are to receive assistance are to be consulted whenever their own countries are involved, but do not participate in the framing of the U. N. R. R. A.'s general policies.

The United States Government was careful to see there was no hitch in this United Nations' attempt to present a solid front to the world. The whole matter was presented to the country as the first endeavor of the associated powers to work in complete harmony and on the surface the project does not seem to involve any controversial political problem. But it appears that with the best will in the world politics cannot be kept out of the organization.

Definite trends and a race for jockeying for political domination are only too obvious in Europe today.

The Russians are in the midst of an offensive in old Poland. In Yugoslavia there is a bitter fight between the representatives of King Peter and those of Moscow. A similar situation is said to exist in Greece. In Italy there seems to be an ill-concealed struggle between the supporters and nonsupporters of the House of Savoy. In France several factions are preparing for a fight for power after the Nazis have been eliminated and Gen. Charles de Gaulle hopes he will be the man who will guide his country's destinies. There are many who still oppose him.

Feeding the starved people of all these countries will be a strong trump card for the would-be leaders. Food in a starved country is far more important than gold, and the organization which has the key to the larder in its pocket can impose itself on that country.

If the council of four were composed of representatives of countries not involved in the game of power politics we could look on it as an adequate directorate to insure a fair distribution of the materials purchased largely with the American taxpayer's money. But unfortunately both Britain and Russia are involved in that game and their representatives might be tempted into some sort of "patronage" which would help their protégés obtain political supremacy, for a while, at least.

The fact that America has no decisive vote in the U. N. R. R. A. is likely to get this country involved in the game of power politics when we favor unwittingly the formation of this or that puppet government in Europe.

#### RETURN OF A HERO: BLIND, BROKE, AND 20

McCLOUD, CALIF., February 12.—Young Robert Wetzel has been led back home from the wars in Italy—back to the beloved mountains he no longer can see. He arrived with \$2 in his pocket, a Japanese-American soldier for an escort and a receipt showing his Government would not even buy a pair of glasses to cover his sightless eyes.

A receipt made out by the post exchange of McCloskey Hospital, Temple, Tex., acknowledges that Wetzel paid \$8 for glasses—Wetzel paid, not the Army. Date: January 24.

He asked for his new glasses, for there was—and is—a chance he will see again. But the Army doctor, as Wetzel recalls the words, said:

"If you could be put in shape to fight again, the Army would pay for the glasses. But since you are being discharged, you will have to pay for them yourself."



## BLIND VET AT 20

Bob Wetzel was 19 when he entered the Army, scarcely 20 when he came back, a blind veteran, to this mountain community, where his father works in the office of the lumber company.

He was in that spearhead formed by Company I, One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Infantry, the night of October 13 when the Volturno churned red with blood. They crossed the Volturno, established the beachhead.

But that beachhead was a thicket of land mines, Wetzel heard an artillery shell coming, dived into a ditch—and landed on a mine.

His left eye was literally torn from its socket. Three fragments pierced the right eye. He was totally blind.

It was five hospitals and 70 days from the Appennines of Italy to the Siskiyou of California.

An Army major came one day and told him of a bitter failure.

"They had tried to take those splinters out of my right eye with a magnet and it didn't work," said Wetzel.

"But he said there was a chance that corrective glasses might restore vision to my right eye."

From that moment he lived for the day when treatment could begin. They fitted him with his first glasses and soon he could see shadows, only shadows. But it was seeing.

The problem, they told him, was one of constant adjustment of the lens to strengthen the eye.

Two weeks later the blow fell. He was told he was being discharged.

"Of course, I wanted to get back home," Wetzel related, "so I didn't feel so badly about it."

"But if I was going to see again, I thought they should do everything they could now. I thought they could keep me and transfer me to a hospital near home."

## PAID FOR GLASSES

"I wanted the new glasses right away, but the doctor just gave me a prescription and told me to get it filled at the post exchange. So I went and paid the \$8, but haven't received the glasses yet."

He was placed in a hospital car with a Japanese-American corporal as an escort to deliver him home.

Wetzel's father concluded the recital:

"Bob is not bitter. He thinks the Army is grand. We all do. But perhaps the public should know about cases like Bobby's. We're thinking about all the thousands of other wounded men."

"Bob has a mother and father to come to, and the American Legion is handling his case."

"But what about the men who won't have a family to come home to?"

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, because of the fact that I have been serving as a member of the conference committee which has been holding both morning and afternoon sessions, it has been impossible or impracticable for me to be present during much of the debate in the Senate on this very important subject. I do not intend to take more than a minute or two of the time of the Senate.

I believe that when a measure of this kind is before the Senate of the United States for approval or disapproval, the Senate is facing one of the most important problems it has faced, at least during my short period of service here. I am not willing to vote without at least registering for the RECORD some of my

thoughts on the matter. My remarks shall be very brief, I can assure the Senate.

Mr. President, I can remember the trainloads of relief supplies which were collected in the prairie States of the West, including my own State of Nebraska following the last war. I was then engaged in the milling and grain business and in the manufacture of flour. I know that the millers from all over the United States solicited trainloads and shiploads of flour, which were taken to the devastated areas of Europe and distributed through relief organizations. Some of our most distinguished people joined in that work and donated their time and effort, and performed valuable services, indeed.

I am of the opinion that today the American people are just as liberal as they were at that time; they are just as anxious to help in the terrible catastrophe which faces many of the people who live in the war-devastated areas; and I am sure the American people will come to the rescue. But here we are adopting a different policy. We are saying to the people who gave of their might in the previous war situation, "This time the Government will take charge of relief."

If one is a stockholder in a large corporation, does he think for a minute that his duty as a citizen is fulfilled when the board of directors or the president of the corporation gives \$1,000, \$10,000, or \$100,000 for relief? The man who wants to give wants to give as an individual. If relief is to be administered through a corporation—and in this instance our Government is acting in the capacity of a corporation—if we give the last penny of the substance of this Nation, no individual citizen will feel in his heart that he has contributed to the solution of the problem.

I for one want the people of America to decide how charitable they wish to be. I have no doubt that they will be charitable to the extreme limit in this catastrophe, as they were in the previous catastrophe.

I do not know how I can register my protest against a measure of this kind, meritorious as it may be, without casting my vote in the negative. At the same time, I want the Members of this body, and others who may look at the vote in the RECORD, to understand that I expect them to be as liberal in this instance as they have always been in the past. I do not wish to create an organization behind which everyone can hide and say, "I have made my donation through the Treasury of the United States by paying taxes; therefore, I do not wish to contribute at this time."

I do not believe that we, as a government, have any more right than have the officers of a corporation to become the charity organization for each individual citizen of this country. I, for one, want to give. I expect to give, and I have no doubt that the people of America will give liberally. However, I am sure they will not like the idea of setting up a tremendous relief organization, in which much of the money will be wasted in administration, and in which they will have no

opportunity to decide where their gifts shall go.

In my State—and I know the statement applies to other States—there are many distinguished citizens of wealth, as well as citizens of very ordinary means, who came from some of the war-torn countries of Europe and elsewhere, or whose ancestors came from those countries. For years they have been contributing liberally to organizations which gave relief to the people in their fatherland. They will do so again. They would give a thousand times more as individuals to an organization of that kind than they would give to the Treasury of the United States to become their representative in charity.

I for one hope that the people of America will continue to be as charitable as they have been in the past, and that they will continue to give in the old-fashioned way, a method by which they know that their contributions reach those whom they wish to help. Because of that principle, I shall have to vote against the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS].

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I wish to have the RECORD show that I tried to save the United States a billion dollars, and also to show how I voted on the proposal. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, a short time ago I sent to the desk an amendment which I asked to have lie on the table. I now offer the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is not in order at this time. There is an amendment pending. The yeas and nays have been ordered on the amendment of the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I could not give my support to the joint resolution in its original form, previous to the amendments which were adopted this afternoon. After studying the measure and hearing it fully discussed, I am still unwilling to vote for it so long as the amount which we are authorizing to be expended remains at \$1,350,000,000. I should be willing to go to a limit of \$500,000,000 of absolute commitment if the joint resolution were so amended as to provide such an amount. I am unwilling to go beyond that point at the very beginning of this most extensive program of relief throughout the world which is to be conducted at our expense.

I wish my country to do its part. I wish my Government to share the responsibility of all civilization in the performance of humanitarian works necessary and incidental to the catastrophe which has come upon the world. I think we should be acting very generously if we should provide an authorization of \$500,000,000 at this time.

I give this reason for not wanting to go further: In the first place, Mr. President, I do not agree to many of the terms and provisions of the agreement which has been entered into. I do not like at all the idea or principle of the United States furnishing 67½ percent of all the



money which is to be expended under the terms of the joint resolution, and at the same time turning over to other nations which are participating, and some nations which are not participating in the contribution of the over-all relief fund, the control of our money. That is exactly what is proposed. The Council would be composed of representatives from 44 nations or authorities signing the agreement, including our own representative, who would have only one vote. Russia, which would make no contribution whatsoever to the fund to be distributed and expended, would have an equal vote with the representative of the United States in the control and distribution of the fund. From my viewpoint, that is one of the serious objections to the joint resolution.

Even with the amendment which I have suggested, I should very much dislike to vote for the joint resolution, but I should be willing to yield my better judgment and go along if I could be assured that we are to retain the control to the extent of the obligations to be created by the Council of the relief authority.

Mr. President, there is another provision in the articles of agreement which causes me to take the position I take with reference to the amount of the authorization which we are about to make, and that is that we cannot withdraw from this agreement, or from whatever obligation we incur, for a period of 1 year after giving notice of withdrawal. We must first give 6 months' notice, and then we are not permitted to withdraw for 1 year thereafter. That, Mr. President, represents more than half of the time for which this authorization would be made.

It has been said that we hold control of the money because the Administration must come back to Congress for an appropriation. Mr. President, when we authorize the appropriation of \$1,350,000,000, I know from my observation and legislative experience in the Congress that we have already gone more than half the way; indeed, we have gone two-thirds of the way toward actual expenditure of the money. I am not ready today to go that far with \$1,350,000,000. I am ready to go that far with half a billion dollars, which I think is very generous.

I would rather put that limitation on the authorization now so that in the course of the expenditure of the money, and in the course of the operation of the U. N. R. R. A. up until the time that authorization is exhausted by the expenditures which will be made under the authority of the authorization, we can have an opportunity to see how this organization is working, how it is being administered, and how its affairs are being conducted. Then we can determine, after having had such an opportunity, whether this Nation and we as the Congress wish to commit this Government to any further part of the program outlined and in process of execution by the U. N. R. R. A. It is true that we can keep our hands on the purse strings; but if we provide this authorization we shall morally obligate this Government for every dollar of it,

and I am not ready to go that far at this time.

Mr. President, I wish to make one further observation in reference to the withdrawal provision. We cannot withdraw even at the end of a year and a half unless our Government has by that time met all financial, supply, or other material obligations accepted or undertaken by it.

According to my interpretation of the language of the joint resolution, if we make an authorization today of \$1,350,000,000, there will be, in my judgment, an obligation for us to perform to that extent before we can withdraw from it. I do not know that we shall ever want to withdraw. I hope the organization will be so conducted that we will never want to withdraw from it. However, Mr. President, I want the Congress to keep its hands on the purse strings and to reduce the amount of the authorization to half a billion dollars or less. Then, if additional appropriations are requested, we can make an additional authorization when the time comes. We shall have an opportunity then to look at the picture, obtain reports, and know how the enterprise is operating. In that way we can better judge the situation. There is no reason why we cannot determine about another authorization at the time when an additional appropriation is needed.

Mr. President, if the joint resolution is amended so as to provide a limit of \$500,000,000 in the authorization, with the amendments agreed to this afternoon, one of which, that offered by the Senator from Tennessee, prohibits the making of obligations by the Council and by the administrator of this authority beyond the amounts of appropriations already made, we shall be able to retain essential safeguards, which I think we ought to retain for the protection of our own Government and our own people in launching this tremendous enterprise.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS]. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll, and Mr. AIKEN voted in the affirmative when his name was called.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, what is the parliamentary situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS] to reduce the authorization from \$1,350,000,000 to \$350,000,000. The clerk will resume the calling of the roll.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I wish to modify my amendment by limiting the amount of the authorization to \$500,000,000 instead of \$350,000,000.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the calling of the roll has been started and one Senator has voted.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, as I understand, the Senator from North Carolina has modified his amendment so that the amount of the authorization is to be \$500,000,000 instead of \$350,000,000.

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the roll call has started and one Senator has voted. Discussion is not in order. Furthermore, after the yeas and nays have once been ordered, a modification of the amendment is not in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will resume the calling of the roll. The legislative clerk resumed the calling of the roll.

Mr. BANKHEAD (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY]. I do not know how he would vote if he were present, and I, therefore, withhold my vote.

Mr. WHITE (when Mr. LANGER's name was called). I have been asked to announce that the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER] is necessarily absent on business of the Government.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], and will vote. I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DAVIS (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER]. I understand that if present and voting he would vote as I have voted, and, therefore, I allow my vote to stand.

Mr. WAGNER (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED], which I transfer to the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], and permit my vote to stand.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] is detained from the Senate by illness. If present and voting he would vote "nay."

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] is detained from the Senate by a slight cold. He has a pair with his colleague, the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON]. I am advised that if present and voting the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] would vote "nay."

The junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] are detained from the Senate on public business.

If present and voting the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] would vote "nay."

If present and voting the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] would vote "yea."

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] is detained attending the fu-



neral of Representative Schuetz, of Illinois.

The Senators from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN and Mr. SCRUGHAM], the Senator from California [Mr. DOWNEY], and the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE], are detained on official business.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BUCK], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES], the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. REVERCOMB], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON], and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] is absent because of a death in his family.

The result was announced—yeas 17, nays 47, as follows:

## YEAS—17

Aiken	Johnson, Colo.	Shipstead
Bushfield	McClellan	Wheeler
Butler	Moore	Wherry
Clark, Idaho	O'Daniel	Willis
Clark, Mo.	Overton	Wilson
Ellender	Reynolds	

## NAYS—47

Andrews	Gerry	Murray
Austin	Gillette	Nye
Bailey	Green	Radcliffe
Ball	Guffey	Stewart
Barkley	Gurney	Taft
Bilbo	Hatch	Thomas, Okla.
Brewster	Hayden	Thomas, Utah
Burton	Holman	Tunnell
Capper	Jackson	Vandenberg
Caraway	La Follette	Wagner
Connally	McFarland	Wallgren
Danaher	McKellar	Walsh, N. J.
Davis	Maloney	Weeks
Eastland	Maybank	White
Ferguson	Mead	Wiley
George	Murdock	

## NOT VOTING—32

Bankhead	Hill	Revercomb
Bone	Johnson, Calif.	Robertson
Bridges	Kilgore	Russell
Brooks	Langer	Scrugham
Buck	Lucas	Smith
Byrd	McCarran	Thomas, Idaho
Chandler	McNary	Tobey
Chavez	Millikin	Truman
Downey	O'Mahoney	Tydings
Glass	Pepper	Walsh, Mass.
Hawkes	Reed	

So Mr. REYNOLDS' amendment was rejected.

Mr. MCCLELLAN. Mr. President, I offer an amendment, on page 1, line 4, to strike out the figures "\$1,350,000,000" and to insert in lieu thereof "\$500,000,000."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, I have sent an amendment to the desk, which I now offer and ask to have stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to amend article X, on page 15, by the insertion of the following:

SEC. 5. None of the funds appropriated in pursuance of this authorization shall be expended in the promotion of any educational, religious, or political program in any country in which rehabilitation is carried on.

In the first line on page 11, it is proposed that "Sec. 3" be changed to "Sec. 6."

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, I have no desire to cast any reflection on the good faith of the proponents of the joint resolution, or on those who have already been appointed to administer it.

It is unfortunate that many of us are to be measured as to our desire for permanent world cooperation by our vote upon the pending measure.

It is unfortunate that the joint resolution was not submitted to the Senate without the request for an authorization, so that it could have been worked out thoroughly, and could then have represented the sentiment of the Congress. It is unfortunate that the people of this country have had no opportunity to express themselves upon the objectives of the joint resolution. It has been drawn by the Executive, and placed before us on a very nebulous foundation.

I say again that it is unfortunate that we have not had opportunity thoroughly to work out the provisions of the pending joint resolution, and thus give adequate expression to the views of those of us who are anxious that we should cooperate in a real and practical movement for rehabilitation of the countries which have been devastated by the war. I have no objection to the appropriation of this vast sum of money for the relief of war-stricken areas. I do say, however, that if we are to provide two-thirds of the money, the high purpose and good will of America should not be submerged by distribution under the administration of twoscore nations which supply the other third. If we subscribe two-thirds of the stock, we certainly should control the business.

Many of us are anxious that other provisions be added to the joint resolution. Many of us are anxious that some means be provided to take care of the starving women and children in the lands which are already occupied by the armies of the Allies, and also in those lands where the Axis Powers are in control. Starving women and children will provide a very weak foundation for those countries for tomorrow. Taking care of them is a present crying need, and a solution of this problem might have been worked out in connection with the joint resolution by proper consideration of it.

Mr. TAFT. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILLIS. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I merely want to call attention to the fact that the Senate recently adopted a resolution calling upon the State Department to initiate negotiations with the British and others to provide relief for children in the occupied areas to which the Senator refers. The matter could not very well have been included in the pending joint resolution. If what he suggests is to be done, it will have to be done by the International Red Cross. It would have to be the subject of negotiation with the British with regard to relaxation of the blockade. So I think Congress has done all it could, and I have no doubt that the State Department will proceed under the request of Congress to negotiate for the relief the Senator has in mind.

Incidentally, all the countries concerned are willing to provide their own money, so we do not have to furnish money for that particular undertaking.

I think it should be perfectly clear that this joint resolution is entirely consistent with the resolution already adopted, and Congress has gone on record, and has asked the State Department to proceed with the other relief to which the Senator refers.

Mr. WILLIS. I thank the Senator. I was not present on the day when the resolution was agreed to, but I am in hearty sympathy with it. The effort has been too long delayed. It seems to me it could well have been made a part of the program we are considering, inasmuch as some of the nations in this present plan have heretofore resisted, and may continue to resist, the effort to provide relief for starving women and children.

Mr. GILLETTE. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILLIS. I yield.

Mr. GILLETTE. I suggest to the Senator that, if I understood his proposed amendment right, it proposes to amend article X, on page 15. Article X is a part of the article having to do with United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief, and is not subject to amendment. There is no portion of it on page 15 which is part of the joint resolution and subject to amendment. I am afraid the Senator has not applied his proposed amendment as it should be applied.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, I modify my amendment by providing "at the proper place in the joint resolution insert the following"

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILLIS. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. May we have the amendment stated again?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the proper place in the joint resolution it is proposed to insert the following:

SEC. —. None of the funds appropriated pursuant to this authorization shall be expended in the promotion of any educational, religious, or political program in any country in which rehabilitation is carried on.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, the purpose of the amendment is to provide a safeguard against expansion by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration into the fields of governmental ideology. I am free to say that nowhere in the resolution can one find any provision which might be construed as authority for any such extension on the part of the administration. In the last few years, however, we have seen the present administration exercise the dubious policy of going out into fields entrance into which was not definitely barred by legislation. I wish to have the Senate provide a safeguard for the American people against deviation by the organization from the policy set forth in the agreement, so there may be no expansion by it into fields of governmental ideology. For that purpose, I have offered my amendment.

Since the beginning of the war we have seen the administration exploit many different forms of governmental ideology to the world and to the American people. The administration has talked about the "four freedoms." We have heard something about the Atlantic Charter. These



matters all seem to have been forgotten, and now we have this new kind of world organization offered to us. Therefore I am proposing my amendment, so as to provide a safeguard against such expansion as I have spoken of, and so that we may still keep faith with the nations of the world, to assure them that the American people have no purpose and no desire to force any specific ideology, much less our own system in America, upon other nations of the world.

Mr. President, I think we should make clear that none of the funds which are to be appropriated from time to time for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be used for the purpose of propagandizing for any new system of politics or religion or education. I regret that we could not have had an opportunity to amend the agreement itself to the same effect. The only way I know of providing such a limitation is by keeping our hands upon the purse, and saying that no fund shall be used for such purposes.

Mr. President, I hope to have the hearty and sympathetic support of the Senate for this amendment.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WHITE (when Mr. LANGER's name was called). I make the same announcement as before, that the Senator from North Dakota is absent from the city on official business.

Mr. DAVIS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES], and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. THOMAS of Utah (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] and will vote. I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I have a general pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY].

Mr. WAGNER (after having voted in the negative). Mr. President, I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED], which I transfer to the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], and permit my vote to stand.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] is detained from the Senate by illness. If present and voting he would vote "Nay."

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] is detained from the Senate by a slight cold. He has a pair with his colleague, the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON].

The junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the

Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] are detained from the Senate on public business.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] has been called from the Senate to attend a conference.

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] is detained attending the funeral of Representative SCHUETZ, of Illinois.

The senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN], the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. SCRUGHAM], the Senator from California [Mr. DOWNEY], and the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE] are detained on official business.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BUCK], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES], the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. REVERCOMB], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON], and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] is absent because of a death in his family.

The result was announced—yeas 45, nays 18, as follows:

#### YEAS—45

Alken	Ellender	O'Daniel
Andrews	Ferguson	Reynolds
Austin	George	Shipstead
Barkley	Gerry	Taft
Brewster	Gurney	Thomas, Okla.
Burton	Holman	Vandenberg
Bushfield	Jackson	Wagner
Butler	Johnson, Colo.	Walsh, N. J.
Capper	La Follette	Weeks
Caraway	McClellan	Wheeler
Clark, Idaho	McKellar	Wherry
Connally	Maloney	White
Danaher	Mead	Wiley
Davis	Moore	Willis
Eastland	Nye	Wilson

#### NAYS—18

Bailey	Hatch	Overson
Ball	Hayden	Radcliffe
Bilbo	McFarland	Stewart
Gillette	Maybank	Thomas, Utah
Green	Murdock	Tunnell
Guffey	Murray	Wallgren

#### NOT VOTING—33

Bankhead	Hawkes	Reed
Bone	Hill	Revercomb
Bridges	Johnson, Calif.	Robertson
Brooks	Kilgore	Russell
Buck	Langer	Scrugham
Byrd	Lucas	Smith
Chandler	McCarran	Thomas, Idaho
Chavez	McNary	Tobey
Clark, Mo.	Millikin	Truman
Downey	O'Mahoney	Tydings
Glass	Pepper	Walsh, Mass.

So Mr. WILLIS' amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution is open to further amendment. SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote!

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the joint resolution.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed, and the joint resolution was read the third time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution having been read the third time, the questions is, Shall it pass?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, before the yeas-and-nays vote is taken, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD—I shall not read it, in order to save time—a letter and memorandum with reference to the expenditures by this Government for relief during and following World War No. 1. This tabulation includes money which was loaned for specific relief purposes, as well as money which was appropriated directly or contributed. The tabulation shows that the Government of the United States expended in these loans and gifts of all kinds approximately \$2,600,000,000, rather than the \$1,350,000,000 carried by the pending joint resolution.

There being no objection, the letter and accompanying memorandum were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND  
REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION,  
Washington, D. C., December 20, 1943.  
The Honorable DEAN ACHESON,  
Assistant Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. ACHESON: I send you here-with a memorandum on the cost of relief and rehabilitation to the United States in World War No. 1.

There appears to be a great deal of confusion as to what exactly is meant by loans, advances, or grants, so I think this attached memorandum should be considered only as an approximation and not used authoritatively in detail.

Very sincerely yours,  
HERBERT H. LEHMAN.

#### THE COST OF RELIEF AND REHABILITATION TO THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD WAR NO. 1

1. The total cost to the United States of financing relief and rehabilitation in continental Europe in World War No. 1 is estimated at approximately \$2,600,000,000. (See attached table.)

2. Of this \$2,600,000,000, some \$2,300,000,000 represents United States Government loans directly or indirectly for relief and rehabilitation. Approximately \$1,000,000,000 of the \$2,300,000,000 were loans directly for relief purposes, primarily for foodstuffs. The remaining \$1,300,000,000 was spent by foreign governments for relief and rehabilitation supplies against general credits established by the United States Treasury. Only about 10 percent of the \$2,300,000,000 of loans was repaid; the remaining 90 percent was, in effect, a gift.

3. The estimated total cost to the United States of financing relief and rehabilitation to continental Europe, \$2,600,000,000, was 4 percent of the national income for 1919, which is estimated at \$64,200,000,000.<sup>1</sup> The \$2,300,000,000 of relief and rehabilitation loans by the United States Government comprised 3.6 percent of the 1919 national income, and the \$1,000,000,000 of direct United States Government relief loans totaled 1.5 percent of the national income of that year.

<sup>1</sup> The estimate of national income is from National Income and Its Composition, 1919-38, by Simon Kuznets, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1941, p. 137, table 1.



4. The scope of relief covered by the above figures cannot properly be compared with the prospective cost of relief and rehabilitation after the present war, in view of differences in the geographic areas involved, in the composition of relief and rehabilitation supplies required, in the degree of devastation, and in the number of displaced persons, to mention only leading differences.

*Financing of relief and rehabilitation in continental Europe by United States public and private agencies, World War No. 1<sup>1</sup>*

[In millions of dollars]

1. U. S. Government relief loans: <sup>2</sup>	
(a) Prearmistice (to Belgium).....	223.2
(b) Armistice and post-armistice.....	778.3
	1,001.5
2. Other United States loans to continental Europe, Dec. 1, 1919, to Nov. 1, 1920 <sup>2</sup> .....	1,266.0
3. U. S. Government gifts.....	37.0
4. Gifts of private agencies.....	340.0
Total.....	2,644.5

<sup>1</sup>Source: Relief Deliveries and Relief Loans, 1919-23, and Europe's Overseas Needs, 1919-20, and How They Were Met, League of Nations, 1943.

<sup>2</sup>Only 5 or 6 percent was repaid.

FOOTNOTES TO TABLE 1

NOTE.—Numbers of footnotes refer to items in table 1. Reference is to relief deliveries and relief loans, 1919-23, unless otherwise stated.

1. (a) P. 56, footnote 1, column 10. Official figure of Committee for Relief in Belgium.

1. (b) P. 55. These loans were made by:

2. U. S. Liquidation Commission.
3. American Relief Administration and U. S. Grain Corporation.

2. Europe's Overseas Needs, 1919-20, and How They Were Met, League of Nations, 1943, pages 25-27, tables 14 and 15. This figure represents mainly United States Treasury advances in addition to the direct relief loans in item 1 (b). Total advances of \$2,560, less \$778 for direct relief loans, less \$215 for advances to the United Kingdom gives the figure of \$1,567 for 1919 and 1920. To this may be added advances during December 1918 of \$193, giving a total of \$1,770. If expenditures not directly related to relief and rehabilitation are deducted, amounting to \$504, the figure is \$1,266, which is the figure given in the table.

3. Page 7, table 1.

4. Page 7, table 1, and page 26, table 8B.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the joint resolution pass? On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WHITE (when Mr. CAPPER's name was called). The senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. CAPPER] has been called from the Chamber. If present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. McKELLAR (when his name was called). On this vote, I have a pair with the junior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] who is absent attending the funeral of the late Representative Schuetz. Not knowing how the junior Senator from New Mexico would vote, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. I have a general pair with the Senator from New

Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. I am advised, however, that if present he would vote as I intend to vote. Therefore, I am at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. WAGNER. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] who is absent on public business. I am advised that the Senator from Illinois would vote "yea." I vote "yea."

Mr. DAVIS (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER]. I understand that he would vote as I have voted. Therefore, I permit my vote to stand.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY].

My colleague the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL] is necessarily absent. If present and voting, he would vote "yea."

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] is absent because of illness. I am advised that if he were present he would vote "yea."

The Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from California [Mr. DOWNEY], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] are absent on public business.

I am advised that, if present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] would vote "yea."

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], who is detained in a conference, is paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY]. I am advised that, if present and voting, the Senator from New Hampshire would vote "yea," and the Senator from Missouri would vote "nay."

The Senators from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN and Mr. SCRUGHAM] are absent on official business.

The senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], who would vote "yea" if present, is detained because of a slight cold. He has a general pair with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON].

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], who is necessarily absent, is paired with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BUCK]. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Delaware would vote "yea," and the Senator from South Carolina would vote "nay."

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Illinois

[Mr. BROOKS], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BUCK], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES], the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. REVERCOMB], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON], and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] is absent because of a death in his family.

I am advised that the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BUCK], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] would vote "yea," if present.

The result was announced—yeas 47, nays 14, as follows:

YEAS—47

Aiken	George	Murray
Andrews	Gerry	Nye
Austin	Green	Radcliffe
Bailey	Guffey	Stewart
Ball	Gurney	Taft
Barkley	Hatch	Thomas, Okla.
Bilbo	Hayden	Thomas, Utah
Brewster	Holman	Tunnell
Burton	Jackson	Vandenberg
Caraway	Johnson, Colo.	Wagner
Connally	La Follette	Wallgren
Danaher	McFarland	Walsh, N. J.
Davis	Maloney	Weeks
Eastland	Maybank	White
Ellender	Mead	Wiley
Ferguson	Murdoch	

NAYS—14

Bushfield	Moore	Wheeler
Butler	O'Daniel	Wherry
Clark, Idaho	Overton	Willis
Gillette	Reynolds	Wilson
McClellan	Shipstead	

NOT VOTING—35

Bankhead	Hawkes	Reed
Bone	Hill	Revercomb
Bridges	Johnson, Calif.	Robertson
Brooks	Kilgore	Russell
Buck	Langer	Scrugham
Byrd	Lucas	Smith
Capper	McCarran	Thomas, Idaho
Chandler	McKellar	Tobey
Chavez	McNary	Truman
Clark, Mo.	Millikin	Tydings
Downey	O'Mahoney	Walsh, Mass.
Glass	Pepper	

So the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) was passed.

ADDITIONAL ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1140) to provide for the appointment of an additional Assistant Secretary of the Interior, which was, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That there shall be in the Department of the Interior an additional Assistant Secretary of the Interior, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall perform such duties in the Department of the Interior as shall be prescribed by the Secretary, or may be required by law. The Assistant Secretaries of the Interior shall be without numerical distinction of rank and shall have salaries of \$9,000 per annum. The additional office provided for by this act shall cease to exist at the expiration of 6 months after the cessation of hostilities in the present war as determined by the President by proclamation or by the Congress by concurrent resolution.

Mr. HATCH. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House. The motion was agreed to.









78<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> SESSION

# H. J. RES. 192

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IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 18, 1944

Ordered to be printed with the amendments of the Senate numbered

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## JOINT RESOLUTION

To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

1      *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*  
2      *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3      That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to  
4      the President such sums, not to exceed \$1,350,000,000  
5      in the aggregate, as the Congress may determine from  
6      time to time to be appropriate for participation by the  
7      United States (including contributions in funds or other-  
8      wise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the  
9      work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Admin-  
10     istration, established by an agreement concluded by the  
11     United Nations and Associated Governments on November  
12     9, 1943, reading as follows:

1 "AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF  
2 AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

3 "The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized  
4 representatives have subscribed hereto,

5 "Being United Nations or being associated with the  
6 United Nations in this war,

7 "Being determined that immediately upon the liberation  
8 of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as  
9 a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof  
10 shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, cloth-  
11 ing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in  
12 the recovery of the health of the people, and that prepara-  
13 tion and arrangements shall be made for the return of  
14 prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the  
15 resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial  
16 production and the restoration of essential services,

17 "Have agreed as follows:

18 "ARTICLE I

19 "There is hereby established the United Nations Relief  
20 and Rehabilitation Administration.

21 "1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold  
22 and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake  
23 obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review  
24 the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings



1 and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its  
2 objects and purposes.

3 “2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the pur-  
4 poses and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

5 “(a) To plan, cordinate, administer or arrange for the  
6 administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in  
7 any area under the control of any of the United Nations  
8 through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and  
9 other basic necessities, medical and other essential services;  
10 and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the  
11 adequate provision of relief, the production and transporta-  
12 tion of these articles and the furnishing of these services. The  
13 form of activities of the Administration within the territory of  
14 a member government wherein that government exercises  
15 administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed  
16 by the member government for carrying out measures planned  
17 by the Administration therein shall be determined after  
18 consultation with and with the consent of the member  
19 government.

20 “(b) To formulate and recommend measures for indi-  
21 vidual or joint action by any or all of the member govern-  
22 ments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships and  
23 other procurement activities in the period following the cessa-  
24 tion of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and

1 activities of the Administration with the total movement of  
2 supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distri-  
3 bution of available supplies. The Administration may ad-  
4 minister such coordination measures as may be authorized by  
5 the member governments concerned.

6       “(c) To study, formulate and recommend for individual  
7 or joint action by any or all of the member governments  
8 measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of  
9 its experience in planning and performing the work of relief  
10 and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member  
11 governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recom-  
12 mendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a  
13 vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be re-  
14 ferred to any or all of the member governments for indi-  
15 vidual or joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the  
16 Central Committee and by vote of the Council.

## 17                               “ARTICLE II

### 18                               “MEMBERSHIP

19       “The members of the United Nations Relief and Re-  
20 habilitation Administration shall be the governments or  
21 authorities signatory hereto and such other governments or  
22 authorities as may upon application for membership be  
23 admitted thereto by action of the Council. The Council may,  
24 if it desires, authorize the Central Committee to accept new  
25 members between sessions of the Council.



1 “Wherever the term ‘member government’ is used in this  
2 Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the  
3 Administration whether a government or an authority.

4 “ARTICLE III

5 “THE COUNCIL

6 “1. Each member government shall name one representa-  
7 tive, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Coun-  
8 cil of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Adminis-  
9 tration which shall be the policy-making body of the Adminis-  
10 tration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select  
11 one of its members to preside at the session. The Council  
12 shall determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise  
13 provided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the  
14 Council shall vote by simple majority.

15 “2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not  
16 less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may  
17 be convened in special session whenever the Central Com-  
18 mittee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within  
19 thirty days after request therefor by one-third of the mem-  
20 bers of the Council.

21 “3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist  
22 of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist  
23 Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of  
24 America, with the Director General presiding, without vote.  
25 Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make

1 policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions  
2 shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee  
3 which shall be communicated promptly to each member gov-  
4 ernment. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by  
5 the Council at any regular session or at any special session  
6 called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The  
7 Central Committee shall invite the participation of the repre-  
8 sentative of any member government at those of its meetings  
9 at which action of special interest to such government is  
10 discussed. It shall invite the participation of the represent-  
11 ative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of  
12 the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affect-  
13 ing the provision of supplies are discussed.

14       “4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall  
15 consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
16 representing those member governments likely to be prin-  
17 cipal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The  
18 members shall be appointed by the Council, and the  
19 Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emer-  
20 gency appointments between sessions of the Council, such  
21 appointments to continue until the next session of the Coun-  
22 cil. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate and  
23 recommend to the Council and the Central Committee poli-  
24 cies designed to assure the provision of required supplies.  
25 The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with



1 the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting  
2 supplies.

3       “5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall con-  
4 sist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
5 representing member governments of territories within the  
6 European area and such other members of the Council rep-  
7 resenting other governments directly concerned with the  
8 problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area  
9 as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may au-  
10 thorize the Central Committee to make these appointments  
11 in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such  
12 appointments to continue until the next session of the Coun-  
13 cil. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall  
14 consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates,  
15 representing member governments of territories within the  
16 Far Eastern area and such other members of the Council  
17 representing other governments directly concerned with the  
18 problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area  
19 as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may au-  
20 thorize the Central Committee to make these appointments  
21 in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such  
22 appointments to continue until the next session of the Council.  
23 The regional committees shall normally meet within their  
24 respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to  
25 the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect

1 to relief and rehabilitation within their respective areas.  
2 The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the  
3 Inter-Allied Committee on European Post-war Relief estab-  
4 lished in London on September 24, 1941, and the records  
5 of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for  
6 Europe.

7       “6. The Council shall establish such other standing re-  
8 gional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions  
9 of such committees and the method of appointing their mem-  
10 bers being identical to that provided in Article III, para-  
11 graph 5, with respect to the Committees of the Council for  
12 Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also estab-  
13 lish such other standing committees as it considers desirable  
14 to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council,  
15 to advise the Central Committee. For such standing techni-  
16 cal committees as may be established, in respect of particular  
17 problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, re-  
18 patriation, and finance, the members may be members of the  
19 Council or alternates nominated by them because of special  
20 competence in their respective fields of work. The members  
21 shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may au-  
22 thorize the Central Committee to make emergency appoint-  
23 ments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to  
24 continue until the next session of the Council. Should a re-  
25 gional committee so desire, subcommittees of the standing



1 technical committees shall be established by the technical  
2 committees in consultation with the regional committees,  
3 to advise the regional committees.

4 “7. The travel and other expenses of members of the  
5 Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by  
6 the governments which they represent.

7 “8. All reports and recommendations of committees of  
8 the Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for  
9 distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the  
10 secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of  
11 Article IV, paragraph 4.

#### 12 “ARTICLE IV

##### 13 “THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

14 “1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief  
15 and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director  
16 General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nom-  
17 ination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The  
18 Director General may be removed by the Council on recom-  
19 mendation by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

20 “2. The Director General shall have full power and au-  
21 thority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by  
22 Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available  
23 resources and the broad policies determined by the Council  
24 or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office

1 he shall in conjunction with the military and other appro-  
2 priate authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for  
3 the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area  
4 occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations,  
5 arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary  
6 supplies and create or select the emergency organization  
7 required for this purpose. In arranging for the procure-  
8 ment, transportation, and distribution of supplies and serv-  
9 ices, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate  
10 with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and  
11 shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available  
12 by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may  
13 not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the  
14 Administration without the consent and unless subject to the  
15 regulation of the Director General. The powers and duties  
16 of the Director General are subject to the limitations of  
17 Article VII.

18       “3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the  
19 organization and direction of the functions contemplated by  
20 Article I, paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c).

21       “4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy  
22 Directors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his  
23 headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he  
24 shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his  
25 powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General,



1 or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General,  
2 shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities  
3 as shall be required by the Council and its committees, in-  
4 cluding the regional committees and subcommittees. Such  
5 Deputy Directors General as shall be assigned special func-  
6 tions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional  
7 standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it ad-  
8 vised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation program  
9 within the region.

10 "5. The Director General shall make periodic reports  
11 to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the  
12 progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall  
13 be made public except for such portions as the Central Com-  
14 mittee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United  
15 Nations, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests  
16 of a member government in such a way as to render it ques-  
17 tionable whether it should be published, such government  
18 shall have an opportunity of expressing its views on the  
19 question of publication. The Director General shall also  
20 arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activ-  
21 ities of the Administration within each region and he shall  
22 transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the  
23 Council, the Central Committee and the respective regional  
24 committees.

## 1 "ARTICLE V

## 2 "SUPPLIES AND RESOURCES

3 "1. In so far as its appropriate constitutional bodies  
4 shall authorize, each member government will contribute to  
5 the support of the Administration in order to accomplish  
6 the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). The amount and  
7 character of the contributions of each member government  
8 under this provision will be determined from time to time  
9 by its appropriate constitutional bodies. All such contribu-  
10 tions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

11 "2. The supplies and resources made available by the  
12 member governments shall be kept in review in relation to  
13 prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall  
14 initiate action with the member governments with a view to  
15 assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be  
16 required.

17 "3. All purchases by any of the member governments,  
18 to be made outside their own territories during the war for  
19 relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after  
20 consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as  
21 practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United  
22 Nations agency.

## 23 "ARTICLE VI

## 24 "ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

25 "The Director General shall submit to the Council an



1 annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary  
2 budgets as may be required, covering the necessary adminis-  
3 trative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of  
4 a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be  
5 allocated to the member governments in proportions to be  
6 determined by the Council. Each member government  
7 undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional  
8 procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its  
9 share of the administrative expenses so determined.

10 "ARTICLE VII

11 "Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained,  
12 while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area,  
13 the Administration and its Director General shall not under-  
14 take activities therein without the consent of the military com-  
15 mand of that area, and unless subject to such control as the  
16 command may find necessary. The determination that such  
17 hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be  
18 made by its military commander.

19 "ARTICLE VIII

20 "AMENDMENT

21 "The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as  
22 follows:

23 "a. Amendments involving new obligations for member  
24 governments shall require the approval of the Council by a

1 two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member govern-  
2 ment on acceptance by it;

3 "b. Amendments involving modification of Article III  
4 or Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by  
5 a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of  
6 the Central Committee ;

7 "c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by  
8 the Council by a two-thirds vote.

9 "ARTICLE IX

10 "ENTRY INTO FORCE

11 "This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to  
12 each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by  
13 that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

14 "ARTICLE X

15 "WITHDRAWAL

16 "Any member government may give notice of with-  
17 drawal from the Administration at any time after the expira-  
18 tion of six months from the entry into force of the Agreement  
19 for that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve  
20 months after the date of its communication to the Director  
21 General subject to the member government having met by  
22 that time all financial, supply or other material obligations  
23 accepted or undertaken by it."

24 SEC. 2. Amounts appropriated under this resolution  
25 shall be expended under the direction of the President pur-



1 suant to section 1 hereof. The President shall submit to the  
2 Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any  
3 such appropriations and of operations under the Agreement.

4 SEC. 3. In the adoption of this joint resolution the  
5 Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the  
6 policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilita-  
7 tion Administration at the first session of the Council, sum-  
8 marized in paragraph 11 of Resolution Numbered 12, and  
9 reading as follows:

10 "11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as  
11 the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief.  
12 No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated,  
13 but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the  
14 Agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are impor-  
15 tant, but not determining factors. They are consequences  
16 and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration  
17 cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment  
18 in the world."

19 SEC. 4. In expressing its approval of this joint resolution,  
20 it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds  
21 and facilities permit, any area (1)(*except within enemy*  
22 *territory and while occupied by the enemy*) important to the  
23 military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by  
24 famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made

1 available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilita-  
2 tion Administration.

3 **(2)***No amendment under article VIII (a) of the agreement*  
4 *involving any new obligation for the United States shall be*  
5 *binding upon the United States without approval by joint*  
6 *resolution of Congress.*

7 **(3)***SEC. 5. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress*  
8 *does so with the following reservation:*

9 *That in the case of the United States the appropriate*  
10 *constitutional body to determine the amount and character*  
11 *and time of the contributions of the United States is the*  
12 *Congress of the United States.*

13 **(4)***SEC. 6. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress*  
14 *does so with the following reservation:*

15 *That it is understood that the provision in paragraph*  
16 *11 of resolution numbered 12 adopted at the first session*  
17 *of the council, referred to in section 3 of this joint resolution*  
18 *and reading "The task of rehabilitation must not be considered*  
19 *as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with*  
20 *relief", contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined*  
21 *to relief only.*

22 **(5)***SEC. 7. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress*  
23 *does so with the following reservation:*

24 *That the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Ad-*  
25 *ministration shall not be authorized to enter into contracts*



1 or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of ap-  
 2 propriations made therefor.

3 ~~(6)~~SEC. 8. None of the funds appropriated in pursuance of  
 4 this authorization shall be expended in the promotion of any  
 5 educational, religious, or political program in any country in  
 6 which rehabilitation is carried on.

7 SEC. ~~(7)~~5 9. The authorization contained in this joint  
 8 resolution shall expire ~~(8)~~at the conclusion of two years  
 9 following the termination of hostilities on all fronts unless  
 10 specifically extended by an Act of Congress on June 30,  
 11 1946.

Passed the House of Representatives January 25, 1944.

Attest:

SOUTH TRIMBLE,

*Clerk.*

Passed the Senate with amendments February 17 (legis-  
 lative day, February 7), 1944.

Attest:

EDWIN A. HALSEY,

*Secretary.*

78<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> SESSION

# H. J. RES. 192

## JOINT RESOLUTION

To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 18, 1944

Ordered to be printed with the amendments of the  
Senate numbered









DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
(Issued February 22, for actions of Monday, February 21, 1944)  
(For staff of the Department only)

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HOUSE

1. A.A.A. TOBACCO. Agriculture Committee reported without amendment H.J.Res. 234, directing that the burley tobacco acreage allotment for any farm having had one in 1943 shall not be less than one acre or 25% of the cropland, whichever is smaller, and that the acreage required for apportionment shall be in addition to existing allotments (H.Rept. 1163) (p. 1953).
2. FLOOD CONTROL. Committee hearing is scheduled for today, Feb. 22, at which representatives of this Department, the Weather Bureau, and the Bureau of Reclamation will be present (p. 1953).
3. FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION. Chairman submitted a report on Distribution Methods and Costs, Pt. III---Building Materials---Lumber, Paints, and Varnishes (H.Doc.442) (p. 1953).
4. FOREIGN RELIEF. Rep. Bloom, N.Y., made a motion for appointment of conferees (Reps. Johnson, Tex., Eaton, N.J., and Bloom, N.Y.) on H.J.Res. 192, to permit U.S. participation in UNRRA. but ~~withdrew~~ it temporarily at the request of Minority Leader Martin (pp. 1935-6).
5. DEMOBILIZATION (BARUCH) REPORT. Rep. Fish, N.Y., commended this report and urged immediate Congressional action along these lines (pp. 1938-39).
6. PETROLEUM. Rep. Voorhis, Calif., discussed the influence created by "American oil pipe lines in foreign countries" (pp. 1940-5).
7. TAXATION. Several members discussed the tax bill, H.R. 3687, which awaits the President's signature (pp. 1935, 1936-37).
8. INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATION BILL. The provision in this bill, H.R. 4070 (see Digest 14) permitting payment of \$7 per-diem allowances for personnel in travel status, is limited to the services mentioned in the title of Public Law

607, 77th Cong. and does not apply to this Department. Provisions permitting delegation of employment authority and delegation of authority to approve the transfer of household goods were included in the 1945 Budget but were not included in the bill by the House Appropriations Committee.

#### SENATE

9. DAIRY INDUSTRY. Passed, 46-4, without amendment H.R. 149, changing Food and Drug Administration's standards of identity for nonfat dry milk solids (pp. 1921-31). This bill will now be sent to the President.
10. TAXATION; SUBSIDIES. Sen. George, Ga., denounced an editorial by Drew Pearson which criticized Sen. George's position on subsidies and the tax bill (pp. 1915-17).
11. RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION. Received RFC's report for Nov. 1943. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 1917.)
12. PRICE CONTROL; RATIONING. Received OPA's report for the period ended Sept. 30, 1943. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 1917)
13. PROPERTY MANAGEMENT; POST-WAR PLANNING. Received from the S. C. Legislature a resolution urging legislation that would return all possible war equipment to this country after the war so that it can be used for the benefit of the farmers and citizens generally (p. 1917).
14. FOOD ADMINISTRATION; TAXATION. Received from the Farmers Educational and Cooperative State Union of Nebraska, Inc., resolutions favoring a reduction in Government expenses, larger allocations of steel for farm machinery, pay-as-you-go taxation, and fair prices for agricultural products based on parity and cost of labor, and opposing subsidies (pp. 1917-18).
15. PERSONNEL. Sen. Gillette, Iowa, inserted a Western Iowa Branch, Railway Mail Association's resolution urging an investigation of the Comptroller General's "gag order" forbidding his employees from contacting Congressmen without special permission (pp. 1918-19).
16. WAR RELOCATION. Received<sup>a</sup> Md. American Legion resolution protesting against the diffusion of Japanese prisoners of war in critical defense areas (p. 1919).
17. VETERANS. Finance Committee reported with amendments S. Res. 225, to study the problems of readjustment in civil life of veterans of World War 2. (p. 1920).
18. POST-WAR PLANNING. Agreed, without amendment, to S.Con. Res. 35, to provide for the printing of Baruch and Hancock's report on war and post-war adjustment policy as a Senate document (p. 1920).

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

19. COMMODITY CREDIT. H.R. 4230, (see Digest 32) redefines the basis of the annual appraisal of CCC's assets, continues CCC as a U.S. agency until July 1, 1945, provides for a GAO audit of CCC's financial transactions, and permits CCC to sell at a loss perishable fruits or vegetables if there is danger of substantial loss through spoilage.  
By Sen. Bankhead, Ala., S.J.Res. 116, continuing the CCC as a U.S. agency until June 30, 1945. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 1920.)



# House of Representatives

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1944

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker.

The Reverend William J. Johnston, minister of the Eglinton United Church, Toronto, Canada, offered the following prayer:

Almighty, eternal, most gracious, and loving God, our help in ages past and our hope for years to come: Thou dost open Thine hand and feed us. Thou dost guide us by Thine eye. Thou dost make all things to work together for good for Thy people. Thou hast set the solitary together in families. Thou hast made of the families States and of States this great Nation. Give to us as a people a clear vision of our high duty and endue us with courage and fortitude to do with our might what our hands find to do.

We pray for the better day soon to come to mankind everywhere. Grant that the spirit of brotherhood may increase in the earth, that friendship and understanding may take the place of hate and mistrust, and, O Lord God, ruler of all men, we beseech Thee to make wars to cease to the ends of the earth.

Bless the President of the United States of America and all associated with him in governing this Christian Nation, and may Thy kingdom of love and peace and joy come to our whole earth to the honor and glory of Thy holy name. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, February 18, 1944, was read and approved.

## WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to make a suggestion in response to a suggestion made by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER] about the special orders for tomorrow.

We usually read Washington's Farewell Address, which takes about 40 minutes, and then adjourn. The Chair thinks such a procedure is more dignified. The Chair has no control over it, but that is the way we have been doing and the Chair thinks that is the better way to do it.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, has someone been selected to read George Washington's Farewell Address?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] was selected some time ago.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting an edi-

torial from the New York Times; and also to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a brief statement of my own.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

## THE REVENUE ACT, 1944

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, rumor has it that the President will veto the tax bill so recently passed by Congress. With our finances in the shape they now are, this simply does not make sense. Regardless of whether the President feels Congress passed an insufficient tax bill, the fact remains that the new tax bill raises over \$2,000,000,000 of badly needed revenue. I have always believed that a half loaf was better than none at all. People are not complaining too much about present taxes. In fact, there are many who feel we should very definitely increase taxes during the time our national income remains at such a high figure. More revenue is desirable, but in developing new methods to increase such revenue we must be careful so as not to kill the goose that lays the golden egg. Why does not the President permit the Congress to pass a tax bill without sending his administrators up to the Hill to fight Congress on various suggested methods outside those he himself has sent up for consideration? And, of course, it could be that one of the reasons, if not the main reason, for the President vetoing the tax bill is because of the provision that calls for all unions to file financial statements with the Treasury. There is nothing wrong in requesting unions to comply with such procedure. Honest labor officials and the rank and file of labor have nothing to hide from the public. If we need more taxes, let us write another tax bill but not kill the one already passed by the Congress.

Obviously, a decade of reckless spending has so imbued the New Deal administration with strong desires for more and more money that a \$2,000,000,000 check from the people is spurned as chicken feed, not to say "picayune." There are many who wish they had a little more money than comes along in the pay envelope, but they are not so foolish to throw back what they do get; they make it do. Franklin Roosevelt has never learned that there is a bottom to the public money barrel. He never will.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. GORE. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman who has just made a statement affirmed that half a loaf was better than no loaf. In making that comparison with the tax bill which the Congress sent to the President he is in error. It is not even half a loaf. It is a puny effort at wartime taxation. Moreover, it opens up further loopholes for more war profiteering and it stops the scheduled increase of social-security taxes at the best time in the history of the country for the increases to be put into effect. It is my opinion that the bill should be vetoed. In fact, I vetoed against it when it passed the House, even though it had some meritorious provisions, such as the provision requiring reporting by nonprofit organizations.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORE. I yield.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I just want to say I agree heartily with what the gentleman said. That is the same reason I voted against it.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORE. I yield.

Mr. ARENDS. Did the gentleman vote against the tax bill?

Mr. GORE. I certainly did, because I did not think it was worthy of Congress in the midst of an awful war. Not only is it woefully inadequate as a revenue measure but it actually lets down some bars previously erected against war profiteering.

## UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization, with Senate amendments, disagree to the Senate amendments and ask for a conference.

The Clerk read the title of the House joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, did the gentleman take this up with the gentlewoman from Massachusetts, who has been interested in this matter, and who does not happen to be on the floor at the moment?

Mr. BLOOM. I have not taken it up with her. I have just asked for a con-



ference. I have given the names of the conferees to the Speaker, as we have done heretofore. Three conferees are to be appointed, Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON, Dr. EATON, and myself.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, we have had some sort of an agreement with the majority leader relative to this and I wish the gentleman from New York would withdraw his request for the moment until I have had a chance to talk with him to see where we stand.

Mr. BLOOM. I have no objection.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my request for the moment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York withdraws his unanimous consent request.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the appendix of the Record and to include therein an editorial from the Newport News Daily Press on the great record of the Coast Guard.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include a resolution submitted by the American War Dads.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the subject of foreign trade credits insurance.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### GOVERNOR DEWEY

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished and gallant colleague the gentleman from New York [Mr. BALDWIN] is reported in the New York papers as saying that the reason why he voted against the Worley substitute with reference to the soldiers' ballot bill was because the Governor of our State, Mr. Dewey, sent word to this Chamber that the substitute was unconstitutional.

I have an affectionate regard for the gentleman from New York [Mr. BALDWIN], but I am afraid he is now crying on the shoulders of his constituents and the tears are somewhat "crocodile." The excuse he offers for his vote will not wash. He leans on a reed. The Governor of our State may have social charm and

grace, but he has no "oomph" when it comes to constitutional questions.

The London Daily Mail recently stated that "he makes the best speeches that money can buy." And that "you must know him very well to dislike him." I still maintain he may be excellent at busting rackets, but he is no "great shakes" as a constitutional lawyer. At least our friend from New York had better not follow him on matters constitutional.

I hope the gentleman from New York [Mr. BALDWIN] will purge himself and vote right the next time. The soldiers' ballot bill, federally directed, is the only proposal that will insure a vote for the men in arms.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

#### THE REVENUE ACT OF 1944

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] called the tax bill which is now upon the President's desk for action "picayune" he showed abysmal ignorance of our whole tax structure. The gentleman from Tennessee evidently is not aware of the fact that we are already raising from the American people \$42,000,000,000 a year, which is 42 times what they paid when I first came to Congress. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] is apparently unaware of the fact that, in addition to the \$42,000,000,000 that the Federal Government is collecting from the American people, there is collected by the States and political subdivisions another \$10,000,000,000.

I would suggest to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] and also the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS], who seems to know a little on a great many subjects but not very much on any particular one, that they study the present tax structure of this country before they attempt to pass judgment upon the question of additional taxes.

Among other things, the pending tax bill freezes the social security tax at the present 1 percent rate for another year. If the President vetoes the bill, and it is not passed over his veto, there will automatically be an additional 1 percent tax on every pay envelope and every employer as of March 1.

As I have repeatedly stated, the average American is already paying taxes, Federal, State, and local, in an amount which is about as great as he can afford.

It was never contemplated that the Social Security Act should be used as a revenue-raising measure, but that is precisely how it has been employed. Every dollar of the so-called Social Security Trust Fund has been lent to the Federal Government, and I O U's left in the till. When it comes time to draw money from the fund, there will be nothing there but these I O U's. Hence it will be necessary to raise the money all over again. In other words, under the President's pro-

gram, future beneficiaries under the Social Security Act will be taxed twice for their retirement annuities. That certainly was not the intention of Congress.

I know there are Members of this House whose motto is "tax and tax, spend and spend." They ignore the fact that taxes are paid in the sweat of every man who labors, as President Roosevelt so well said in the 1932 campaign.

Again let me emphasize the fact that we have about reached the limit of the American people's ability to pay taxes. We are now the highest taxed people in the world, our per capita tax burden being \$357 for every man, woman, and child, as compared with \$291 in Britain and \$261 in Canada. In addition, our people have had to contend with much greater increases in living costs than have our British and Canadian friends. Thus it appears that the poor American taxpayer is being ground between the upper and nether millstone.

Any general increase in income taxes, such as the President advocates, would fall not alone on those who have enjoyed increased incomes as a result of the war, but as well on those whose incomes have not increased.

The President wants us to face the tax burden realistically, and that is exactly what Congress has done in limiting the tax increase to \$2,300,000,000, as compared with the \$10,500,000,000 requested by the Treasury. In providing for this lower amount, Congress has simply faced the fact that there is a limit to our ability to pay taxes, even in wartime.

#### THE REVENUE ACT 1944

Mr. IZAC. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. IZAC. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] and the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS] are exactly right in voicing opposition to the tax bill. I am sorry I have to differ with my friend from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON].

This tax bill is draining money from all of the little fellows throughout the Nation and because of the loopholes provided in the renegotiation amendments it is funneling that money out to the war profiteers, those who have war contracts. That is why we could not support such a bill as this, and I presume that is why no one will be surprised if the President vetoes it. We are drawing money in from all sides and then funneling it out to war profiteers because they are the ones permitted under this bill to make excessive profits with no longer many of those restrictions in effect that have already brought back \$6,000,000,000 to the Treasury.

Mr. GORE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. IZAC. I yield.

Mr. GORE. In response to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON] let me say that the gentleman from Tennessee is fully aware of all the things which the gentleman from Minnesota cites, and that the gentleman from Min-









1st of July, and we will have full opportunity then to say how long subsidies may be continued.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, with the explanation of the senior Senator from Ohio, I withdraw the amendment, inasmuch as we can consider it before July when the extension of the Price Control Act is under consideration.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Nebraska is withdrawn. If there be no further amendments the joint resolution will be read the third time.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 116) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

*Resolved, etc., That the first sentence of section 7 of the act approved January 31, 1935 (49 Stat. 4), as amended, is hereby amended, as of February 17, 1944, by striking out "February 17, 1944" and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1945."*

#### THE PRESIDENT'S VETO OF THE REVENUE BILL

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Finance Committee, which has devoted several difficult and laborious months to the formulation and development of the current tax bill, I feel impelled to comment briefly with respect to the President's recent veto of that legislation which bore the sincere endorsement of the vast majority of both Houses of the Congress.

It is my belief, Mr. President, that the Chief Executive was ill-advised in taking the veto step, and I cannot but feel that his action is not in the interests of the general welfare of the Nation.

As one who has watched the development of this issue from the day the Treasury Department with the President's approval first submitted its impossible program for the raising of ten and one-half billion dollars in additional revenue—a program which was steeped in political considerations and a complete disregard for the welfare of the vast majority of the small businessmen and white-collar workers in America—and as one who has witnessed the absolute hostility of the Treasury Department and the executive department to the various revenue-raising proposals presented in the Congress, I can only say that I challenge the President and any of his aides to make out a case for the tax program which they advocate.

The Members of the Congress have sincerely and conscientiously worked to prepare a tax bill which would provide needed revenues to the National Government, and which at the same time would not completely destroy the economic security of this Nation and render our people helpless in the face of approaching post-war years.

I feel very keenly about this recent action taken by the President; but I do not desire at this time to impose further upon the Senate. Therefore, I shall conclude my remarks by asking unanimous consent to have inserted in the Record at this point as a part of my remarks,

an editorial which appeared in this morning's issue of the Philadelphia Inquirer entitled "Veto of Tax Bill a Mistake." This editorial sets forth in clear language my own reaction to the Presidential veto of the tax bill.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### VETO OF TAX BILL A MISTAKE

In vetoing the 1944 tax bill the President says he is impelled by regard for the public interest. The Inquirer believes that, in the broader view, his action is opposed to the public interest.

We say this with full realization of the measure's many faults and deficiencies to which we have so frequently and pointedly directed attention.

Even additional tax revenue of more than \$2,000,000,000 is inadequate. But it is not negligible. It should have been far more and might easily have been if the Treasury and the administration had cooperated with Congress and if both branches of the Government had shown courage and wisdom in seeking rich sources of revenue as yet untapped.

The President's message mentions as an offset to the extra taxes provided by this bill its freezing of the social-security taxes, which, he says, would deprive the Treasury of more than a billion dollars.

Aside from the fact that the so-called social-security taxes are not real taxes—even though utilized to meet the Government's running expenses—since they represent money which will have to be returned to the contributors, their wholly inexcusable doubling at this time would place an unnecessary burden on wage earners and business.

The effect would be to hinder employment and to raise costs of production and consequently increase prices. The provision for keeping social-security taxes at their present levels is one of the commendable features of this tax bill, and it is to be hoped that whatever Congress may or may not do, it will reenact this provision, even if in different form.

That would not deprive the Government of any revenue it is now receiving from this source.

Considering that this bill would take half a billion dollars more from corporations, \$665,000,000 more from individual incomes, and a billion dollars more in excise taxes, it is difficult to follow Mr. Roosevelt's reasoning that it is "not a tax bill, but a tax relief bill, providing relief not for the needy but for the greedy."

The failure to make the slightest move toward simplifying the many complicated and confusing provisions of the present law is a matter to which the President rightly calls attention.

In enumerating what he regards as fatal faults of this measure, besides its inadequacy as a revenue producer, Mr. Roosevelt noticeably omits any constructive recommendations for taxes to supply the Government's needs.

Now, when the national income is at its peak, is the time to get as much money as possible from taxes and hold down the proportion of borrowing. But it can't be obtained from the only program the Treasury has deigned to suggest or support—from those incomes that have virtually nothing more left from which to give.

Secretary Morgenthau has persistently refused to advocate "taxing where the money is"—incomes swollen by the war—or to consider a general retail sales tax, the simplest and least burdensome levy, with the additional advantage of curbing inflation.

If Congress, unwilling to see the Government lose these two billions of extra revenue,

should pass this bill over the President's veto, its prime duty would still remain.

This is to enact a simple but comprehensive measure, possibly entailing a thorough overhauling of our present tax system, which will bring in all the money required, but at the same time equitably distribute the common burden.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MURROCK in the chair) laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations in the United States Public Health Service, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

#### RECESS

Mr. HILL. I move that the Senate take a recess until tomorrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Thursday, February 24, 1944, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 23 (legislative day of February 7), 1944:

#### PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR CORPS OF THE UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

ASSISTANT SURGEONS TO BE PASSED ASSISTANT SURGEONS EFFECTIVE FROM THE DATES INDICATED

Nunzio J. Carrozzo, March 4, 1944.

John L. Lincoln, February 19, 1944.

Carl Enna, March 19, 1944.

Joseph A. Moore, February 7, 1944.

PASSED ASSISTANT SURGEONS TO BE SURGEONS EFFECTIVE JANUARY 4, 1944

David C. Elliott

Benton O. Lewis

PASSED ASSISTANT DENTAL SURGEONS TO BE DENTAL SURGEONS EFFECTIVE FEBRUARY 5, 1944

Oscar Mikkelsen

Mark E. Bowers

DENTAL SURGEON TO BE SENIOR DENTAL SURGEON EFFECTIVE FEBRUARY 11, 1944

William C. Parker

ASSISTANT SANITARY ENGINEER TO BE TEMPORARY PASSED ASSISTANT SANITARY ENGINEER EFFECTIVE FEBRUARY 1, 1944

Kaarlo W. Nasl

PASSED ASSISTANT SANITARY ENGINEER TO BE TEMPORARY SANITARY ENGINEER EFFECTIVE FEBRUARY 1, 1944

Franz J. Maler

SENIOR SURGEONS TO BE MEDICAL DIRECTORS EFFECTIVE MARCH 18, 1944

John F. Mahoney

Marion F. Haralson

SURGEONS TO BE SENIOR SURGEONS EFFECTIVE FROM THE DATES INDICATED

Edwin H. Carnes, January 21, 1944.

Gregory J. Van Beeck, March 11, 1944.

Franklin J. Halpin, February 21, 1944.

PASSED ASSISTANT SURGEON TO BE TEMPORARY SURGEON EFFECTIVE JANUARY 1, 1944

Dale C. Cameron

The following officers are now serving under temporary commissions:

Nunzio J. Carrozzo	Oscar Mikkelsen
John L. Lincoln	Mark E. Bowers
Joseph A. Moore	Edwin H. Carnes
David C. Elliott	Gregory J. Van Beeck
Benton O. Lewis	Franklin J. Halpin



# House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1944

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, our Father, we rejoice that, through space we cannot measure and by laws we cannot understand, our times are in Thy hands. We pray for the light of Thy truth to make wise our understanding that we may have clear discernment in all our conclusions; ours is a moral duty which no one can justly ignore or evade. Remind us of the scroll of those who, in every age, have stood forth for justice, tamed wickedness, and contributed to the ethical standards of their day. Let the volume of their experience inspire us to carry our convictions and visions with rapture into our national life.

Heavenly Father, in our need of Thee we kneel at Thy holy altar, making humble confession of our mortal sins; have mercy upon us and forgive all that is past. O God, if needs be, reproach us, discourage our faint-heartedness, and share our problems. Allow not Thy voice to be lost in the roar of the world's earthquake, wind, and fire; O make us equal to the demands of its tragedy. Blessed Lord, while clouds may cluster about the morning star they are destined to fade into a new and glorious day. Let Thy kingdom come in all our hearts, speaking kindly words: Charity thinketh no evil; a soft answer turneth away wrath; behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. In the spirit of our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

GEN. FRANK T. HINES

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 872) to authorize the President to appoint Frank T. Hines a brigadier general in the Army of the United States, with House amendments thereto, and agree to the conference requested by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER appointed the following conferees: Mr. MAY, Mr. THOMASON, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. ANDREWS, and Mr. SHORT.

## PLACING FOURTH-CLASS POSTMASTERS ON SALARY BASIS

Mr. BURCH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 324) to

place postmasters at fourth-class post offices on an annual salary basis, and fix their rate of pay; and provide allowances for rent, fuel, light, and equipment, and fix the rates thereof, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER appointed the following conferees: Mr. BURCH of Virginia, Mr. WHELCHER of Georgia, Mr. WARD, Mr. HARTLEY, and Mr. MASON.

## GRANTING INCREASES IN COMPENSATION TO SUBSTITUTE EMPLOYEES, POSTAL SERVICE

Mr. BURCH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 2836) to grant increases in compensation to substitute employees in the Postal Service, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER appointed the following conferees: Mr. BURCH of Virginia, Mr. WHELCHER of Georgia, Mr. WARD, Mr. HARTLEY, and Mr. MASON.

## PENSIONS TO SOLDIERS, INDIAN WARS, 1817 TO 1898

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 85) to amend the act of March 3, 1927, entitled "An act granting pensions to certain soldiers who served in the Indian wars from 1817 to 1898, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, and concur in the Senate amendments.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the Senate amendments:

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 2, line 15, after "for", insert "not exceeding 3 years of."

On page 3, line 4, after "during", insert "3 years of."

On page 3, line 5, after "service", insert "immediately prior to the approval of this act."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. As I understand it, these amendments make no material change in the bill at all?

Mr. LESINSKI. They make no material change. This bill was passed by the House on June 28, 1943.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the Senate amendments.

The Senate amendments were agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ORGANIZATION

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table House Joint Resolution 192, to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the joint resolution.

The Clerk reported the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER appointed the following conferees: Mr. BLOOM, Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON, Mr. EATON.

## FOURTH INTERMEDIATE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE EXECUTIVE AGENCIES

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, from the Committee on Printing, I report (Rept. No. 1168) back favorably without amendment a privileged resolution (H. Res. 435) authorizing the printing of additional copies of the Fourth Intermediate Report (H. Rept. No. 1024) of the Select Committee to Investigate Executive Agencies, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That 6,000 additional copies of the Fourth Intermediate Report (House Rept. No. 1024) of the Select Committee to Investigate Executive Agencies be printed for the use of said committee.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## INTERREGIONAL HIGHWAYS

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, from the Committee on Printing, I report (Rept. No. 1169) back favorably without amend-









I was privileged to appear before the committee. We had a very amicable session in relation to the joint resolution. I therefore ask unanimous consent to withdraw my motion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the motion will be withdrawn.

#### INVESTIGATION OF MARKET CONDITIONS AFFECTING HOG PRICES

Mr. LANGER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 260), which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized and directed to make a full and complete investigation with respect to market conditions affecting hog prices with a view to ascertaining whether packers are depressing such prices by refusing to buy hogs to which support prices are applicable, basing such refusal upon a lack of processing and storage facilities, and buying instead hogs which are above or below the weight range with respect to which support prices are payable. The committee shall report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date the results of its investigation, together with such recommendations as it may deem desirable.

For the purpose of this study and investigation, the committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings; to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Seventy-eighth Congress; to employ such clerical and other assistants; to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents; to administer such oaths; to take such testimony; and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$ , shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

#### ADDITIONAL COPIES OF PART 2 OF REPORT NO. 539, RELATING TO THE CANCELLATION OF WAR CONTRACTS, ETC.

Mr. GEORGE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 261), which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

*Resolved*, That 15,000 additional copies of Senate Report No. 539, part 2, current session, submitted by the Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning, pursuant to Senate Resolution 102, relative to the "cancellation of war contracts, disposition and sale of surplus property, and industrial demobilization and reconversion," be printed for the use of said committee.

#### SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES, 1944

Mr. GREEN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 263), which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections:

*Resolved*, That a special committee of five Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, from States in which no Senator is to be elected at the general election in 1944, is hereby authorized and directed to make a full and complete investigation with respect to—

(1) the extent and nature of the expenditures made by all candidates for the office of President, Vice President, and United States Senator in 1944 in connection with their campaigns for nomination and election to such office;

(2) the amounts subscribed and contributed, and the value of services rendered and facilities made available (including personal services, and the use of billboards and other advertising space, radio time, office space, moving-picture films, and automobiles, and other transportation facilities), by any individual, group of individuals, partnership, association, or corporation to or on behalf of each such candidate in connection with any such campaign, or for the purpose of influencing the votes cast or to be cast at any primary or general election, or at any convention, held in 1944, at which a candidate for President, Vice President, or United States Senator is to be nominated or elected;

(3) the expenditure of funds appropriated by the Congress with a view to determining whether any such funds have been or are being expended by any department, independent agency, or instrumentality of the United States, by any State or political subdivision thereof, or by any instrumentality of any State or political subdivision thereof, in such a manner as to influence the votes cast or to be cast for any such candidate at any such primary or general election or convention;

(4) the use of any other means or influence (including the promise or use of patronage) for the purpose of aiding or influencing the nomination or election of any such candidates; and

(5) such other matters relating to the election of President, Vice President, and United States Senators in 1944, and the campaigns of candidates in connection therewith, as the committee deems to be of public interest, and which in its opinion will aid the Senate in enacting remedial legislation or in deciding any contests that may be instituted involving the right to a seat in the Senate.

Sec. 2. The committee is authorized to act upon its own motion and upon such information as in its judgment may be reasonable or reliable. Upon complaint being made to the committee, under oath, by any person, candidate, or political committee, setting forth allegations as to facts which, under this resolution, it would be the duty of said committee to investigate, the committee shall investigate such charges as fully as though it were acting upon its own motion, unless, after a hearing upon such complaint, the committee shall find that the allegations in such complaint are immaterial or untrue. All hearings before the committee, and before any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, shall be public, and all orders and decisions of the committee, and of any such subcommittee, shall be public.

Sec. 3. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such public hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Seventy-eighth Congress, to employ such attorneys, experts, clerical, and other assistants, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, and to make such expenditures, as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed \$30,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee or the chairman of any duly authorized subcommittee thereof.

Sec. 4. The committee by majority vote may authorize any member of the committee, or any member of a duly authorized subcommittee, to conduct on behalf of the committee any part of the investigation herein provided for, and for such purpose any member

so authorized may hold public hearings, issue subpoenas, and provide for the service thereof, require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, papers, and documents, administer oaths, and take testimony.

Sec. 5. The committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, may authorize any one or more persons to conduct on behalf of the committee any part of the investigation herein provided for, and for such purpose any person so authorized may hold such public hearings, issue such subpoenas, and provide for the service thereof, require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, administer such oaths, and take such testimony, as the committee, or any such duly authorized subcommittee, may from time to time authorize.

Sec. 6. The committee shall report to the Senate on the first day of the next regular session of the Congress the results of its investigation, together with its recommendations, if any, for necessary legislation.

#### WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS—REMARKS BY SENATOR THOMAS OF UTAH RELATIVE TO THE ANNUAL CUSTOM OF READING THE ADDRESS

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I have received a letter from the Public Library of Des Moines, Iowa, which refers to the scholarly address by Senator THOMAS of Utah in connection with the annual reading of Washington's Farewell Address in the United States Senate. In the letter it is stated:

The Senator's commentary and analysis of Washington's famous document contains so much that is timely and of value that I wish it could be preserved in more permanent form.

Would it be in order for a book to be printed as a special Senate document containing both the Farewell Address and the address of the Senator?

I ask unanimous consent that the commentary and analysis by the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS], as they appear in the RECORD in connection with his reading of the Farewell Address, be printed as a Senate document.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### PRODUCTION OF LIQUID FUEL FROM COAL

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1243) authorizing the construction and operation of demonstration plants to produce synthetic liquid fuels from coal, oil shale, and other substances, in order to aid the prosecution of the war, to conserve and increase the oil resources of the Nation, and for other purposes.

Mr. HATCH. I move that the Senate disagree to the House amendments, request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. LANGER. May I ask the distinguished temporary majority leader just what the difference is?

Mr. HATCH. The House made amendments, one of them relating to agricultural products to which I understand there is some objection. The



Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], the chairman of the committee, is ill and not able to be present. This morning I talked to him on the telephone and his thought was that the bill should go to conference, where the differences could be ironed out quickly.

Mr. LANGER. Does the Senator know what the differences are?

Mr. HATCH. I do not.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator is this the bill proposing to appropriate \$30,000,000 for demonstration plants to experiment in the production of liquid fuels from coal and other substances?

Mr. HATCH. This is the bill which the Senator has in mind. My motion is that the Senate disagree to the House amendments, request a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. O'MAHONEY, Mr. MURDOCK, and Mr. GURNEY conferees on the part of the Senate.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, requesting a conference with the Senate thereon, and appointing conferees.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist on its amendments, agree to the conference asked by the House and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. CONNALLY, Mr. GEORGE, and Mr. CAPPER conferees on the part of the Senate.

#### SECOND REPORT OF SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, the Second Report of Selective Service under section 6 of Public Law 197, Seventy-eighth Congress, has been submitted to the Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs by Col. Francis V. Keesling, Jr., on behalf of Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey.

It contains information concerning the present and contemplate size of the armed forces, classifications, deferments, inductions of nonfathers and fathers, rejections of IV-F's, use of limited-service personnel, discharges, reemployment of veterans, and other matters which I believe are of interest to my colleagues.

The Senate Committee on Military Affairs will question General Hershey or Colonel Keesling at an early date concerning the various items in this report and also concerning the recent order of the President tightening up on occupational deferments and the recommendations of the President's five-man medical board that the standards for induction remain the same and that no increased volume of limited-service personnel be inducted.

The First Selective Service Report, filed under Public Law 197, appears at pages 157-169 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for January 14, 1944.

So that the information contained in this report may be available to the Members of Congress, I ask unanimous consent that the report may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### SECOND REPORT OF THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM TO THE COMMITTEES ON MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE, UNDER PUBLIC LAW 197, SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS SIZE OF ARMED FORCES—HOW SELECTIVE SERVICE PLANS TO FILL CALLS

The net strength which the Army and Navy plan to attain on or before July 1, 1944, is 11,300,000. Their net strength as of February 1, 1944, was approximately 10,600,000—a difference of 700,000—which number, together with an additional 500,000 which Selective Service estimates as the attrition from the armed forces from all causes during 5 months ending July 1, 1944, gives a total of 1,200,000 which Selective Service must furnish, or which must be enlisted. The 1,200,000 will require average calls and enlistments of 240,000 per month.

In meeting that requirement, Selective Service estimates that it will induct 420,000 out of the 1,500,000 in class I-A. It is estimated that of the 2,600,000 registrants in class III-A, approximately 860,000 will, upon reclassification, be placed in class I-A, of whom approximately 250,000 will ultimately be inducted. It is estimated that between 65,000 and 70,000 men will either enlist at age 17 or be inducted through Selective Service upon reaching 18 each month, giving a total of approximately 325,000 during the 5 months ending July 1, 1944. (See exhibit A for break-down of classes and method of determining the number which will be obtained from them and from the 17-year-olds.) That gives approximately 1,000,000 men that we may expect to get prior to July 1, 1944, leaving a balance of 200,000. These must be obtained from registrants occupationally deferred or physically rejected. Most of these should come from nonfathers of the younger age brackets.

There were approximately 3,204,000 registrants in classes II-A and II-B, deferred in occupations other than agriculture, and approximately 1,680,000 in classes II-C and III-C, deferred in agriculture, a total of approximately 4,900,000 deferred by reason of their occupations. Class IV-F, those rejected from military service for failure to meet armed forces' standards, contained approximately 3,485,000.

No appreciable numbers will be obtained from class IV-F under existing standards and the application thereof which is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the War Department and the Navy Department. Therefore, the men must be obtained from the occupationally deferred classes.

There were 900,000 men (nonfathers) in the occupationally deferred classes between 18 and 26 years of age. Only about 500,000 of them would pass the physical examination. If we are to meet our requirements from that group of nonfathers, we would consequently have to take 2 out of every 5 of those who were physically qualified. (See exhibit B for break-down between agricultural and nonagricultural occupational deferments and between the 18 to 21 and the 22 to 26 age groups.)

We must meet the calls made on us by the armed forces. It is obvious that occupational deferments must be restricted and must be curtailed to the extent necessary for us to meet calls on time. War industries and

agriculture, therefore, together with the Government agencies which have been given responsibilities in the field of industrial and agricultural manpower procurement, must obtain replacements from the IV-F's, the overage, and women.

To carry out the mandate of Congress that we scrutinize occupational deferments and endeavor to get as many nonfathers as possible with which to fill each of our calls before using fathers, we have taken the following actions:

1. We arranged for appeal board where man is working to review an occupational deferment granted by a local board outside that appeal board area. This has required creation of numerous appeal board panels to industrial areas to carry the increased burden.<sup>1</sup>

2. We restricted occupational deferments of registrants under 22-years of age.<sup>1</sup>

3. We curtailed by special restrictive quotas the deferments of civilian students. This does not include students under War and Navy Department college programs.<sup>1</sup>

4. Tightening up on farm deferments. (See exhibit C.)

5. Provided for the granting of more liberal deferments to pre-Pearl Harbor fathers over 21 years of age than to nonfathers. To do that, replacement schedules provide for the release of nonfathers before fathers engaged in essential war work. (See exhibit A for the number of nonfathers and the number of fathers in each selective-service class. See exhibit B for the number of fathers being placed into the various deferred classes and the number of nonfathers being removed therefrom.)

6. Based on best available information, we allocate calls to the States and have States, in turn, allocate them to their local boards, so that the available nonfathers will be used in filling each monthly call to the extent they are available before using fathers.<sup>1</sup>

Under Public Law 197 the President appointed a five-man medical board charged with the responsibility of reviewing and recommending with respect to standards for admittance to the armed forces and the use of limited service personnel within the armed forces. Up to the time this report was drafted, no recommendations of that committee have been made public.

Public Law 197 also requires Selective Service to report on rejections and discharges. As of February 1, 1944, there were approximately 3,500,000 persons in class IV-F who were for the most part rejected under standards fixed and applied exclusively by the armed forces. The principal causes of rejection of the total number of class IV-F registrants are set forth in exhibit D. Exhibit E sets forth an estimate of the principal and also the secondary causes for rejection of registrants rejected during November 1943, and illustrates that many of those rejected for illiteracy, mental, or other reasons would have been rejected for another defect had illiteracy, mental, or one of the other standards been lowered or abolished.

Information concerning the 1,150,000 persons discharged from the armed forces because of disability is set forth in exhibit F. The standards for such discharges are, of course, fixed and applied exclusively by the armed forces.

The War and Navy Departments have contended they are utilizing the maximum number of non-general-service personnel they can use without impairing their present or future efficiency. The Army continues to take limited-service personnel from Selective Service at the rate of 5 percent of each monthly call. The Navy has not been taking any limited-service personnel from Selective Service. Both the Army and Navy are enlisting small numbers of WAVES and

<sup>1</sup> See first report, pp. 159-169 of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 14, 1944.



The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to be permitted, after the special orders for today, to address the House for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a letter from the Conservation Director of the Conservation Department of the State of Wisconsin.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include an article by Daniel M. Kidney.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SHAFER] may extend his own remarks and include an article.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] may extend his own remarks and include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### CONSTRUCTION OF DEMONSTRATION PLANTS TO PRODUCE LIQUID FUEL FROM COAL AND OTHER SUBSTANCES

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (S. 1243) authorizing the construction and operation of demonstration plants to produce synthetic liquid fuels from coal, oil shale, and other substances, in order to aid the prosecution of the war, to conserve and increase the oil resources of the Nation, and for other purposes, with House amendments, insist on the amendments of the House, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia? [After a pause.] The Chair

hears none and appoints the following conferees: Mr. SOMERS of New York, Mr. RANDOLPH, and Mr. ROBSON of Kentucky.

#### THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM ON THE HOME FRONT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WORLEY). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOODRUFF] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, ever since the New Deal administration came to power 12 years ago, there has been a continuous and carefully planned drive by a clique in the White House to upset the checks and balances of our free constitutional government, and to concentrate absolute power in the person of the Chief Executive. Three bold and insolent attempts have been made to execute a coup to accomplish this nefarious purpose. The first attempt was when the President demanded of the Congress the right to appoint six additional judges to the Supreme Court, which would have enabled him to at once control that Court. Not many of you listening to me have forgotten how, in his attempt to influence the Congress, the President contemptuously referred to the splendid members of that Court as "those nine old men," inferring, of course, that these men were too old to properly discharge the responsibilities resting upon them. In his unholy attempt to destroy the independence and the power of our Court of last resort, Mr. Roosevelt stated that the work of the Court was so far behind that these proposed new justices were needed in order to bring the work up to date and to keep it there. Great must have been his embarrassment and confusion when it was promptly disclosed by the records of the Court that never in all its history had the work been more completely up to the minute than it was at that time, completely refuting every insinuation and every reason advanced by the President in support of his demand. This attempt by the Executive to destroy public confidence in the Supreme Court and the splendid justices then on the Supreme Court bench, and to pack that tribunal with men of his own selection who would construe the Constitution in the way Mr. Roosevelt wanted it construed, and thereby change our Government by judicial decree, was the most brazen attempt to destroy our tripartite system of government ever attempted by a President of the United States.

Outraged by such a brazen attempt to destroy the very fundamentals, and to tear asunder the very pillars upon which our free government was founded, even the President's own supporters in the Congress were compelled by sheer patriotism and devotion to principle to oppose him. He sought to destroy these patriotic members of his own party in the following election, when he staged his attempt to purge his party and the Congress of all who had dared to defy his mad ambitions.

As a companion measure to the court-packing plan, the White House clique, through the Chief Executive, endeavored to compel the Congress through the pres-

sure of patronage, punishment, and persuasion to empower the President to reorganize the Government in such a way as to leave the legislative branch impotent. Again, outraged by these bold and insolent attempts to transform our Government into a government by men, Democrats and Republicans alike, without regard to partisan lines, rose up and stopped that attempt.

It is true that through the mutations of time and the frailty of mortals, Mr. Roosevelt was enabled to pack the Supreme Court to the tune of 8 to 1, and he has appointed a majority of the lower Federal courts as well, with politicians of his choosing whom he felt sure would construe the Constitution as he wanted it construed. He was not greatly disappointed.

The third, and perhaps the boldest and most insolent attempt to transform the Government into a political oligarchy, while millions of our heroic men and women are absent on the fighting fronts, came in his series of vetoes of measures recently passed by the Congress. So long as he restrained himself to the act of the veto, he was well within his proper rights and functions as the Chief Executive. But in his veto of the tax bill, he not only broke another precedent—which Mr. Roosevelt delights to do—but he went beyond the exercise of his veto power, and in an abusive and insulting message to the Congress, sought to tell this House of Representatives what kind of a tax bill it should pass.

There is no function of the Congress more clearly defined in the Constitution than that of raising revenues, which action must originate in the House of Representatives, the branch of the Congress considered closest to the people. His message on the tax bill was exactly in line with his other insulting messages, notably his remarks concerning the bill to provide ballots for absentee service people, in which he accused the Congress of attempting to perpetrate a fraud upon the soldiers and the people and indulged in the palpable inference that the Congress was either crooked or stupid, or both. He proposed a ballot to be sent to our armed forces which, unless the legislatures of the States first legalized the same, could not legally be cast in a single State of the Union. He, of course, was aware of this fact.

Mr. Roosevelt, in his tax message, as in his remarks concerning the absentee-ballot bill, did not hesitate to depart from the facts and indulge in misstatements so grossly erroneous, so maliciously untrue, that in anyone lacking the dignity of the Presidency such action would have been characterized by a harsher term than any American wants to use in connection with the Chief Executive. So gross, so wanton, so unfair, and so dangerous was Mr. Roosevelt's action and his language in gratuitously insulting the Congress in his attempts to discredit the legislative branch in the confidence of the people that all but a mere handful of his own supporters in both the House and the Senate rose up and, as with one voice, repudiated his action in the most startling and remarkable rebuke a Chief Executive has received at the hands of



the people's Representatives in Congress in perhaps 100 years, certainly, at least, in the last 50 years.

There can no longer be any question in the mind of any clear-thinking person that the White House clique, intriguing for a dictatorship of life tenure for Franklin D. Roosevelt under the guise of a Presidential election and pseudo-democratic processes, is endeavoring to overturn constitutional government in their mad and frantic efforts to achieve their objective, regardless of its effect upon our war efforts, and of the death or injury which they may cause to be brought upon thousands and even hundreds of thousands of our men and women in the armed services locked in bitter struggle with the foreign foe. It is shameful, it is wicked, this deliberate attempt to destroy the confidence of the people in the Congress as a coordinate, independent branch of the Government because the Congress refuses to render itself subservient to the dictates of the man in the White House.

Patriots, earnest men and women on both sides of the aisle in both Houses of the Congress, realize fully what a statesman of another day, Elihu Root, put into words when he said in 1913:

If whatever great officer of state happens to be the most forceful, skillful, and ambitious, is permitted to overrun and to absorb to himself the powers of all other officers and to control their actions, there ensues that concentration of power which destroys the working of free institutions, enables the holder to continue himself in power, and leaves no opportunity to the people for a change except through revolution.

This latest and most brazen attempt by the White House cabal, through the Chief Executive, to break down our constitutional government, to destroy the checks and balances so carefully provided by the founding fathers, has put the American people on notice that if Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his White House clique can achieve a fourth term, free government will be so far gone in this Nation that it will be a question of whether or not the people can rescue it without a revolution. It will constitute a betrayal of the men and women on the fighting fronts. It will constitute a loss of the peace after we win the war, because it will mean the loss of free government in the United States of America.

The American people have begun to realize that the interference by British politicians in our internal political affairs is of a piece with these brazen and wicked attempts by the White House gang to break down constitutional government under cover of the Nation's peril and our struggle to win the awful conflict in which we are engaged. Never in the history of this Nation has it been more strikingly demonstrated that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty in America than has been the case for the last 12 years under this New Deal administration. The people are being compelled to recognize that it has never been a "new deal" administration, but that it has been an administration which for 12 years has plotted and schemed and worked to give the people the oldest deal in civilization—a deal of despotism. It has endeavored to throw American prog-

ress back 200 years and to set up again in this country the very sort of tyranny that the men and women of Bunker Hill and Brandywine, of Yorktown and Valley Forge suffered and died to drive from the continent of North America.

This attempt of betrayal of our fighting forces behind their backs in this effort to break down their constitutional government, is so utterly wicked and contemptible that it is no wonder the President's own spokesmen in the Congress had to revolt and denounce him and his works. It is a dreadful thing to have to happen in wartime and the blame for it lies directly on Mr. Roosevelt's desk in the White House.

The men and women who are plotting this wicked scheme, if they could accomplish it, if they could succeed in overthrowing our constitutional government of checks and balances, and in setting up a political autocracy in this Nation, while the people are fighting and struggling and sacrificing to repel foreign aggression, would be traitors beside whom Benedict Arnold would appear a patriot.

The American people may well thank benign providence that in this crucial hour, principle and patriotism blotted out partisanship and caused the men and women who love their country to rise in their places in the Congress of the United States and to strike down this third bold attempt to destroy free government in this country.

It is up to the American people, and I for one have no doubt the Members of the American Congress will meet their responsibility in overwhelming numbers, to defeat the next bold and brazen attempt to overthrow free government in this country by defeating the proposed universal draft act, under which every man between the ages of 18 and 65 and every woman between the ages of 18 and 50, will be regimented and controlled by some iron-fisted bureaucrat in Washington.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

U. N. R. R. A. PROGRAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JOHNSON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, on October 7, 1943, I stated on the floor of the House that the American people were being taken for the damndest financial sled ride the world has ever known. I further stated that our Capitol had become the headquarters for the "Order of the Empty Satchel" where delegates assembled in answer to urging of starry-eyed globats who coursed the world, making lush and ridiculous promises of American goods and American dollars.

Today, Mr. Speaker, I reiterate those charges and submit this schedule as proof. This schedule contains the farm machinery program of U. N. R. R. A. It is the brain child of these crystal gazers whose heads are in the clouds and whose hands are in our pockets. Herein is contained a list of farm equipment, approximately 500,000 items, each representing an essential and necessary piece of machinery for which American farmers

have been pleading ever since Pearl Harbor. They propose to distribute machinery among approximately 15 nations of Europe, every one of which is at present occupied wholly or in part by Axis forces, and yet these utopian dreamers demand delivery of portions of this equipment by August 1, 1944.

Thirty thousand tractors are to be sent to parts of Europe, where in many instances the intended recipient has never seen one.

Thirty thousand plows are to be scattered all over Europe and paid for with American dollars.

Thirty thousand separators, 50,000 mowers, 17,000 reapers, 22,900 horse-drawn hay rakes, 40,000 harrows and harrow-sections and 12,000 binders, every item of which Members of Congress have endeavored to obtain for needy farmers.

Thirty thousand pieces of machinery to the Netherlands whose cash reserves in this country are enormous; 15,000 pieces of equipment to Belgium and Luxembourg; 14,000 to Czechoslovakia; 21,000 to Denmark; 212,000 to France; 8,900 to Greece; 12,000 to Norway; 115,000 to Poland; 36,000 to Yugoslavia; 20,000 to the Baltic States; and 10,000 to Italy. In addition there is listed 13,000 tons of spare parts to repair machinery in Europe while our American farmers are using baling wire to hold their equipment together.

If this is the farm-machinery program of U. N. R. R. A., what are its other programs? How many hidden skeletons of this kind does it have in its closet? Let us bring them forth.

Mr. Speaker, our country has been called upon, through lend-lease, to contribute our wealth and our energies to an embattled world. No Member of this House begrudges the allocation of war materials to any nation that is actually engaged by participation in the war. I do, however, most vociferously protest the use of our funds for building a railroad in Mexico, draining swamps in Venezuela, paying Peruvians to reduce cotton acreage, and the squandering of \$78,000,000 in the jungles of Brazil on a rubber project that has given no returns. Our country has been called upon to furnish 73 percent of the sons to be used in the invasion of Europe. Through our energies and productivity, we have become the arsenal of democracy while global planners, whose pipe dreams have never been equalled in world history, have spread our wealth as a lush green carpet over the entire earth. We continue rationing of meat, Canada discontinues it. We play the role of Santa Claus to the entire world, forgetful of the American taxpayers who, for generations to come, will pay with sweat and sacrifice for this folly.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come for America to take its head out of the sand and face the reality that a group of starry-eyed globats are scattering to the four winds of heaven the substances accumulated by this Nation through 150 years of sweat, toil, and blood. How much longer, may I ask, are we to follow, as gullible children, these crystal-gazing Pied Pipers who lead us onward toward bankruptcy?



## Agricultural machinery programed by U. N. R. R. A. for European distribution

	Belgium and Lux- emburg	Czecho- slovakia	Denmark	France	Greece	Nether- lands	Norway	Poland	Yugo- slavia	Albania	Baltic States	Italy	Total
<b>Plows:</b>													
Moldboard, walking				5,000	2,500	2,300		5,000	10,000	200			25,000
Moldboard, tractor (total)													30,000
2-bottom, drawn	250	550	800	7,385	25	870	600	2,300	200		850	265	14,105
2-bottom, mounted	30	100	100	1,200	50	130	50	700	50		150	175	2,735
3-bottom, drawn	70	350	300	5,020	25	500		3,700	250		750	195	11,160
4-bottom, drawn				500				1,500					2,000
Extra shares—2 per bottom	1,540	4,700	5,400	68,500	450	7,000	2,600	46,200	2,500		8,500	2,930	150,320
1-way disk plow with seeding attachment				3,600								100	3,700
<b>Grain drill:</b>													
3-7 disk					150								150
Fertilizer						50							50
Plain	100		250	4,900		250	200	11,575	200	25		100	17,600
Planters, hand	250												250
Fertilizer distributors	500					1,250							1,750
<b>Harrow sections:</b>													
Spike	180	1,200	200	6,000	300	530	100	4,100	2,300		300		15,210
Spring	170		1,000	8,600		970	800	4,100		50	1,450		17,140
Harrow, disk with tandem	100	200	400	2,475		715	325	3,000	50		250	635	8,150
<b>Binders:</b>													
Ground-drive	965		3,600	4,445	150	550	200		500			315	10,625
Power take-off	70		250	400		150		415					1,285
<b>Rollers</b>								1,200					1,200
Cultivators, 1-horse								2,000					2,000
Field cultivators	200	350	800	6,102		300	250	1,048	50				8,100
Mounted toolbar		150		800					100		250		1,450
Power sprayers						1,000							1,000
Hand sprayers	2,300				4,500	2,500			13,500	200			23,000
Reapers								6,500					6,500
Potato diggers	50			400		50	50	175					725
Beet lifter	150			500		150		350					1,150
Mowers, ground-drive	5,000	1,965	4,000	26,400	200	4,000	2,000	2,000	800		3,000	635	50,000
<b>Tractors:</b>													
Under 30 horsepower	280	650	900	8,280	75	1,000	650	3,000	250		1,000	500	16,585
30 horsepower and over	70	350	300	5,520	25	500		5,200	250		750	450	13,415
Trailers, farm, 2-wheel	350	1,000	1,200	13,800	100	1,500	650	8,200	500		1,750	950	30,000
<b>Separators:</b>													
Under 250 pounds		2,000	800	13,800	200	1,500	1,500	2,500	1,000			1,800	25,100
Over 250 pounds			200	2,000		1,500	500	500				200	4,900
<b>Inebulators</b>							150		300				450
<b>Parts for—</b>													
New machinery (tons)	230	253	492	4,063	49	540	219	2,597	289	1	430	258	9,421
Present machinery (tons)	297		45	3,331		230	7					45	3,955
<b>Rakes:</b>													
Sulky dump	1,000	485	800	12,000		1,000	1,000		200		1,500	315	18,300
Combination side-delivery	200			3,900		500							4,600
Reaping attachments—mowers	1,000		535	2,300	50	100	200	450	50			315	5,000
<b>Threshers:</b>													
Power	120				50		100	260	100		50	100	77
Hand									3,000				3,000

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein a table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. KLEIN, for 2 weeks (at the request of Mr. FITZPATRICK), on account of illness.

To Mr. BALDWIN of Maryland (at the request of Mr. D'ALESSANDRO), indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. FULBRIGHT, for 1 day, on account of official business.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. KLEIN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 1874. An act for the relief of Robert P. Sick; and

H. R. 4166. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, and acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto.

#### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. KLEIN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the

President, for his approval, bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 1874. An act for the relief of Robert P. Sick;

H. R. 2912. An act to authorize the charging of tolls for the passage or transit of Government traffic over the Golden Gate Bridge; and

H. J. Res. 230. Joint resolution to limit the operation of sections 109 and 113 of the Criminal Code, and sections 361, 365, and 366 of the Revised Statutes, and certain other provisions of law.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly the House (at 5 o'clock and 19 minutes p. m.), pursuant to its order heretofore entered, adjourned until Monday, March 6, 1944, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

##### COMMITTEE ON ROADS

(Saturday, March 4, 1944)

Hearings will be continued on H. R. 2426 in the Roads Committee room, 1011 New House Office Building, at 10 a. m. Saturday, March 4, 1944.

##### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(Tuesday, March 7, 1944)

There will be a meeting of the public-health subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a. m. Tuesday, March 7, 1944.

Business to be considered: Public hearing on H. R. 3379, a bill to codify the laws relating to the Public Health Service, and for other purposes.

##### COMMITTEE ON THE CENSUS

(Wednesday, March 8, 1944)

The Committee on the Census will hold a public hearing on Wednesday, March 8, 1944, at 10:30 a. m., to consider H. R. 2687, a bill relating to excepting certain persons from the requirement of paying fees for certain census data.

##### COMMITTEE ON INVALID PENSIONS

(Thursday, March 9, 1944)

The Committee on Invalid Pensions will hold hearings on Thursday, March 9, 1944, at 10:30 a. m., in the committee room, 247 House Office Building, on H. R. 4099, entitled "A bill to extend the period of the Philippine Insurrection so as to include active service with the United States military or naval forces engaged in hostilities in Moro Province, including Mindanao, or in the islands of Samar and Leyte, between July 5, 1902, and December 31, 1913," which was introduced by the chairman, Hon. JOHN LESINSKI, of Michigan.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1260. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to



proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

1261. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a report of records to be disposed of by the Archivist of the United States; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

1262. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Trade Commission, transmitting report of the Federal Trade Commission on distribution methods and costs; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1263. A letter from the president, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to amend an act entitled "An act to fix the salaries of officers and members of the Metropolitan Police force and the fire department of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1264. A letter from the national service director, Disabled American Veterans, transmitting the proceedings of the last national convention of the Disabled American Veterans, held in New York City, September 17-20, 1943 (H. Doc. No. 476); to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. SABATH: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 166. Resolution to create a select committee to investigate the conditions of the American Indian in the United States; with amendment (Rept. No. 1225). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. COX: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 459. Resolution for the consideration of H. R. 4278, a bill to provide for the control and eradication of certain animal and plant pests and diseases, to facilitate cooperation with the States in fire control, to provide for the more efficient protection and management of the national forests, to facilitate the carrying out of agricultural conservation and related agricultural programs, to facilitate the operation of the Farm Credit Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration, to aid in the orderly marketing of agricultural commodities, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1226). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. JARMAN: Committee on Printing. House Concurrent Resolution 70. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of Public Law No. 235, current session, entitled "Revenue Act of 1943", without amendment (Rept. No. 1227). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. JARMAN: Committee on Printing. House Resolution 458. Resolution authorizing the printing of the manuscript entitled "A study of the legality of the annexation of Austria by Germany under international law and Austrian constitutional law and the policy of the United States toward the annexation" as a document; without amendment (Rept. No. 1228). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. GOSSETT: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 4257. A bill to expatriate or exclude certain persons for evading the military and naval service; without amendment (Rept. No. 1229). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MASON: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 4271. A bill to amend the Nationality Act of 1940 to preserve the nationality of citizens residing abroad; without amendment (Rept. No. 1230). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MASON: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 4140. A bill to

amend section 334 (c) of the Nationality Act of 1940, approved October 14, 1940 (54 Stat. 1156-1157; 8 U. S. C. 734); without amendment (Rept. No. 1231). Referred to the House Calendar.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. R. 4324. A bill to amend the act approved August 9, 1939, entitled "An act to authorize the President to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American republics"; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 4325. A bill to authorize increases in wages for certain employees of The Alaska Railroad for services rendered from May 1, to September 30, 1943, inclusive; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. FLANNAGAN:

H. R. 4326. A bill to provide for the adequate production of seed of legumes and grasses required in the war food-production program; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HARRIS of Virginia:

H. R. 4327. A bill to regulate boxing contests and exhibitions in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. WHITE:

H. R. 4328. A bill to amend sections 4, 7, and 17 of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 (53 Stat. 1187) for the purpose of extending the time in which amendatory contracts may be made, and for other related purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mrs. LUCE:

H. R. 4329. A bill to assist the armed forces to provide manpower for harvesting, timbering, canning, and other essential activities in seasonal emergencies; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H. R. 4330. A bill to provide for adjustments in connection with the Crow irrigation project, Crow Indian Reservation, Mont.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. WADSWORTH:

H. Res. 460. A resolution to establish a select committee on post-war military policy; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 461. Resolution to provide for the expenses of carrying out House Resolution 460; to the Committee on Accounts.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. COMPTON:

H. R. 4331. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Florence Armstrong; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CURLEY:

H. R. 4332. A bill for the relief of the estate of Robert Mahoney; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MOTT:

H. R. 4333. A bill for the relief of Bertha LeFrance; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

5155. By Mr. AUCHINCLOSS: Petition of the New Jersey Farm Bureau, the largest farmers' organization in the State of New Jersey, urging the abrogation of the white paper and the reconstitution of a Jewish com-

monwealth in Palestine; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

5156. By Mr. BRYSON: Petition of W. H. Schwieter and 94 citizens of High Hill, St. Louis and other towns in Missouri, urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

5157. Also, petition of H. C. Griffith and 78 citizens of Charlotte, Mich., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

5158. Also, petition of Rev. Paul F. Erickson and 94 other citizens of Jamestown, N. Y., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

5159. Also, petition of George E. Fuhrman and 513 other citizens of Cleveland, Ohio, urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

5160. Also, petition of Mrs. G. M. Nourse and 115 other citizens of Fresno, Calif., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

5161. Also, petition of Jacob W. Pfeleger and 68 other citizens of El Paso, Ill., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

5162. Also, petition of Rev. Robert Louis McGaha and 118 other citizens of Honea Path, S. C., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

5163. Also, petition of Rev. George G. Hunt and 125 other citizens of Mount Pleasant, Iowa, urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

5164. Also, petition of Mrs. C. P. Kerran and 92 other citizens of Thomas, Okla., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alco-









"yea," and the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER] is necessarily absent. If present he would vote "yea." He has been paired by transfer.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED] and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] is absent on public business.

The result was announced—yeas 47, nays 31, as follows:

## YEAS—47

Andrews	Danaher	Revercomb
Austin	Davis	Reynolds
Ball	Eastland	Robertson
Bankhead	Ellender	Shipstead
Bilbo	George	Taft
Brewster	Gerry	Thomas, Idaho
Bridges	Gillette	Thomas, Okla.
Brooks	Gurney	Tydings
Buck	Hawkes	Walsh, Mass.
Burton	Hill	Weeks
Bushfield	Holman	Wheeler
Eyrd	McCarran	Wherry
Capper	McClellan	White
Clark, Idaho	McKellar	Willis
Connally	Overton	Wilson
Cordon	Radcliffe	

## NAYS—31

Barkley	Kilgore	Russell
Bone	La Follette	Stewart
Clark, Mo.	Langer	Thomas, Utah
Downey	Lucas	Truman
Ferguson	McFarland	Tunnell
Green	Maloney	Vandenberg
Guffey	Millikin	Wagner
Hatch	Moore	Walsh, N. J.
Hayden	Murray	
Jackson	Nye	
Johnson,	O'Mahoney	
Colo.	Pepper	

## NOT VOTING—18

Aiken	Johnson,	Scrugham
Ball	Calif.	Smith
Butler	Maybank	Tobey
Caraway	Mead	Wallgren
Chandler	Murdoch	Wiley
Chavez	O'Daniel	
Glass	Reed	

So the conference report was agreed to.

## EXECUTIVE AND INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 4070, a bill making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the bill by title for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (H. R. 4070) making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for other purposes.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I have no objection to the adoption of the motion of the Senator from Tennessee, but after consulting with him and with the distinguished minority leader, it is understood that the bill is not to be taken up this afternoon, but will go over until Thursday. With that understanding, I have no objection to it being made the unfinished business.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think the bill should be taken up as soon as possible, but I have no objection to the suggestion made, as the two leaders think that course should be pursued.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Tennessee.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 4070) making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask that consideration of the bill be postponed, at the request of the two leaders, until next Thursday, at the time the Senate convenes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

## ORDER FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of measures on the calendar to which there is no objection, beginning with Calendar No. 700.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

## FIRST CALL ON FARM MACHINERY

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, before we proceed with the call of the calendar, I should like to have an opportunity of inserting some articles in the RECORD, and making brief observations relative thereto.

I have before me an editorial from the Chicago Daily Tribune, the issue of March 6, 1944, entitled "First Call on Farm Machinery." The editorial has relation to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, upon which the Senate voted several days ago.

Mr. President, I opposed the joint resolution relating to the U. N. R. R. A. because I do not believe that we are in a position to vote \$1,350,000,000 of the taxpayers' money for the relief and rehabilitation of European countries, at a time when our national debt is soaring.

I opposed the joint resolution for the further reason that I feel that the farmers of this country should have first call on farm machinery. I respectfully invite the attention of the Members of this body to this very able editorial, which I ask to have printed in the body of the RECORD, at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## FIRST CALL ON FARM MACHINERY

Representative CALVIN JOHNSON of Illinois has performed a useful service in calling attention to proposals for giving away large quantities of farm machinery to European farmers when the war ends. He believes that the export of 30,000 tractors, 80,000 plows, 50,000 mowers, etc., from this country was suggested by British advisers to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and that some of the estimates were actually increased by the New Dealers.

Mr. JOHNSON remembers that American farmers have had the greatest difficulty in replacing worn out machinery for several years and he is rightly concerned that our own needs be kept in mind. Even those New Dealers who are more interested in European welfare than in the well-being of their own country can hardly fail to recognize that American implements are likely to be more pro-

ductive in the hands of men accustomed to their use than if turned over to peasants who don't know how to run them. Mr. JOHNSON is puzzled, also, by the allocation of implements to the Baltic countries and to Poland, in view of the Russian claims to these areas. Are our contributions to relief and rehabilitation to be used to coerce the little nations, against their wills, into accepting Soviet domination?

Americans, recognizing that there are millions in Europe who have been living on short rations, are willing this time, as so often in the past, to extend relief. The New Dealers, dominated as they are by British thinking, have thus far prevented relief organizations from sending protective foods and medicines to the children in occupied countries, a fact which justifies some skepticism about the charitable origin of their present plans. At any rate, it is noteworthy that the principal deficiencies in Europe's wartime diet are in fats, oils, dairy products, and animal proteins. The export of farm machinery is not likely to contribute greatly or promptly to the relief of these shortages.

European soil and climate, for the most part, are not well suited for the production of vegetable oils. Moreover, it is the destruction of herds rather than the lack of machinery which is limiting the output of dairy goods and meat. So far as cereals, potatoes, and such field crops are concerned, European production is believed not to be much below normal. Where the populations lack bread and potatoes, the fault can generally be attributed to lack of transport or to confiscation for military or political purposes.

Nevertheless, Europe will need some farm machinery and should have it, subject to the prior claims of our own farmers. How much should be exported will depend in considerable measure on the season at which the war ends. If the fighting stops in the summer or early fall, a pretty good start can be made in European factories on the production of farm machinery for use in the following crop year. At any rate, until it is known how speedily Europe can convert its factories from swords to plowshares, there can be no reliable estimate of the quantities of farm machinery which, in charity, we should send abroad.

## ADJUSTED COMPENSATION FOR VETERANS OF WORLD WAR NO. 2

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, a few days ago the able and distinguished senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] introduced in the Senate a bill pertaining to adjusted compensation for veterans of World War No. 2. I estimated that the bill, when every feature of it shall have been finally liquidated, will cost the taxpayers of this country some twenty-five or thirty billion dollars.

Mr. President, I am cosponsor of the bill with the distinguished Senator from Colorado, because I believe that of all the people of our country we should first take care of those American citizens, men and women, boys and girls, who are now in uniform.

I have before me an editorial from a recent issue of the Washington Times-Herald, entitled "The Bonus Bill," in which the editor disagrees with the distinguished Senator from Colorado and myself about the proposal. He is in opposition to it. I clipped this editorial because of its last sentence, which is as follows:

We believe Congress can serve them best—

Speaking of the soldiers and sailors—at this time, by concentrating on measures to have productive jobs ready for them in abundance when they come home.



Mr. President, I clipped another editorial from the same issue of the Washington Times-Herald. It is headed "And taxes after the war."

I read one sentence from that editorial:

Whether millions of our fighting men return to jobs and opportunities—or to unemployment—will depend upon how wisely and speedily a peacetime tax program is put into effect.

That relates to unemployment after the war.

In connection with the two editorials from which I have just read, I bring to the attention of Members of the Senate a news item appearing in the columns of the Washington Times-Herald of several days ago under the headline "Twenty-five million idle seen at post-war peak."

The article is as follows:

America's post-war unemployment peak will find 25,000,000 out of work, Ewan Clague, Director of the Bureau of Employment, Social Security Board, told officials representing Government, industry, and labor last night at a meeting of the International Association of Public Employment Services in the Interior Department Auditorium. Millard Rice, national service director of the Disabled American Veterans organization, warned that the Veterans' Administration will have all it can do to handle disabled servicemen and proposed that able-bodied servicemen be cared for through other agencies.

Mr. President, with reference to the matter of unemployment mentioned in the article, I desire to say that if we are really and genuinely serious in our desire to provide jobs for our uniformed men and women after the war, we must guard well against the usurpation of those jobs by hundreds of thousands of aliens who are now being permitted to come into this country at a time when we are at war.

I call attention to the fact that when we became engaged in the present war there were approximately 6,000,000 aliens in this country. Since our involvement in the war I imagine that at least several hundred thousand of those aliens, many of whom had been here for years, have become American citizens, and have taken the oath of allegiance to this country. Nevertheless, regardless of that number, I dare say there are now four or five million aliens in the country at the present time.

Mr. President, what I desire particularly to bring to the attention of the Members of the Senate is that actually since the present World War began on September 3, 1939, more than 600,000 aliens have entered this country. Many of them are very rich. They left their native lands and came here to bask in the sunshine and safety and prosperity and pleasure afforded by America, instead of staying in their homes and fighting for the countries of their birth. On the contrary, our boys and our girls have left this country and gone to the countries of these aliens to fight for them. I protest again against the admission into the United States of any alien from any country in the world while the war is in progress. I protest for the reason that I think that every single American

job should be held for the benefit of American men and American women who are wearing the uniform and are now on foreign shores fighting for the "four freedoms" all over the world.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HATCH in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. BONE. I am rather curious about one aspect of the problem which the Senator has mentioned many times. I understand that the aliens he refers to came in on visitors' visas.

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is correct.

Mr. BONE. What is going to happen to them when the war ends and the emergency conditions no longer exist in Europe? How will this country handle that particular problem? Will the people involved be sent out of the country, or what will happen to them?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I will say in answer to the Senator that in my humble opinion, based on past experiences with respect to hundreds of thousands who are here now, they will never leave, and we will never force them to leave. I recall vividly, and I am sure the Senator from Washington recalls likewise, that for a number of years we had before us the question of expelling criminal aliens. At the time a bill carrying that provision was before the Senate I went to the Immigration Division, which is now in the Department of Justice, and collected the names and the nationalities of more than 2,300 alien criminals who had committed murder, rape, forgery, and almost everything else in the category of crime, and for 2 years I endeavored to get the Secretary of Labor, Madam Perkins, to expel those 2,300 alien criminals; but we were never able to have any of them expelled because they were placed in the category of what it was pleased to term "hardship" cases.

I take the responsibility personally of saying on the Senate floor that very few of the 600,000 refugees and aliens from all parts of the world who have come to this country during the time when we have been at war, fighting for their liberties, fighting for their countries, will ever return to devastated Europe. They will want to remain here where the money is, where the opportunities are, where we enjoy the "four freedoms." That is why I protest again and again against permitting these people to come into the United States on temporary visas, or student visas, or permanent passes, or anything else. If we are to keep America American I believe we must deport several hundred thousand individuals who have tried to indoctrinate our country with un-American ideas and to instill them into our people. I say that it is our duty as Members of this body to save America for Americans, and by that I mean save American jobs for American heroes, for American women and American men who are in uniform.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. BONE. What does the Senator from North Carolina think would hap-

pen in this country if we had 25,000,000 unemployed, as was suggested in an article he read earlier?

Mr. REYNOLDS. That would be more unemployed than we had between 1930 and 1934. At the peak of unemployment during that period approximately 18,000,000 persons were out of work. Many more millions were employed only part-time.

#### CIVILIANS ENGAGED IN CONSTRUCTION OF PANAMA CANAL

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I wish to give notice on behalf of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] and myself that at the conclusion of the call of the calendar we shall move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 337, Senate bill 683, to provide for the recognition of the services of the civilian officials and employees, citizens of the United States engaged in and about the construction of the Panama Canal.

#### COMPENSATION FOR TAKING OF PRIVATE FISHERY RIGHTS IN PEARL HARBOR, T. H.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I desire to have the call of the calendar commenced, pursuant to the previous order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will proceed to call the measures on the calendar, beginning with Calendar No. 700, in accordance with the previous order.

The bill (S. 1682) to provide for the payment of compensation to certain claimants for the taking by the United States of private fishery rights in Pearl Harbor, island of Oahu, T. H., was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any funds not otherwise appropriated, to the following-named claimants the sums respectively indicated herein as full and complete compensation for their respective rights in the fisheries of Pearl Harbor, island of Oahu, T. H.: Trustees under the will and of the estate of James Campbell, deceased, and Oahu Railway & Land Co., \$62,375.20; the Dowsett Co. (Ltd.), \$1; H. N. Kalkinahaole, \$1; Adelaide K. Akina, \$1; trustees of the Bernice P. Bishop estate, \$6,952.80; executor of the estate of Lincoln Lloyd McCandless, \$2,827.22: *Provided*, That payment shall not be made to any of said claimants until such claimant has consented to the dismissal with prejudice of all pending litigation wherein right to compensation for the taking of such fishery rights and of any interest therein or part thereof has been or is claimed or asserted against the United States, in a manner satisfactory to the Attorney General, has conveyed to the United States any and all right, title, or interest in said fisheries, and has released all claims to damages or compensation against the United States with respect to alleged rights in said fisheries; and has consented to the entry of a final order or judgment of condemnation in the condemnation proceedings instituted by the United States and pending in the United States District Court for Hawaii for the condemnation of claimants' rights in said fisheries.

#### CHARLIE HOLCOMB

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1588) for the relief of Charlie Holcomb, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims, with an









DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
(Issued March 16, 1944, for actions of Wednesday, March 15, 1944)

(For staff of the Department only)

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HOUSE

1. FEED IMPORTS. Passed without amendment H.R. 4410, to extend for an additional 90 days (until June 20, 1944) the period during which wheat, oats, barley, rye, flax, cottonseed, corn, or hay, or their products, may be imported duty-free for use as or in livestock and poultry feed; and to permit duty-free imports of flaxseed during this period (p. 2654). The bill had been reported without amendment by the Ways and Means Committee earlier in the day (H.Rept. 1258). (p. 2680).
2. FOREIGN RELIEF. Received the conference report on H.J.Res. 192, to provide for U.S. participation in UNRRA (pp. 2677-8).
3. LEGISLATIVE-JUDICIARY APPROPRIATION BILL. Appropriations Committee reported this bill, H.R. 4414 (H.Rept. 1259) (p. 2673).
4. SOLDIERS' VOTE BILL. Agreed, 273-111, to the conference report on this bill, S. 1285 (pp. 2654-77). The bill will now be sent to the President. Rep. Robsion, Ky., criticized "this New Deal," stating that it "has regimented labor, the farmers, business, commerce, and almost everthing else" (p. 2666).
5. APPROPRIATIONS; PERSONNEL. Received (Mar. 10) from the President a proposed general provision authorizing CSC, during the war period, to adjust pay rates for mechanical crafts and trades and laborer positions so as to prevent competition between units of the Federal Government in D.C. (H.Doc. 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, and 496). To Appropriations Committee.

SENATE

NOT IN SESSION. Next meeting Thurs. Mar. 16, 1944.

BILL INTRODUCED

6. PERSONNEL. By Rep. Clason, Mass., H.R. 4417, to provide additional pay for certain civilian employees of the U.S. Government. To Civil Service Committee. (p. 2680.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

7. LEND-LEASE. Rep. Gordon, Ill., inserted a Chicago Sun editorial favoring lend-lease (pp. A1409-10).

Rep. Rogers, Mass., inserted excerpts of Col. Spencer B. Eddy's testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee describing the way that reciprocal lend-lease aid works out in the field (p. A1412).

8. POST-WAR PLANNING; FOREIGN RELIEF. Extension of remarks of Rep. Woodruff, Mich. discussing U.S. responsibilities in the postwar world but stating, "America cannot feed and clothe the whole world" (pp. A1415-6).

9. MANPOWER MOBILIZATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Vursell, Ill., opposing the national service bill (pp. A1416-7).

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654 or send to Rm. 112 Adm. Arrangements may be made for you to be advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill as those developments occur.

- o -



Truth never dies. The ages come and go;  
The mountains wear away, the stars retire;  
Destruction lays earth's mighty cities low;  
And empires, states, and destinies expire;  
But guarded and handed onward by the wise,  
Truth never dies.

Those political truths expressed by  
Jefferson in his first inaugural address  
will live forever—

Till the sun grows cold,  
And the stars are old,  
And the leaves of the  
Judgment Book unfold.

If I may be permitted to borrow from  
the lips of a great statesman of a cen-  
tury past and gone an apostrophe to  
liberty, revise it and appropriate it to  
democracy, which, to use his own words,  
are "one and inseparable," I would say  
that in the South, sir, where the Demo-  
cratic Party raised its first voice, where  
its youth was nurtured and sustained,  
there it still lives in the strength of its  
manhood and full of its original spirit.  
If discord and dissension shall wound it,  
if religious strife and blind ambition  
shall hawk at it and tear it, if folly, if  
madness, if radicalism, if reaction,  
if fascism, if nazi-ism, if communism,  
if uneasiness under salutary, neces-  
sary, or imaginary restraints shall suc-  
ceed to separate it from those princi-  
ples by which alone its existence is made  
sure, it will stand in the end by the side  
of that cradle in which its infancy was  
rocked and it will fall at last, if fall it  
must, amidst the proudest monuments of  
its own glory and on the very spot of its  
origin.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gen-  
tleman from Mississippi has expired.

The question is on agreeing to the  
conference report.

Mr. RANKIN and Mr. MARTIN of  
Massachusetts asked for the yeas and  
nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there  
were—yeas 273, nays 111, not voting 44,  
as follows:

[Roll No. 45]

YEAS—273

Abernethy	Carlson, Kans.	Ellison, Md.
Allen, Ill.	Carrier	Ellsworth
Allen, La.	Carson, Ohio	Elmer
Andresen,	Carter	Elston, Ohio
August H.	Case	Engel, Mich.
Angell	Chipfield	Engle, Calif.
Arends	Church	Fellows
Arnold	Clason	Fenton
Barden	Cleaver	Fish
Barrett	Cole, Mo.	Fisher
Bates, Mass.	Cole, N. Y.	Fulbright
Beall	Colmer	Fuller
Beckwerth	Cooper	Gale
Bell	Costello	Gallagher
Bennett, Mich.	Courtney	Gathings
Bennett, Mo.	Cravens	Gavin
Bishop	Crawford	Gearhart
Blackney	Cunningham	Gerlach
Bland	Curley	Gillette
Bonner	Curtis	Gillie
Boren	D'Alesandro	Goodwin
Boykin	Day	Gossett
Bradley, Mich.	Dewey	Graham
Brehm	Dies	Grant, Ala.
Brooks	Dirksen	Grant, Ind.
Brown, Ga.	Disney	Green
Brown, Ohio	Domengeaux	Gregory
Brumbaugh	Dondero	Griffiths
Bryson	Doughton	Gross
Buffett	Douglas	Gwynne
Burch, Va.	Drewry	Hagen
Burgin	Durham	Hale
Busbey	Dworshak	Hall
Butler	Eaton	Edwin Arthur
Camp	Elliot	Hall
Cannon, Fla.	Ellis	Leonard W.

Halleck	McKenzie	Rolph
Hancock	McLean	Rowe
Hare	McMillan	Russell
Harness, Ind.	McWilliams	Sasser
Harris, Ark.	Maas	Satterfield
Harris, Va.	Mahon	Schiff
Hays	Maloney	Schwabe
Hebert	Mansfield, Tex.	Scott
Heldinger	Martin, Iowa	Scrivner
Herter	Martin, Mass.	Shafer
Hess	Mason	Sikes
Hill	May	Simpson, Ill.
Hinshaw	Merrow	Simpson, Pa.
Hobbs	Michener	Slaughter
Hoeven	Miller, Mo.	Smith, Maine
Hoffman	Miller, Nebr.	Smith, Ohio
Holmes, Mass.	Miller, Pa.	Smith, Va.
Ho'mes, Wash.	Mills	Smith, Wis.
Hope	Monkiewicz	Sparkman
Horan	Morrison, La.	Springer
Howell	Morrison, N. C.	Stanley
Jeffrey	Mott	Starnes, Ala.
Jenkins	Mruk	Stefan
Jensen	Mundt	Stevenson
Johnson,	Murray, Tenn.	Stewart
Anton J.	Murray, Wis.	Sumner, Ill.
Johnson,	Norman	Sumners, Tex.
Calvin D.	Norrell	Sumstrom
Johnson, Ind.	O'Brien, N. Y.	Tander
Johnson,	O'Konski	Talbot
J. Leroy	Pace	Talle
Johnson,	Peterson, Fla.	Tarver
Luther A.	Peterson, Ga.	Taylor
Jones	Philbin	Thomas, N. J.
Judd	Pittenger	Thomason
Kean	Plumley	Tibbott
Kearney	Poage	Towe
Keefe	Poulson	Treadway
Kefauver	Powers	Troutman
Kerr	Pracht,	Vinson, Ga.
	C. Frederick	Vursell
Kilburn	Pratt,	Weaver
Kilday	Joseph M.	Weichel, Ohio
Kinzer	Price	West
Kleberg	Ramey	Whelchel, Ga.
Knutson	Ramspeck	White
Kunkel	Rankin	Whitten
LaFollette	Reece, Tenn.	Whittington
Landis	Reed, Ill.	Wickersham
Lanham	Reed, N. Y.	Wigglesworth
Larcade	Rees, Kans.	Willey
Lea	Richards	Wilson
LeCompte	Rizley	Winstead
Lemke	Robertson	Wolcott
Lewis	Robison, Ky.	Wolfenden, Pa.
McConnell	Rockwell	Woodruff, Mich.
McCord	Rogers, Mass.	Woodrum, Va.
McCowan	Rohrbough	Worley
McGregor		

NAYS—111

Anderson, Calif.	Forand	Myers
Anderson,	Ford	Norton
N. Mex.	Furlong	O'Brien, Ill.
Andrews	Gordon	O'Brien, Mich.
Barry	Gore	O'Connor
Bates, Ky.	Gorski	O'Neal
Bender	Granger	O'Toole
Bloom	Hart	Outland
Boiton	Hartley	Patman
Bradley, Pa.	Heffernan	Patton
Buckley	Hoch	Pfeiffer
Bulwinkle	Holfield	Priest
Burchill, N. Y.	Hull	Rabaut
Burdick	Izac	Randolph
Byrne	Jackson	Robinson, Utah
Canfield	Johnson,	Rogers, Calif.
Cannon, Mo.	Johnson, Okla.	Sabath
Capozzoli	Johnson, Ward	Sadowski
Celler	Lyndon B.	Sauthoff
Chapman	Kee	Scanlon
Clark	Kennedy	Sheppard
Cochran	Keogh	Sheridan
Coffee	King	Snyder
Compton	Kirwan	Somers, N. Y.
Cooley	Lane	Spence
Crosser	Lesinski	Sullivan
Davis	Ludlow	Thomas, Tex.
Dawson	Lynch	Tolan
Delaney	McCormack	Torrens
Dickstein	Madden	Vincent, Ky.
Dilweg	Magnuson	Voorhis, Calif.
Dingell	Mansfield,	Walter
Eberharter	Mont.	Weiss
Fay	Marcantonio	Welch
Fernandez	Merritt	Wene
Fitzpatrick	Miller, Conn.	Wolverton, N. J.
Flannagan	Murdock	Wright
Folger	Murphy	Zimmerman

NOT VOTING—44

Anderson,	Chenoweth	Gamble
H. Carl	Cox	Gibson
Auchincloss	Felgahn	Gifford
Baldwin, Md.	Fogarty	Gilchrist
Baldwin, N. Y.	Fulmer	Harless, Ariz.

Hendricks	McMurray	Rowan
Jarman	Manasco	Short
Jennings	Monrone	Smith, W. Va.
Jonkman	Newsome	Stearns, N. H.
Kelley	O'Hara	Stockman
Klein	O'Leary	Vorys, Ohio
Lambertson	Phillips	Wadsworth
LeFevre	Ploeser	Ward
Luce	Rivers	Wasielewski
McGehee	Rodgers, Pa.	Winter

So the conference report was agreed  
to.

The Clerk announced the following  
pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Ploeser for, with Mr. O'Leary against.  
Mr. Cox for, with Mr. Fogarty against.  
Mr. Short for, with Mr. Kelley against.  
Mr. Baldwin of Maryland for, with Mr.  
Feighan against.

Mr. Gilchrist for, with Mr. McMurray  
against.

Mr. Newsome for, with Mr. Klein against.  
Mr. Lambertson for, with Mr. Wasielewski  
against.

Mr. O'Hara for, with Mr. Rowan against.

General pairs:

Mr. Rivers with Mr. Wadsworth.  
Mr. Harless with Mr. Rogers of Pennsyl-  
vania.

Mr. Manasco with Mr. Phillips.  
Mr. Smith of West Virginia with Mr. Gif-  
ford.

Mr. Ward with Mr. Auchincloss.  
Mr. Fulmer with Mr. Jennings.  
Mr. Monrone with Mr. Stockman.  
Mr. Gibson with Mr. LeFevre.  
Mr. Jarman with Mr. Vorys of Ohio.  
Mr. McGehee with Mr. Gamble.  
Mr. Hendricks with Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. McCord changed his vote from  
"no" to "aye."

The result of the vote was announced  
as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider the vote by  
which the conference report was agreed  
to was laid on the table.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABI-  
LITATION ORGANIZATION

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I submit a  
conference report and statement upon  
House Joint Resolution 192, to enable the  
United States to participate in the work  
of the United Nations relief and reha-  
bilitation organization, for printing, un-  
der the rule.

The conference report and statement  
are as follows:

#### CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the dis-  
agreeing votes of the two Houses on the  
amendments of the Senate to the joint res-  
olution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United  
States to participate in the work of the  
United Nations relief and rehabilitation or-  
ganization, having met, after full and free  
conference, have agreed to recommend and  
do recommend to their respective Houses as  
follows:

That the Senate recede from its amend-  
ment numbered 6.

That the House recede from its disagree-  
ment to the amendments of the Senate  
numbered 1, 7, and 8; and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 2: That the House  
recede from its disagreement to the amend-  
ment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to  
the same with an amendment, as follows:  
At the beginning of said amendment insert  
"Sec. 5.," and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3: That the House  
recede from its disagreement to the amend-  
ment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree  
to the same with an amendment, as follows:



Strike out the section number "5" and insert in lieu thereof "6"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 4: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"Sec. 7. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

"That it is understood that the provision in paragraph 11 of resolution numbered 12 adopted at the first session of the council, referred to in section 3 of this joint resolution and reading "The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief", contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 5: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"Sec. 8. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

"That the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall not be authorized to enter into contracts or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of appropriations made under this authorization and by other countries and receipts from other sources."

And the Senate agree to the same.

SOL BLOOM,  
LUTHER A. JOHNSON,  
CHARLES A. EATON,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

TOM CONNALLY,  
WALTER F. GEORGE,  
ARTHUR CAPPER,

*Managers on the part of the Senate.*

#### STATEMENT

\* The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

Amendment No. 1: The House bill provided that in expressing its approval of this joint resolution it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This amendment excepts from the application of this recommendation areas "within enemy territory and while occupied by the enemy." The House recedes.

Amendment No. 2: This amendment provides that no amendment under article VIII (a) of the agreement involving any new obligation for the United States shall be binding upon the United States without approval by joint resolution of Congress. The House recedes with an amendment inserting a section number.

Amendment No. 3: This amendment provides that in adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with a reservation that in the case of the United States the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount and character and time of the con-

tributions of the United States is the Congress of the United States. The House recedes with an amendment changing the section number.

Amendment No. 4: This amendment provides that in adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the reservation that it is understood that the provision in paragraph 11 of resolution numbered 12 adopted at the first session of the Council, referred to in section 3 of the joint resolution and reading "The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief," contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined to relief only. The House recedes with an amendment providing that the provision in question contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief, in lieu of "relief only".

Amendment No. 5: This amendment provides that in adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with a reservation that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall not be authorized to enter into contracts or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of appropriations made therefor. The House recedes with an amendment to the effect that such authority shall not extend beyond the limits of appropriations made under this authorization and by other countries and receipts from other sources.

Amendment No. 6: This amendment provides that none of the funds appropriated in pursuance of the authorization shall be expended in the promotion of any educational, religious, or political program in any country in which rehabilitation is carried on. The Senate recedes.

Amendment No. 7: This amendment changes a section number; and the House recedes.

Amendment No. 8: The House bill provided that the authorization contained in this joint resolution shall expire at the conclusion of 2 years following the termination of hostilities on all fronts unless specifically extended by an act of Congress. This amendment provides that this authority shall expire on June 30, 1946. The House recedes.

SOL BLOOM,  
LUTHER A. JOHNSON,  
CHARLES A. EATON,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

#### LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Tuesday next, at the conclusion of all business and other special orders I be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in two instances, and in one to include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a joint memorial passed by the legislature of my State and I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in toto.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial from the Chicago Sun entitled "Who Dares To Adjudge the Value of Lend-Lease."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. GORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix and to include therein resolution adopted at meeting held in Chicago, Ill., on February 6, 1944, under the auspices of the Polish National Alliance.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a recent article from the Leominster Enterprise.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague, the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY], be granted indefinite leave of absence on account of the serious illness of his father.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CAPOZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. MERRITT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include two letters and a statement in a newspaper.



## UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

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MARCH 15, 1944.—Ordered to be printed

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Mr. BLOOM, from the committee of conference, submitted the following

### CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H. J. Res. 192]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 6.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 7, and 8; and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 2:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

At the beginning of said amendment insert *Sec. 5.*; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Strike out the section number "5" and insert in lieu thereof 6; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 4:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

*SEC. 7. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:*

*That it is understood that the provision in paragraph 11 of resolution numbered 12 adopted at the first session of the council, referred to in section 3 of this joint resolution and reading "The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief", contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief.*

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 5:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

*SEC. 8. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:*

*That the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall not be authorized to enter into contracts or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of appropriations made under this authorization and by other countries and receipts from other sources.*

And the Senate agree to the same.

SOL BLOOM,  
LUTHER A. JOHNSON,  
CHARLES A. EATON,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

TOM CONNALLY,  
WALTER F. GEORGE,  
ARTHUR CAPPER,

*Managers on the part of the Senate.*



## STATEMENT OF THE MANAGERS ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

Amendment No. 1: The House bill provided that in expressing its approval of this joint resolution it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This amendment excepts from the application of this recommendation areas "within enemy territory and while occupied by the enemy". The House recedes.

Amendment No. 2: This amendment provides that no amendment under article VIII (a) of the agreement involving any new obligation for the United States shall be binding upon the United States without approval by joint resolution of Congress. The House recedes with an amendment inserting a section number.

Amendment No. 3: This amendment provides that in adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with a reservation that in the case of the United States the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount and character and time of the contributions of the United States is the Congress of the United States. The House recedes with an amendment changing the section number.

Amendment No. 4: This amendment provides that in adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the reservation that it is understood that the provision in paragraph 11 of resolution numbered 12 adopted at the first session of the Council, referred to in section 3 of the joint resolution and reading "The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief," contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined to relief only. The House recedes with an amendment providing that the provision in question contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief, in lieu of "relief only".

Amendment No. 5: This amendment provides that in adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with a reservation that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall not be authorized to enter into contracts or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of appropriations made therefor. The House recedes with an amendment to the effect that such authority shall not extend beyond the limits of appropriations made under this authorization and by other countries and receipts from other sources.

Amendment No. 6: This amendment provides that none of the funds appropriated in pursuance of the authorization shall be expended in the promotion of any educational, religious, or political program in any country in which rehabilitation is carried on. The Senate recedes.

Amendment No. 7: This amendment changes a section number and the House recedes.

Amendment No. 8: The House bill provided that the authorization contained in this joint resolution shall expire at the conclusion of 2 years following the termination of hostilities on all fronts unless specifically extended by an act of Congress. This amendment provides that this authority shall expire on June 30, 1946. The House recedes.

SOL BLOOM,  
LUTHER A. JOHNSON,  
CHARLES A. EATON,

*Managers on the part of the House.*











Mar. 21, 1944

2. A.A.A.; FARM MACHINERY; FARM LABOR. Rep. Rizley, Okla., criticized the AAA cards sent to farmers, questioning the authority for a statement included therein that "These plan sheets will be used to secure information for draft deferments and securing farm machinery" (p. 2873).
3. FORESTRY. Passed with amendments S. 250, the sustained-yield forest-management bill (pp. 2874-5). The amendments agreed to, as described by Rep. Case, S. Dak., provide that ample notice be given "to the persons concerned whose lands might be included in either sale or in these cooperative agreements" (p. 2875). Later Rep. White's (Idaho) request that the action in passing this bill be vacated, was rejected on objection of Rep. Canfield, N.J. (p. 2904).
4. TRANSPORTATION; IRRIGATION; ELECTRIFICATION. Continued debate on H.R. 3361, the rivers and harbors bill (pp. 2876-98). Agreed; 106-98, to Rep. Dondero's amendment to strike out the provision for the Tombigbee River project (pp. 2895-6). Rejected, 74-102, a committee amendment offered by Rep. Mansfield, Tex., to provide for delivery of all power generated at plants authorized by this act to the Secretary of the Interior (pp. 2889-91), and 84-98, Rep. Barrett's (Wyo.) amendment providing that the use of the waters of the Missouri River for municipal, domestic, or livestock water supply, for irrigation of lands, and for mining and industrial purposes shall not be adversely affected for the maintenance of a navigable channel (pp. 2878-88). Reps. O'Connor, Wyo., Lemke, N. Dak., and others discussed the flood-control, irrigation, and water utilization aspects of this bill (pp. 2879-86).
5. FOREIGN POLICY. Rep. Scott, Pa., criticized the President's foreign policy, "How to Lose Friends and Alienate People" (pp. 2900-4).
6. SUGAR PROCESSING. Received from Interior copies of "various ordinances enacted by the Public Service Commission of Puerto Rico, granting to the sugar companies and mills listed, the right to engage in the manufacture and processing of raw sugar" (p. 2908).

#### SENATE

7. INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATION BILL. Continued debate on this bill H.R. 4070 (pp. 2854-69). Agreed to committee amendments relating to the Public Buildings Administration, Public Roads Administration, and foreign-service pay adjustment (see Digest 46). Several Senators discussed the committee amendments pertaining to TVA. During the discussion Sen. Hill, Ala., stated that "by failure to understand the difference between unobligated and unexpended balance, ...TVA, a war agency, is left somewhere between \$30,000,000 and \$40,000,000 short of being able to do the...work the Senate committee approves" (p. 2869).
8. FOREIGN RELIEF. Agreed to conference report on H.J. Res. 192, to enable the U. S. to participate in the work of UNRRA (pp. 2845-53). The House has not acted on the report.
9. FARM LABOR; SELECTIVE SERVICE. Sen. Wherry, Nebr., criticized the drafting of farm labor and inserted a Nebr. farmers' petition on the subject (p. 2842).

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BILLS INTRODUCED

10. PERSONNEL; VETERANS. By Sen. Taft, Ohio, S. 1799, to amend Sec. 2 (b) of the Classification Act so as to provide for counting military service of certain employees of the legislative branch in determining the eligibility of such employees for civil service status under such act. To Civil Service Committee. (p. 2843.)
11. HOLIDAY. By Rep. Ludlow, H.J. Res. 256 and H.J. Res. 257, authorizing the President to proclaim Oct. 11 General Pulaski's Memorial Day. To the Judiciary Committee. (p. 2908.)
12. JUDICIARY. By Rep. Sumners, Tex., H.R. 4450, to enable intervention by a State in any suit in any U.S. court in which it has an interest, involving the constitutionality, construction, or application of an act of Congress or an act of a State. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 2908.)
13. FOOD INSPECTION. By Rep. Domengeaux, La., H.R. 4448, to provide for free Government inspection of sea food. To Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. (p. 2908.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

14. FOOD PRODUCTION. Speech in the House by Rep. Burdick, N. Dak., on "The Production of Food and the Further Drafting of Farm Boys" (p. A1503).
15. FARM LABOR. Extension of remarks of Rep. Murray, Wis., on the hourly labor subsidy to food producers (p. A1504).
16. FOOD DISTRIBUTION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Buffett, Nebr., claiming that the "Corn Crisis Results from New Deal Bungling" (p. A1508).
17. FARM LABOR. Rep. Murray, Wis., inserted Dr. Wylie Goodsell's (BAE) table, showing ratio of subsidy payments to hours of man labor (p. A1521).
18. FARM MACHINERY. Rep. Bloom, N.Y., inserted Leo Crowley's statement relating to farm machinery for UNRRA (p. A1527).
19. POST-WAR PLANNING; SURPLUS PROPERTY. Rep. Cochran inserted Rep. Sullivan's (Nev.) address on the disposal of surplus property (p. A1528).
20. BANKING AND CURRENCY. Extension of remarks of Rep. White, Idaho, including a Mexican-American Review article, favoring bimetallism (pp. A1536-7).
21. WILDLIFE CONSERVATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Rovertson, Va., describing the activities of Fish and Wildlife Service, Forest Service, Soil Conservation, etc. in the war and post-war program (pp. A1533-6).

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654, or send to Room 112 Adm. Building. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised of developments on any particular bill.

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soldiers of war production, and for that honor and privilege I apologize to no man.

Going back to the Republican Party, Mr. President, I should like to point out that it is the essence of American democracy that every member of every party should remain free to make his own analysis and to support the candidates whom he feels are worthy of his support. I can only say that the Republican Party—yes, and the Democratic Party, too—could do far worse than to nominate a man of Justice Maxey's character, integrity, and ability.

The Republican Party, Mr. President, as is true of every sound and progressive organization, is now considering more than a dozen outstanding American men for the Presidential nomination this fall; for the Republican Party recognized that all men of ability should be carefully and fully considered for the outstanding positions of public service throughout the Nation.

It is a sad commentary on American democracy and American constitutional government today, Mr. President, that the party in power, far from encouraging the development of the men of ability within its ranks, repeatedly strikes them down because that party is committed to the policy that one man, and one man only, can carry the standard of its organization, regardless of the long-range damage that such a policy may do—and in some measure has done—to the fundamental concepts of American constitutional government.

I know, Mr. President, from the comments which have been made on this floor and from the articles which I have read in various publications, that today there are many Democrats who yearn to cast their ballots for certain outstanding members of their own party, but who have repeatedly suffered their desires to be thwarted because of the powerful and ruthless political organization which has been built up in the Democratic Party to sustain one-man government.

I could speak at great length, Mr. President, regarding the "keepers" of the Democratic New Deal Party, but I shall defer that to another day. I only wish to assure my colleague at this time that I have never been found near the swill barrel of politics, as others whom I could mention have been. I further wish to assure my colleague that the Republican Party will choose its candidate without either his advice or his consent, and that the Republican Party will place its candidate before the American people in order that they may choose freely between the alternatives of constitutional government and the unsavory sort of government which they have received at the hands of the present administration for the past 12 years.

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, I am sorry my colleague becomes so excited over my reading a speech delivered by a distinguished Republican jurist from Pennsylvania and published in a Republican newspaper. I added nothing myself, but merely read direct quotations.

I wish to say now to my colleague that, instead of becoming so excited over what the Republicans say about him, he should wait until his young Democratic op-

ponent takes the stump this fall. Then he will have cause for excitement.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, let me say that if he does it will be under the leadership of the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania, headed by himself [Mr. GUFFEY], and the present State chairman; and if he does do so under that leadership, I will then tell what they said about each other. I welcome the contest.

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, that is a public record, and the Senator has a right to use it and has a perfect right to refer to it.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I regret very much to interrupt a discussion on a matter of such national interest. I call up the conference report on the so-called U. N. R. R. A. bill and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 192) to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 6.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 7, and 8; and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 2: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: At the beginning of said amendment insert "Sec. 5."; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: Strike out the section number "5" and insert in lieu thereof "6"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 4: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 7. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

"That it is understood that the provision in paragraph 11 of resolution numbered 12 adopted at the first session of the council, referred to in section 3 of this joint resolution and reading 'The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief', contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 5: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 8. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

"That the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall not be au-

thorized to enter into contracts or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of appropriations made under this authorization and by other countries and receipts from other sources."

And the Senate agree to the same.

TOM CONNALLY,  
WALTER F. GEORGE,  
ARTHUR CAPPER,

*Managers on the part of the Senate.*

SOL BLOOM,  
LUTHER A. JOHNSON,  
CHARLES A. EATON,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, in the conference the Senate conferees had their way about every amendment with the exception of the so-called Willis amendment. We modified very slightly one of the Senate amendments, but did not change its effect or its meaning. One of the proponents of those amendments was the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR]. Let me say that the Senator from Tennessee has expressed to me privately—he is here if he wishes to deny it publicly—his agreement with what the Senate conferees have done in that respect.

Mr. McKELLAR rose.

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I did not ask the Senator to yield to me, but I shall be delighted to have him do so.

Mr. President, let me say to the Senator that I told him in private that, although I would have preferred that the one amendment, I believe, which was changed somewhat might not have been changed, nevertheless I favored it. I say so publicly in the same way. I try never to say anything in private that I will not stand by in public.

If the Senator from Texas desires to have my opinion, I will say I am inclined to think that the amendment offered by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WILLIS] was a very excellent one, and I was very sorry that it was omitted in the conference. But, so far as my own amendments are concerned, I understood the Senator to say that the conferees did not change their meaning. That is what I was principally concerned with. I have no objection so far as my own amendments are concerned.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator from Tennessee. I was sure he would confirm what I said.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. WILLIS. Will the distinguished Senator from Texas inform us what the objection was on the part of the House conferees to my amendment?

Mr. CONNALLY. Has the Senator available a copy of his amendment?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. I will say to the Senator from Indiana that his amendment was strenuously objected to by the House conferees. They advised the conference that the question had been voted upon in the House Foreign Affairs Committee a number of times, and that each time the proposal had been overwhelmingly defeated. The House conferees were absolutely adamant in their objection to the amendment of the Senator from In-



diana, principally on the theory that there was nothing in the joint resolution which would authorize the acts which the Senator's amendment denounced, and that the U. N. R. R. A. would have no authority, without the amendment, to do any of the things which the amendment would prohibit. The Senate conferees concurred in that construction. The U. N. R. R. A. would have no authority to do any of the things which the Senator's amendment would prohibit.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, will the Senator state how many meetings of the conference committee were held on this subject?

Mr. CONNALLY. I recall two. I do not remember whether we had more than two.

Mr. WILLIS. Will the Senator state how much time was given to the discussion of this amendment?

Mr. CONNALLY. I did not have a stop-watch.

Mr. WILLIS. I do not ask for the exact time. Was it 15 minutes or an hour?

Mr. CONNALLY. I should say it was even longer than an hour. Both Senators and Representatives were present, and, of course, 15 minutes would have been an unreasonable limitation. We discussed it for more than 15 minutes.

Mr. WILLIS. Does the Senator believe that there was full and free discussion of the amendment?

Mr. CONNALLY. I believe it was thoroughly understood.

Mr. WILLIS. Was it fully and freely discussed?

Mr. CONNALLY. It was fully and freely discussed. There was no time limit, and every member of the conference committee could talk as long as he desired. Other members of the conference committee are present. The Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] was a member of the conference committee, and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CAPPER] was also a member.

Mr. WILLIS. I should like to ask the Senator on what he bases his statement that this question was considered in the House? The amendment originated with me.

Mr. CONNALLY. It was considered by the House committee.

Mr. WILLIS. But it was never passed on by the House.

Mr. CONNALLY. Not that I know of. However, I was assured that it was considered by the House committee several times, and that on each occasion the committee voted it down.

Mr. WILLIS. Did the Senate conferees suggest that the amendment be taken back to the House for action by the Whole House?

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not know that we suggested it, but that question was discussed, and it was indicated that the House conferees did not care to do so. It had already been acted upon in committee, and the House conferees were determined in their opposition to the amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, in my opinion this is an example of democracy in reverse. This amendment was offered

in the Senate in good faith, and supported by a vote of 45 to 18. Then it went to conference. It was never considered on the floor of the House. The Senator says it was considered in the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I am not advised as to that, but I accept his word. I do not know how it was brought before the House committee in the form in which it was passed by the Senate. The amendment was supported in the Senate by all three of the Senate conferees when the vote was taken.

That brings us to the situation in which an amendment agreed to by a vote of nearly 3 to 1 in the Senate, and supported by the three Senate conferees, is blocked by a vote of three Members of the House. That certainly is a perversion of democratic processes. Under those circumstances it seems to me that it would have been only just for the Senate conferees to have insisted that the amendment be taken before the House for acceptance or rejection by the House. Does the Senator have any objection to that philosophy? Would he be willing to take the joint resolution back to conference, and ask the House to vote on the amendment?

Mr. CONNALLY. I will say to the Senator that the Senator from Texas has no objection to that philosophy; but I certainly would object to rejecting the conference report and going back to conference and asking the House to have a separate vote on something on which it has already expressed itself rather determinedly. In my view, the matter is of little importance, because there is nothing in the joint resolution which would authorize such activities.

Mr. WILLIS. I will come to that in a moment.

Mr. CONNALLY. So far as democracy in reverse is concerned, the Senator must be advised that in order to become a law a measure must be passed by both Houses.

Mr. WILLIS. That is correct; but this amendment has never been before the House for consideration.

Mr. CONNALLY. The joint resolution was passed by the House without the amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. I take it that three Members of the House blocked the acceptance of this amendment.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not know about that. When the House acts and sends us an official report, I do not try to go behind it and examine all the internal arrangements by which the House arrived at its conclusion. That is not our province. When the House sends a bill or joint resolution to the Senate with the certificate of the Clerk, that is the action of the House, and it is not the province of the Senate to analyze the action of the House and tell the House wherein it erred. That would be a violation of the proper comity which should exist between the two bodies.

Mr. President, I have great sympathy with the Senator from Indiana. He acted in perfect good faith; but many of us act in good faith, and yet do not succeed in achieving our desires and ambitions. That is about all I can say to the Senator.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, I repeat it is a strange perversion of democracy when three members of a conference committee can block an amendment which was adopted by the Senate by a vote of 45 to 18, and which has never been considered on the floor of the House.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me say to the Senator that the House conferees were only three in number, but they represented the entire House. They were the conferees on the part of the House of Representatives, whether their number was one or a dozen. So it is not quite fair to pick out three conferees and say that they are the culprits.

Mr. WILLIS. I think it is fair to say to the Senator that from a democratic standpoint, this amendment should have had full consideration by the House. It was agreed to in the Senate by a wide majority, and it certainly should have been considered by the House of Representatives. I say that merely as a statement of a broad principle of democracy, without going into the details of the rules. On the basis of general principle this amendment should have been considered by the House, and I believe the conferees on the part of the Senate would agree that it would be only fair to insist on a vote in the House.

As to the need for the amendment, it was offered in absolutely good faith on my part, and I believe it was supported in good faith by all Members of the Senate who voted for it, including the three Senate conferees. I believe that they felt it of sufficient importance to cast a well-considered vote on it. If they had thought that it was of no importance, they should have protested at that time.

Mr. President, in order that we may further intelligently discuss the amendment, I ask that it be read by the clerk. It is Senate amendment numbered 6.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment, Senate amendment No. 6, as follows:

SEC. 8. None of the funds appropriated in pursuance of this authorization shall be expended in the promotion of any educational, religious, or political program in any country in which rehabilitation is carried on.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, I think all of us want America to extend a charitable, generous, and helpful hand to our allies in a wise manner, and to those who have suffered from the devastations of this great war. In doing so, I believe that we should start from the beginning with the boundaries of this aid clearly outlined, with a chart clearly drawn, so that everyone, not only in our own land but in the countries to which we send aid, may know what our purposes are. I do not like to use this comparison; but we are appropriating \$1,350,000,000 into a fund in which we are to have one forty-fourth of the expending power. That we can do. We are, in plain words, unpleasant as they may be, entering into an international W. P. A. for relief. Already we have allocated 500,000 separate implements of agriculture, some to be delivered by July of this year, while our own farmers here at home are daily denied the request for



implements which they sorely need to produce food for America.

We saw the W. P. A. operate in times past in this country. We know that the power to subsidize also carries with it the power to regulate. No matter how honest may be the intentions of the men who may be designated to administer the relief, we know that throughout the course of its administration there will be some who will say that certain educational, religious, and political programs must be carried out as a prerequisite to the relief so sorely needed. We had such an experience in our own country in connection with our own relief methods, and there is every reason to make it crystal clear that this will not be the purpose of America in its relations with other countries.

Senators, we are attempting to establish a program to take to the world the idea that America is a great and generous country of freedom-loving people. In carrying that thought to every nation, let us make it absolutely clear to them that there will be no effort on our part to restrict their religious, political, or educational ideologies. So it seems to me to be very necessary that this amendment be included in the joint resolution, and in the restrictions surrounding the resolution, before it is enacted into law.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the adoption of the conference report.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In order that the conference report may be properly before the Senate, the Chair will inquire, Is there objection to its present consideration?

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, when I presented the conference report I asked for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the conference report is before the Senate, and the question is on agreeing to the report.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, I renew my request for the yeas and nays on the adoption of the report.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WILLIS. I wish it to be stated, Mr. President, that in voting to reject the conference report we would not in anyway be expressing opposition to the objectives of the joint resolution. We would merely be asking that a further effort be made to include this delineating amendment in the report of the conference committee, and that it be taken back to conference with the understanding that the conferees should expend every effort to have the amendment submitted to the House of Representatives.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I am in no disagreement whatever with the able Senator from Indiana regarding the fundamental objective to which he subscribes, and which he has defined. This great international relief agency should not and must not degenerate into any activities in the field of education, religion, or politics. However, I am in deep disagreement with my distinguished friend respecting the procedure which he recommends in arriving at this result.

I think it is very unfortunate that this phase of the United Nations Relief and

Rehabilitation agreement should have an emphasis placed upon it which might invite someone, somewhere, somehow, to believe that there is in the U. N. R. R. A. agreement some sort of a hidden license to permit the promotion of educational, religious, or political programs in the countries involved.

Mr. President, I had some responsibility in connection with the formation of this agreement, and that is the reason why I primarily feel it to be necessary to speak very plainly and frankly about it. I assert that by no stretch of anyone's imagination is there at any place in the agreement anything by which the power and authority of this organization could be used directly or indirectly in educational, religious, or political programs in any country on earth, anywhere, or at any time.

Mr. President, when we redrew the U. N. R. R. A. agreement in consultation between the State Department and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations we scrupulously took literally months in which to circumscribe the authority which we were creating in order to be sure that it would involve nothing beyond the naked essentialities of relief in the areas behind our military lines as our Army moves on in its victorious forward march.

The only rehabilitation to which we gave any license whatever—and it is textually stated—is rehabilitation related exclusively to the administration of successful relief itself.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Supplementing what the Senator has said, I hold in my hand a memorandum from the State Department in which it is stated:

The U. N. R. R. A. has no power whatever to enter into educational, religious, or political activities.

It confirms what the Senator has said.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think it is so primary, so elemental, and so axiomatic, Mr. President, that I dislike to see an issue drawn here in a formal fashion which, in the event that the suggestion of the Senator from Indiana were approved, might invite the inference that there is some sort of authority involved in the agreement for the promotion of any educational, religious, or political program.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WILLIS. What would be the objection, then, to clearly stating it in the joint resolution?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, there was no objection on my part when the issue originally arose, and I voted for the Senator's amendment. I was one of the 45 Senators who voted in the affirmative. However, I so voted solely because I thought the amendment was surplusage and could do no harm. I still think it could have done no harm. If I had been a member of the conference committee, I should have voted to retain it in the joint resolution. However, I think it is totally needless. I do not think it adds anything to the inherent precautions which are

already apparent in the agreement itself. I do not believe that if the amendment had never been proposed we would find this organization even remotely approaching the promotion of educational, religious, or political programs. If it should ever do so, whoever may be responsible for it should be impeached, because it would squarely defy the purpose of the entire undertaking.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, I am in entire sympathy, I will say to the able Senator from Michigan, with such action as he has suggested being taken in case the program referred to were attempted. However, I can see no harm in the amendment, and I can see a very great need for including it in the joint resolution. I believe we should make further effort to have it put in so that there may be no misunderstanding in the future in reference to this provision.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I fully understand the earnestness with which the able Senator from Indiana presents his point of view, and I have no complaint or criticism to make of it. I sympathize with his attitude. I would have no part in creating any international function of a character which had any license, by any possible indirection, even, to deal in any educational, religious, or political program. The difference between us is that since the conference report omits the textual prohibition which was inserted by the Senate, I am not in favor of jeopardizing the entire conference report, or emphasizing this one particular thing to the exclusion of everything else, by proceeding as indicated in the suggestion of the Senator from Indiana, because I would not under any circumstances lend any color at any time in any way, or at any place, to any remote thought that there can be any promotion of educational, religious, or political programs under the authority of this agreement.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President—

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. BREWSTER. I certainly appreciate the Senator's confidence, but there is no authority whatsoever for any such procedure. I wish I might share the Senator's confidence that no one associated with this administration will ever do anything that is not authorized within the law. I have heard the able Senator from Michigan at times express considerable doubt upon that score; and in order that there may be no misapprehension, I think the more clear we make our intent the less possibility there is that any of the administrators may proceed under a misapprehension. It is for that reason that I welcome this language.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me say to the Senator that if he is asking me to underwrite the fact that this administration never exceeds its authority and never goes beyond the congressional intent as expressed in statutes, he has asked me to do something which I decline to have any part of, because I have seen the crime committed too often. But I submit to the Senator that if we are to confront that sort of maladministration of this act, then the mere inclusion of these few additional words will not stop the maladministrators.



Mr. BREWSTER. It at least will render it so that no man of any integrity or intelligence can possibly ignore its existence. It is for that reason that I welcome it. I should like to ask the Senator—

Mr. VANDENBERG. Before the Senator goes any further, I do not want to forget those words of his, because they are good. I agree that no man of intelligence or integrity can find one scintilla of authority in this agreement to proceed 1 millimeter in the direction of the promotion of any educational, religious, or political program.

Mr. BREWSTER. I should like to go one step further. It has come to my attention, and I think I am accurately informed, that four of the chief countries of Europe, with which I think we are most concerned, France, Belgium, Holland, and Norway, or Denmark, have, for reasons which seem good and sufficient unto themselves, felt sufficient concern regarding the possibility of some ideological penetration that they have taken the full responsibility of buying out of their own funds all the supplies which could be available or required in those countries in order that there might be no question as to their complete control of the distribution for fear of the very things which we have in mind. Has the Senator any information regarding that situation?

Mr. VANDENBERG. No; but I can understand why such fears might exist in respect to the broad problems involved in post-war reconstruction. I assert, however, that we have met the situation ourselves in the construction of this agreement and this act, and we have put the limitations upon the managers of U. N. R. R. A. so definitely and so specifically in respect to their functions and their obligations and their responsibilities that it is beyond my comprehension that any American official could by any stretch of the imagination, I repeat, lend himself to any such prostitution of this statute; and if the existing limitations are insufficient then we cannot write limitations that will be sufficient.

I remind the Senate that this whole thing is created on such a basis that there is nothing authorized except as it is authorized by specific appropriations of the Congress from time to time; and we can write what limitations we please upon those appropriations when they are made and we have not violated the spirit of this agreement when we do it. If we cannot take care of ourselves in this particular instance, after having erected these safeguards, then God help us when we confront the major problems of the post-war contemplation.

Mr. BREWSTER. I understand that the Senator has no objection to the House at least having an opportunity to express itself upon this score if it could be secured with due regard for parliamentary proprieties.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I would have no objection whatever to an expression by the House on the subject, but I know of no way by rejecting the conference report that a vote can be produced in the House.

Mr. BREWSTER. Except, if the House are as interested as we are in the

charitable aid of foreign countries, the conferees of the House, I assume, would, following a rejection, be willing to take this to the House in order to permit 435 Members of the House to express themselves, as we have here, and as three conferees of the House have. I assume that is the purpose of the vote we are about to take. We simply politely ask them, "Will you consider this?"

Mr. VANDENBERG. If I have not made it plain to the Senator why I shall not vote for that process, I shall make one further attempt. I am sure it is my fault and not that of the Senator.

Mr. BREWSTER. I wanted the Senator to be clear why I would vote for the proposal.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am unwilling by my vote in connection with this issue to indicate that there is one scintilla of doubt in my mind—

Mr. BREWSTER. The Senator has already indicated that.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Or one reservation of any nature whatsoever that anybody in connection with this undertaking can do the thing the Senator is talking about.

Mr. BREWSTER. The Senator has already indicated that by one vote on this very amendment. Is he not willing to vote a second time for what he voted for the first time?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I was perfectly willing to accept it in the original routine; but I am not willing to make it an issue which, when thus made an issue and if adopted after being made a major issue would invite the suggestion that there is somewhere involved here the authority to promote educational or religious or political programs. I am not willing in any way whatsoever to create any situation which concedes that U. N. R. R. A. can touch the question of educational or religious or political programs.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President—

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. GEORGE. I call attention to the fact that this is a mere authorization and that every dollar that is hereafter appropriated can be hedged about by any limitation the Congress wishes to put upon it. But we do not stop at that in this conference report. In the Senate and in the conference we insisted upon the amendment which is numbered 3, which was adopted, and which is clear and which in express terms is a reservation to the agreement itself creating U. N. R. R. A. not merely an amendment to this joint resolution but a reservation to the agreement which all the nations party to the agreement must accept. The reservation is this:

That in the case of the United States the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount and character and time of the contributions of the United States is the Congress of the United States.

Not only that, but we insisted upon a further amendment which the conferees on the part of the House accepted, by way of a reservation to the U. N. R. R. A. agreement itself, and not merely to this joint resolution of the Congress. The reservation appears as section 6, and reads as follows:

In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

That it is understood that the provision in paragraph 11 of resolution numbered 12 adopted at the first session of the council, referred to in section 3 of this joint resolution and reading "the task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief."

Note this reservation, which all the parties to the U. N. R. R. A. agreement must accede to or accept:

The provision \* \* \* contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief.

The amendment which was offered by the distinguished Senator from Indiana related to rehabilitation only, and here is a positive affirmative reservation which goes down to the very heart of the whole U. N. R. R. A. organization, which in affirmative language says that rehabilitation contemplates, means, and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief.

We have another reservation in the measure which provides that the authorities in administering U. N. R. R. A., the responsible organization set up under the agreement, cannot change it so as to bind the United States without the consent of the Congress of the United States expressed by joint resolution. So we concluded that there was no need to insert a negative, a mere limiting provision, in lieu of these positive, direct declarations confining U. N. R. R. A. to the doing only of the one thing, to wit, affording relief.

Of course, no one can guarantee that appointed agents of the Government, or of an international organization such as this, may not abuse their powers or their authority. That they could do under any sort of an appropriation that was made by the Congress. The point is that we have safeguarded this matter as far as we can safeguard it, by insisting upon reservations, not mere amendments made to a resolution, but insisting upon reservations to the organic agreement of the several powers which are now contributors to U. N. R. R. A., to its support and to its maintenance. We have hedged it around certainly so that there can be no abuse of the power which we are granting except by the deliberate act of an agent who does not correctly and properly and honorably represent his country. We would not, of course, attribute to those who are called on to administer U. N. R. R. A. any intent or purpose of that kind.

Above everything else, before a single dollar can go out of the Treasury of the United States for this purpose, the identical language which appears in this rejected section can be offered as an amendment to any appropriation bill, because it would be a proper limitation on the use of the money. Every dollar can have attached to it the identical limitation which was contained in the amendment offered, in all good faith, by the Senator from Indiana, an amendment for which I suppose I voted. I do not think I would have been disposed to vote against it. But here we have the affirmative declaration of precisely how far anything can be authorized, with the added



assurance that no change in the constitution of U. N. R. R. A. can be made, so as to bind us or affect us, except upon a ratification of the change made by the Congress of the United States by appropriate resolution. So we can fix the limitation.

I should like to say to the Senator from Indiana that I have no great enthusiasm for U. N. R. R. A., and if I had had any authority or power in bringing about the setting up of the relief organization, it would have been a relief organization, so far as the United States is concerned, that would have acted on its own, and would not have been tied up with agreements on the part of other nations. But, while I have no great enthusiasm for U. N. R. R. A., I think we have hedged it about as far as is necessary, and especially when it is remembered that this is a mere authorization of a total appropriation for a period limited until June or July 1946. When our Appropriations Committee brings in an appropriation bill containing any amount for U. N. R. R. A., this limitation can be inserted.

Mr. WILLIS and Mr. AIKEN addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I will yield in a moment. I thank the Senator from Georgia for his statement. He confirms the analysis which I have made of the situation, and I think the analysis is invincible.

He brings up one point which I had intended to advert to briefly in respect to the language in the amendment of the Senator from Indiana. The language itself is most unfortunate, because it applies only to countries in which rehabilitation is carried on. We have sought throughout the creation of this instrumentality to limit the rehabilitation so far as possible, and to justify only such rehabilitation as is intimately and indispensably related to the administration of relief. Yet the Senator's amendment applies only to rehabilitation, and does not apply to relief.

That is an utterly secondary and inconsequential consideration, but I submit that it indicates once more that this is, after all, not the Arc of the Covenant, and that we have not lost everything if we lose this amendment.

I now yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, I should like to say that the language can very well be made to read "relief and rehabilitation." It is to be regretted that the Senator from Michigan did not insert the language when we adopted the amendment. I appreciate his long experience and his ability, and he probably could have drafted the amendment much better than I, in my inexperience, drafted it. I shall be glad to have that included in the conference agreement.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I now yield to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I listened with interest to the comments of the Senator from Georgia, who was on the conference committee, and particularly to his statement that this limitation

could be added to an appropriation bill when it comes up later, and we are asked to appropriate for the U. N. R. R. A. It does not seem to me that in fairness to U. N. R. R. A. itself we can do that. They should not be required to wait until that time before they know what they can do. As I understand, the officials in charge of U. N. R. R. A. are now making their plans for the expenditure of these funds, and they will come in later and tell us from time to time how much they need. It may be that they are planning for an educational program in connection with the distribution of food. I may say that in my mind there is some question whether they should not be permitted to indulge in a little educational program covering the use of this food. But they are making their plans now, and if they come in with plans calling for an educational program, as our W. P. A. did, and we say to them, "Not a dollar of this can be spent on an educational program," they will have to retrace their steps and make their plans all over again.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I may say, in reply to the Senator from Vermont, that they contemplate nothing of the sort. They are already on notice. They have said in a letter which the Senator from Texas has just read that they know they have authority to do no such thing, and in the letter read they have said they contemplated nothing of the sort. So I am not at all fearful about their being misled. No man who had anything whatever to do with the formation of this undertaking could be misled about any license for the promotion of educational, religious, or political programs under it.

Mr. President, I sum up by saying that I think we are better off, we are safer, in respect to the objective which the able Senator from Indiana appropriately embraces, in not sending this matter back to conference seeking to make a major issue of this particular amendment, because if we send it back and the Senator's amendment is then formally rejected, it will be rejected, so far as legislators are concerned, because they say it is surplusage and unnecessary, but rejected perhaps with the result that somebody hereafter may say, "Congress declined to prohibit the promotion of educational, religious, or political programs."

Now if we accept this conference report, I want to say finally that we have not rejected a prohibition against educational, religious, or political programs under U. N. R. R. A. We have simply confirmed the fact that nowhere, at no time, under any circumstances directly or indirectly is there any remote authority in the document itself or in the agreement or in the administration for the promotion of educational, religious, or political programs anywhere on earth.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, the Senate has already inserted this amendment in the joint resolution, and now it is proposed that we remove the restriction provided by the amendment. I think the time for such action has passed. If we desire to make such restriction plain and secure, it is absolutely necessary that we include the amendment in the joint resolution.

Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], for whose great ability no Senator has higher regard than have I, said that we can place the provision in the appropriation bill. But it can be taken out of the appropriation bill as easily as it is now proposed to take it out of the joint resolution. Let us not begin such a practice. Let us say in the beginning that we mean what we say by the amendment, and stand by it. I think it highly important that the amendment be carried in the final form of the joint resolution.

I agree with what Senators much more able than I have said, that perhaps there is nothing in the joint resolution which gives any authority to any agency or to any administrator to use the fund for the purposes in question. But we have seen in recent times a strange perversion of the interpretation of the laws of our land, and we do not know how in the future some administrator may interpret the provisions of this resolution. So let us set out the restriction in language so plain that everyone can understand it.

Mr. President, in the interest not only of our good will to the people we desire to aid, but for the protection of the people of America, we should write this restriction into the joint resolution, and say that we are going to extend relief in such a way that we shall not in any way restrict the ideologies which to the people involved are dear, or do anything which, if we were in their place, and the situation were reversed, we would not want them to do to us. Let us practice the golden rule with respect to these people and say "We will not do anything to you that we would not want you to do to us," and let us put it in the measure in language so plain that no one can misunderstand it.

Mr. President, I realize that it would be embarrassing to some who want to vote for the amendment to vote against the conference report. Therefore I should like to move that the conference report be recommitted to the committee for further consideration on the basis of the discussion which has been heard here today.

Mr. President, I move to recommit the conference report to the conference committee with the request that the committee use every effort to have the amendment before the House of Representatives. On this motion I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The plain motion to recommit is in order. The yeas and nays on the motion have been asked for. Is the demand seconded?

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I wish to say a few words before a vote is taken. The Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] have very clearly set forth the lack of necessity for the amendment and its undesirability. I wish to suggest now what the Senate will be doing if the measure is sent back to conference. The Senator from Indiana seems to think we can send it back to conference, and that the conferees can simply fix up a little generator and the



whole thing will work all right. That would seem to him to be very simple. But when the Senate sends the measure back it means that we reject every amendment for which we secured the consent of the House. What are those things? Do Senators suppose the House is simply going to say, "Yes; we accept all the amendments which the Senate proposed, and we recede on all our proposals"?

What are the amendments? Let Senators read the report and note the amendments we succeeded in getting the House to agree to—amendments which really are vital to the whole project.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. WILLIS. There has been no objection to the other amendments carried in the report of the committee, has there?

Mr. CONNALLY. No; but the House is a party to this proceeding. When the measure is sent back to conference the whole subject which was in conference is opened up again. The House Members can renew their objection to every amendment which was agreed to in conference, and the House can do the same.

Mr. WILLIS. There is not much likelihood that they will do so, is there?

Mr. CONNALLY. If I were a House conferee I think I would have some views concerning the Senate getting what it supposedly wanted and then demanding, after a full and free conference, that the House reconsider the matter in order to vote separately on one amendment. The House has some conception of its dignity and its power.

Mr. President, what have we obtained in this conference? Here is one of the very vital amendments to which we secured the consent of the House, though it was not secured on the first vote. The matter had to be argued and debated, but finally we did secure the consent of the House conferees. I refer to the reservation contained in section 7. As pointed out by the Senator from Georgia, it is a reservation to the very vitals of the original agreement between the nations. They must all consent to it. I read it:

SEC. 7. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

That it is understood that the provision in paragraph 11 of resolution numbered 12, adopted at the first session of the Council, referred to in section 3 of this joint resolution and reading "The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief."

That is the language that was contained in the amendment, and then we added, interpreting that language:

Contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief.

By reason of the acceptance by the House of that amendment of the Senate we tie all this organization's activities down to relief only. We exclude rehabilitation. We exclude the activities which the Senator would prohibit in his amendment, because the State Depart-

ment, which is sponsoring this matter, officially has advised me as follows:

U. N. R. R. A. has no power whatever to enter into educational, religious, or political activities.

When this measure is sent back to conference in order to adjust the amendment of the Senator from Indiana, it is sent back for all purposes, and none of these amendments are then adopted unless we obtain a renewal of the action of the House, and get the House to agree. Do Senators think House Members are going to be in very good humor to agree, after we have obtained practically everything we asked for in conference, and then go back to them and say, "Wait a minute now, you must take this amendment back. There must be a separate vote on this amendment just as we want it, and you have got to accept it just as we say it should be worded."

What other things did we obtain in the conference? I ask Senators to read the report. I read section 8, as follows:

SEC. 8. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservations:

That the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall not be authorized—

This is vital, it goes to the fundamentals of the authority of the Congress, the control of the purse. We are tying the whole Administration, not simply our contribution, but we are tying the whole U. N. R. R. A. to the proposition—

shall not be authorized to enter into contracts or undertake to incur obligations beyond the limits of appropriations made under this authorization and by other countries and receipts from other sources.

That is what we have done. We secured the consent of the House conferees to that provision. If the conference report is adopted by the House and the Senate, it will be provided in the law that the U. N. R. R. A. itself cannot make its plans, cannot assume obligations, or cannot make commitments beyond the limitations of the appropriations made by the Congress of the United States and the limitations in connection with the funds which it has received from other countries. Is not that sound? Are we not tying their hands? Are we not delimiting their authority?

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BROOKS. I should like to ask the Senator a question. The pending motion is to recommit the conference report. Is it not true that no action is taken on the conference report until the Senate acts upon it?

Mr. CONNALLY. Action of what kind?

Mr. BROOKS. Action by the House. Does not the House wait until the Senate acts upon the conference report?

Mr. CONNALLY. Oh, yes; I assume that to be correct.

Mr. BROOKS. Then if the Senate should ask the House to reconsider, could it not be reconsidered in conference, without going back to the House for a vote?

Mr. CONNALLY. Oh, yes.

Mr. BROOKS. Is it not possible, then, for the three conferees on the part of the Senate to go to the conferees on the part of the House in the same spirit in which the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WILLIS] has presented the matter, and to say, "The Senate feels very strongly on this matter, and we wish you would accept it. We are not insulting the House, and we are not challenging the House, but we are merely asking the House to cooperate."

Mr. CONNALLY. Oh, yes; all that is possible; the millenium is possible; a great many things are possible, which are not going to happen. I say to the Senator from Illinois that of course the Senate conferees could go back to the conference with the House conferees. When we went back to the conference, what would we say? We would say, "Well, we appreciate your agreeing to all these other amendments in which we are really interested, and which are vital; but here is another little amendment. The Senate has rejected the report, and has sent it back to conference, and we want you to accept this amendment."

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BROOKS. I respectfully submit that in some men's eyes it may be a very little thing, but in my judgment it is a very large thing. This is a step by which we are moving out into the world's domain, and are contributing more than 60 percent of the funds which are to be used for relief. The people of America, if I understand their present temper, want this Congress to write out, to spell out, and to define to the last dotting of an "i" and the crossing of a "t" what we are going to do in these foreign relations affairs. In the report which was made here the distinguished chairman of the committee said:

The signing of the United Nations relief agreement is a milestone in the development of the foreign policy of the United States.

That is exactly what I believe it is going to be; and I, for one, would like to have it limited, and, now that the question has been brought up, I would like to have a double limitation that it be confined to relief, not used for educational, political, or religious purposes which would lead us into any foreign complications in the future. The resolution is not a trivial one.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I respect the views of the Senator from Illinois. I realize his interest in the matter, and I realize the interest of the Senator from Indiana. I wish to say that so far as the foreign-relations angle of this matter is concerned, I rather share the view of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] that there was no enthusiasm about our voting to extend relief.

I view this measure, however, as a part of the program of the war. We do not wish to have chaos in Europe, because chaos in Europe would mean that the waves which would there be set in motion would wash our shores. We do not want in Europe communism generated by hunger and want, and fomented by



the agitation of politicians from other countries and the propaganda of other lands. We want this war to be successfully waged, and then we wish to have a just and durable peace, and the possibility of setting up an agency which we hope will prevent our enemies from again bathing the earth in blood.

But let us see. The Senator wishes to have every "i" dotted and every "t" crossed. How can we do that without having the dictionary inserted as an amendment to practically every measure? An authorization is an authorization. It does not extend beyond the grant of powers contained in the authorization. If we are going to adopt negative prohibitions—"you shall not do this; you shall not do that; you shall not do the other," every imaginable thing which occurs to our minds—the measure will be impracticable and impossible. Suppose someone says, "Why do you not put in the resolution a provision that the U. N. R. R. A. shall not furnish anything but dairy products, and shall not use any other kind of fats except dairy fats? Why do you not prohibit the use of anything else, and prohibit the use of any kind of wheat except wheat from the United States?"

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. WILLIS. The Senator from Texas would not compare dairy products with political, educational, and religious matters; would he?

Mr. CONNALLY. No; and I do not.

Mr. WILLIS. I merely wanted to make that point clear.

Mr. CONNALLY. But it helps a fellow meet his religious engagements if he has dairy products.

Mr. WILLIS. We desire to make sure that the funds contributed by the United States are not used for religious, political, or educational purposes.

Mr. CONNALLY. No provision authorizing the use of the funds for such purposes is contained in the joint resolution, and no authorization for such use is contained in it. I challenge the Senator from Indiana, if he wishes to be meticulous, to put his finger on a phrase or a clause or a word in the measure which authorizes the use of the funds for religious, political, or educational purposes. The Senator is a very able gentleman. He is a journalist. He burns the midnight oil, no doubt; and if such a phrase or clause or word is contained in the resolution, he will find it.

But, Mr. President, above all that, are these amendments whose adoption we have secured, and which guarantee to the present Congress and to all future Congresses the right in passing upon the appropriations to tie upon every dollar, every dime, and copper within such appropriation any limitation which may be desired. The Congress can insert a limitation that the U. N. R. R. A. may not use a dollar of the money appropriated to buy calico, but must buy broadcloth. Future Congresses can insert in the appropriations any denial or limitation as to the purpose for which the money shall be spent. That is our power; that is our

authority. It is the power to control the purse. Senators talk about the power of the Congress to do this, to do that, and to do the other thing, but so long as we hold the reins on appropriations, so long as we turn on or turn off the spigot of money coming from the Treasury, the Congress of the United States will remain the governing power in this Republic because, under the power to control the purse, the Congress can deny money to the President of the United States; under the power to control the purse, the Congress can, if it so desire, palayze the Supreme Court by refusing to appropriate for the salaries of the judges of the Court. Under the power to control the purse the Congress can interdict the operation of any department of the Government until it does the bidding of Congress. The cases are extreme ones, but they illustrate the magnitude and the wide sweep of the control of the Congress over the purse. We have such control in connection with this conference report.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I am impressed by the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Texas, as I was by the remarks of the Senator from Georgia and the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. A moment ago the Senator challenged the Senator from Indiana to point out one word or phrase—

Mr. CONNALLY. I did not challenge the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I invite the Senator's attention to the language on page 3. This is the section which gives U. N. R. R. A. the power to do what it may do. This section provides that U. N. R. R. A. shall have the power—

To plan, coordinate, administer, or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations—

This is the significant part—

through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services—

During the time I have been a Member of the Senate I have seen all kinds of interpretations, far from what Congress intended in legislation, placed upon acts of Congress by agencies of the Government. I do not care to have Judge Rosenman decide what "other essential services" means. I want the Congress to state what may be done.

Mr. CONNALLY. I appreciate the interruption of the Senator from South Dakota, and his generous comment respecting the Senator from Texas, the Senator from Georgia, and the Senator from Michigan. I feel sure that I am authorized to speak for them. However, frankly I do not see anything objectionable in the language of which the Senator complains. It says "other basic necessities." What is a basic necessity?

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Under the provisions of the joint resolution, who is to interpret what the words "other essential services" mean?

Mr. CONNALLY. Initially, the administrators of the program. If they should determine upon something that we did not think should be done, we could stop it by means of limitations on appropriations.

The Senator from South Dakota made some reference to Judge Rosenman. I do not happen to hold a brief for Judge Rosenman. He needs none. I do not know what he has to do with this measure. I never heard of him in connection with it. We held hearings in the Committee on Foreign Relations, and the Senate passed the joint resolution, and we have had conferences for 3 or 4 days with the House conferees. Frankly, I never heard Judge Rosenman's name mentioned. I looked under every desk and table in the room, but he was not under any of them. [Laughter.] What has he to do with the joint resolution? I do not know.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Was the Senator looking for him?

Mr. CONNALLY. I thought perhaps the Senator from South Dakota might inquire, when the conference report was under consideration, what Mr. Rosenman had to do with it; and merely as a matter of precaution, I looked carefully under every desk, but I did not see Judge Rosenman anywhere. [Laughter.]

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Did the Senator look under the President's desk?

Mr. CONNALLY. That was the shot that got me. [Laughter.] No; we did not look under the President's desk. The President was at the White House, and we held these meetings in the committee room of the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which the Senator from South Dakota is welcome at all times. If our search is not thorough enough, we will ask him to come and bring a flashlight, a telescope, and a magnifying glass.

I do not know what Judge Rosenman has to do with this question. So far as I am concerned, he has nothing to do with it. He is not doing the thinking for the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE]; he is not doing the thinking for the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG]; and if I may modestly say so, he is not doing the thinking for me. He has never talked with me about the joint resolution. He has never spoken to me about any other measure pending before the Senate. He has never made any suggestion to me about anything on earth connected with this Government. That is all I know about Judge Rosenman.

Mr. President, I do not care to consume more of the time of the Senate. Under provisions to which we have secured the consent of the House, we establish a perpetuity of control by the Congress over every dollar that may be appropriated. The amendment of the Senator from Indiana is not necessary. It would not do any harm; but the House conferees were adamant. They told us that the question had been voted upon in the committee



three or four times. There are persistent Members in the House as well as in the Senate. They kept bringing it up and urging it. The committee voted against it repeatedly, and the House conferees were determined not to accept the amendment. So I hope the Senate will reject the motion to recommit so that the conference report may be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McFARLAND in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WILLIS] to recommit the conference report. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HAYDEN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. NYE]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD] and will vote. I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DAVIS. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER]. I am informed that if he were present he would vote as I am about to vote. I am therefore free to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. McKELLAR. I have a general pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CORDON]. Not knowing how he would vote, I withhold my vote.

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] are absent from the Senate because of illness. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] would vote "nay."

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BAILEY], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] are detained in Government departments on matters pertaining to their respective States. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] would vote "nay."

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO], the Senator from Arkansas [Mrs. CARAWAY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MALONEY], the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] are detained on public business. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] would vote "nay."

The Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] is detained in a committee meeting.

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MURDOCK], the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL], the Senator from North Caro-

lina [Mr. REYNOLDS], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. SCRUGHAM], and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. MURDOCK], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] would vote "nay."

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] is leaving for New Mexico tonight, and is transacting business in some of the Government departments. I am advised that if present and voting, he would vote "nay."

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. JACKSON] and the Senator from Washington [Mr. WALLGREN] are absent on official business. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Indiana and the Senator from Washington would vote "nay."

The Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] has a general pair with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED].

The Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] has a general pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES].

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] is paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS]. The Senator from New Hampshire is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MOORE] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED] has a general pair with the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER]. The Senator from Kansas is necessarily absent.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] is absent on public matters.

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 36, as follows:

#### YEAS—22

Aiken	Hawkes	Thomas, Idaho
Brewster	Holman	Weeks
Brooks	Langer	Wherry
Buck	Millikin	Wiley
Burton	Revercomb	Willis
Bushfield	Robertson	Wilson
Danaher	Shipstead	
Ferguson	Taft	

#### NAYS—36

Andrews	George	Maybank
Austin	Gerry	O'Mahoney
Bail	Gillette	Overton
Barkley	Green	Radcliffe
Bone	Guffey	Stewart
Capper	Hayden	Truman
Clark, Mo.	Hill	Tunnell
Connally	Kilgore	Tydings
Davis	La Follette	Vandenberg
Downey	McCarran	Walsh, Mass.
Eastland	McClellan	Walsh, N. J.
Ellender	McFarland	White

#### NOT VOTING—38

Bailey	Hatch	Pepper
Bankhead	Jackson	Reed
Bilbo	Johnson, Calif.	Reynolds
Bridges	Johnson, Colo.	Russell
Butler	Lucas	Scrugham
Byrd	McKellar	Smith
Caraway	Maloney	Thomas, Okla.
Chandler	Mead	Thomas, Utah
Chavez	Moore	Tobey
Clark, Idaho	Murdock	Wagner
Cordon	Murray	Wallgren
Glass	Nye	Wheeler
Gurney	O'Daniel	

So Mr. WILLIS' motion to recommit the conference report was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question now recurs on the motion to agree to

the conference report. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DAVIS (when his name was called). Making the same announcement which I made in connection with the previous vote, as to the transfer of my pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], I am at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. HAYDEN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. NYE]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD] and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. McKELLAR (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. CORDON]. Not knowing how he would vote if present, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] are absent from the Senate because of illness. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Virginia would vote "yea."

The Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] are detained in a committee meeting.

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. JACKSON] and the Senator from Washington [Mr. WALLGREN] are absent on official business. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Indiana and the Senator from Washington would vote "yea."

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] is leaving for New Mexico tonight and he is transacting business in some of the Government departments. I am advised that if present and voting, he would vote "yea."

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BAILEY], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] are detained in various Government departments on matters pertaining to their respective States. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] would vote "yea."

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO], the Senator from Arkansas [Mrs. CARAWAY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MALONEY], the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] are detained on public business. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] would vote "yea."

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MURDOCK], the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL], the Senator from North Caro-



3. FOREIGN RELIEF. Agreed, 285-58, to the conference report on H.J.Res. 192, providing for U.S. participation in UMRPA (pp. 2969-76). This measure will now be sent to the President. Rep. Johnson, Ill., criticized and inserted tables showing the amount of the planned foreign farm machinery distribution program (pp. 2969-72).

12. CROP INSURANCE. Sen. Langer, N.Dak., inserted Ward Co. (N.Dak.) Agricultural Conservation Assns. resolutions favoring a nation-wide crop insurance corporation (pp. 2913-4).

13. BANKING AND CURRENCY. Sen. Capper, Kans., discussed S. 1642, to amend the Federal Reserve Act, so as to provide that the absorption of exchange and collection charges shall not be deemed the payment of interest on deposits.



lina [Mr. REYNOLDS], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. SCRUGHAM], and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MURDOCK], and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] would vote "yea."

The Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] has a general pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES].

The Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] has a general pair with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED].

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] is paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS]. The Senator from New Hampshire is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MOORE] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED] has a general pair with the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER]. The Senator from Kansas is necessarily absent.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] is absent on public matters.

The result was announced—yeas 47, nays 9, as follows:

## YEAS—47

Aiken	Ferguson	O'Mahoney
Andrews	George	Overton
Austin	Gerry	Radcliffe
Barkley	Gillette	Robertson
Bone	Green	Stewart
Brewster	Guffey	Taft
Burton	Hawkes	Truman
Byrd	Hayden	Tunnell
Capper	Hill	Tydings
Clark, Mo.	Holman	Vandenberg
Connally	Kilgore	Walsh, Mass.
Danaher	La Follette	Walsh, N. J.
Davis	Langer	Weeks
Downey	McFarland	White
Eastland	Maybank	Wiley
Ellender	Murray	

## NAYS—9

Brooks	Millikin	Wherry
Buck	Revercomb	Willis
McClellan	Shipstead	Wilson

## NOT VOTING—40

Bailey	Hatch	Reed
Ball	Jackson	Reynolds
Bankhead	Johnson, Calif.	Russell
Bilbo	Johnson, Colo.	Scrugham
Bridges	Lucas	Smith
Bushfield	McCarran	Thomas, Idaho
Butler	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Caraway	Maloney	Thomas, Utah
Chandler	Mead	Tobey
Chavez	Moore	Wagner
Clark, Idaho	Murdoch	Wallgren
Cordon	Nye	Wheeler
Glass	O'Daniel	
Gurney	Pepper	

So the conference report was agreed to.

#### APPOINTMENT OF BRIGADIER GENERALS OF THE LINE IN THE REGULAR ARMY

Mr. AUSTIN. From the Committee on Military Affairs I report back the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1410) to amend section 4 of the act approved June 30, 1940, with the recommendation that the Senate concur in the House amendment. I ask unanimous consent for immediate consideration of the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1410) to amend section 4 of the

act approved June 13, 1940, which on motion of Mr. AUSTIN on November 29 had been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, as follows:

On page 1, strike out all after line 4 over to and including line 6, on page 2, and insert:

"SEC. 4. That hereafter brigadier generals of the line shall be appointed from among officers of the line commissioned in grades not below that of lieutenant colonel who are credited with 28 years' continuous commissioned service in the Regular Army as hereinbefore provided and whose names are borne on an eligible list prepared annually by a board of not less than five general officers of the line, not below the grade of major general: *Provided, however,* That not more than 25 percent of the total authorized number of brigadier generals of the line may be appointed, without regard to length of service, from among officers of the line commissioned in grades not below that of lieutenant colonel and whose names are borne on such eligible list. Hereafter appointment as chief of any branch shall be made from among officers commissioned in grades not below that of lieutenant colonel who are credited with 28 years' continuous commissioned service in the Regular Army as hereinbefore provided, and who have demonstrated by actual and extended service in such branch or on similar duty that they are qualified for such appointment."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the amendment of the House to Senate bill 1410.

The amendment was concurred in.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, for the sake of the RECORD, I ask to have inserted a memorandum for the President of the Senate, signed by President Roosevelt, dated October 1, 1943, which explains the occasion for the amendment of section 4. It explains it just as well as I could explain it, and since this bill has already been thoroughly considered and a full explanation made at the time it passed the Senate, I will refrain from further discussing the matter.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the memorandum will be printed in the RECORD.

There was no objection.

The memorandum is as follows:

Attached is a list of nominations to fill vacancies among the permanent general officers of the line. The names of these particular officers are well known for the conspicuous services they have already rendered the Nation in the present emergency. Five of them, however, Lieutenant Generals Kenney and Clark and Major Generals Handy, Eaker, and Smith, have less than the legally prescribed 28 years of continuous commissioned service in the Regular Army which is required by the National Defense Act as a prerequisite to appointment as a brigadier general of the line of the Regular Army. The provisions of the National Defense Act quite evidently had in mind peacetime conditions because it is not conceivable that a lieutenant general, for example, in highly successful command of our Air Forces engaged with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific is not qualified for appointment as a brigadier general of the Regular Army.

I hope you will arrange for the necessary modification of the law to meet this situation.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I understand that the action taken by the Senate in concurring in the House amendment passes the bill. Is that correct?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment is concerned in, and the bill is passed.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed without amendment the following bills of the Senate:

S. 1349. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to convey to the city of New York certain lands within the Brooklyn Navy Yard in the city of New York;

S. 1428. An act to amend the provision of the act authorizing payment of 6 months' death gratuity to widow, child, or dependent relative of officers, enlisted men, or nurses of the Navy or Marine Corps, and for other purposes;

S. 1635. An act to eliminate a pay discrimination against the teacher of music at the United States Military Academy; and

S. 1653. An act to provide titles for heads of staff departments of the United States Marine Corps, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, each with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 1640. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to accept gifts and bequests for the United States Naval Academy, and for other purposes; and

S. 1647. An act to amend the act approved March 2, 1895, as amended.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 2037. An act to codify and enact into absolute law, title 9 of the United States Code, entitled "Arbitration";

H. R. 2038. An act to codify and enact into absolute law title 4 of the United States Code, entitled "Flag and Seal, Seat of Government, and the States";

H. R. 2039. An act to codify and enact into absolute law title 6 of the United States Code, entitled "Official and Penal Bonds";

H. R. 2040. An act to codify and enact into absolute law, title 1 of the United States Code, entitled "General Provisions";

H. R. 2973. An act to provide that no person shall publish or distribute any political statement relating to a candidate for election to any Federal office which does not contain the name of the person responsible for its publication or distribution;

H. R. 4140. An act to amend section 334 (c) of the Nationality Act of 1940, approved October 14, 1940 (54 Stat. 1156-1157; 8 U. S. C. 734);

H. R. 4271. An act to amend the Nationality Act of 1940 to preserve the nationality of citizens residing abroad; and

H. R. 4414. An act making appropriations for the legislative branch and for the judiciary for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 72) to provide for appropriate commemoration of the Centennial of the Telegraph on May 24, 1944, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

#### HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H. R. 2037. An act to codify and enact into absolute law, title 9 of the United States Code, entitled "Arbitration";

H. R. 2038. An act to codify and enact into absolute law title 4 of the United States Code, entitled "Flag and Seal, Seat of Government, and the States";



H. R. 2039. An act to codify and enact into absolute law title 6 of the United States Code, entitled "Official and Penal Bonds";

H. R. 2040. An act to codify and enact into absolute law, title 1 of the United States Code, entitled "General Provisions"; and

H. R. 2973. An act to provide that no person shall publish or distribute any political statement relating to a candidate for election to any Federal office which does not contain the name of the person responsible for its publication or distribution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 4140. An act to amend section 334 (c) of the Nationality Act of 1940, approved October 14, 1940 (54 Stat. 1156-1157; 8 U. S. C. 734), and

H. R. 4271. An act to amend the Nationality Act of 1940 to preserve the nationality of citizens residing abroad; to the Committee on Immigration.

H. R. 4414. An act making appropriations for the legislative branch and for the judiciary for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

#### HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 72) to provide for appropriate commemoration of the Centennial of the Telegraph on May 24, 1944, was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

#### EXECUTIVE AND INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 4070) making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The next amendment reported by the committee will be stated.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Federal Power Commission—Salaries and expenses," on page 13, line 24, after the word "periodicals", to strike out "\$2,000,000" and insert "\$1,997,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 15, line 8, after the word "lithographing", to strike out "\$30,000" and insert "\$25,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Federal Trade Commission," on page 15, line 20, after the word "act", to strike out "\$2,011,070" and insert "\$1,978,707."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 16, at the end of line 2, to reduce the appropriation for printing and binding for the Federal Trade Commission from \$48,900 to \$43,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Federal Works Agency—Public Buildings Administration," on page 19, line 13, after "(45 Stat. 533)", to strike out "\$3,000,000" and insert "\$2,000,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 20, line 11, after the word "conductors", to strike out "and the purchase of two motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles; \$29,532,400" and insert "\$29,530,800."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 21, line 4, after the word "employees", to strike out "purchase, repair, and cleaning of uniforms for guards and elevator conductors, the purchase of one motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicle"; and in line 11, before the word "Provided", to strike out "\$10,581,000" and insert "\$9,581,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Federal-aid highway system," on page 24, line 23, after the word "probation", to strike out the colon and the following additional proviso: "Provided further, That not to exceed \$55,000 of the funds provided for carrying out the provisions of the Federal Highway Act of November 9, 1921 (23 U. S. C. 21, 23), shall be available for the purchase of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Inter-American Highway," on page 27, line 11, after the words "Revised Statutes", to strike out "including the purchase of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Strategic highway network," on page 28, line 5, after "(23 U. S. C. 104)", to strike out "\$20,000,000" and insert "\$10,000,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Surveys and plans," on page 28, line 24, before the word "to", to strike out "\$5,000,000" and insert "\$4,000,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 29, after line 2, to insert:

All funds heretofore appropriated to the Public Roads Administration for the construction of roads but impounded or withheld from obligation or expenditure by any agency or official are hereby released and made available for obligation or expenditure for the purposes for which they were originally appropriated.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Foreign-Service pay adjustment," on page 29, line 23, after the word "therein", to strike out "\$722,390" and insert "\$640,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "General Accounting Office," on page 30, line 8, after the word "periodicals" and the semicolon, to strike out "the purchase of one motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicle"; and in line 10, after the word "vehicles", to strike out "\$1,200,000" and insert "\$1,198,600."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Interstate Commerce Commission, salaries and expenses," on page 34, line 15, after the word "services" and the semicolon, to strike out "purchase (not to exceed seven)"; and in line 19, after the word "act", to strike out "\$3,260,000" and insert "\$3,250,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics," on page 36, line 3, before the word "maintenance", to strike

out "purchase"; and in line 10, after the words "in all", to strike out "\$23,220,130" and insert "\$23,218,830."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "National Archives," on page 37, line 9, after the word "vehicle", to strike out "\$1,042,340" and insert "\$1,084,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "National Housing Agency, Federal Housing Administration," on page 43, line 10, after the word "exceed", to strike out "\$10,484,635" and insert "\$10,184,635."

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, on that amendment I wish to call the attention of the Senate and of the Senator from Tennessee to a situation in regard to the Federal Housing Administration which it seems to me should justify the Senate in rejecting the amendment.

What the amendment does is to reduce by \$300,000 the appropriation for the Federal Housing Administration. As we know, the Federal Housing Administration is one of the agencies of the Federal Government that is really self-sustaining. All its expenses are paid out of its income, and, in addition to that, money is turned back into the Treasury.

We know that while the Federal Housing Administration is not now as active in the matter of financing the construction and repair of houses as it was prior to the war, yet I think we can all look forward to a very great increase in the construction and repair of houses throughout the United States when the war is over. Of course, no houses can be built now and very little repair work can be done because of the scarcity of building materials and because of priorities which are unobtainable in regard to building material of all kinds. I have no doubt that, just as there will be Nationwide road building inaugurated at the conclusion of the war under the provisions of legislation which I think we may anticipate to the same extent and along with it will come a resurgence of house building in the United States, because by the time this war is over and materials become available there will no doubt be a general desire and need for more houses in the United States to shelter people who are now being housed in various war areas by facilities which the Government has built. Those facilities will not be available in widely scattered sections of the country and there will undoubtedly be a great need for more housing facilities, affording an outlet for house-building material, and for the employment of carpenters, plumbers, and the like. It seems to me unwise to reduce by \$300,000 the appropriation for this self-sustaining agency, so that it will have to disband part of its organization in order to meet the reduced appropriation. It should be encouraged to be looking forward to the time when the Federal Housing Administration will be more greatly needed than it is now, and in my judgment even more so than it may have been when the organization was set up.

I am wondering whether the Senator from Tennessee does not realize the importance of this situation. I have here a copy of a letter furnished me by the









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78th-2nd, No. 53

DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
(Issued March 23, 1944, for actions of Wednesday, March 22, 1944)

(For the staff of the Department only)

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HOUSE

1. AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL. Began general debate on this bill, H.R. 4443, (pp. 2977-90). Rep. Tarver, Ga., discussed the provisions of the bill (pp. 2977-83), and spoke favoring restoration of CCC's capital (p. 2983). Rep. Plumley, Vt., commended the work of Drs. Auchter (ARA), Reed (BDI), and Bennett (SCS) (pp. 2984-5). Rep. Murray, Wis., criticized and inserted tables showing the cost of AAA payments but stated that Congress should "not blame the administration of the A.A.A. for something that is a provision of law that we each year sanction by legislation" (pp. 2985-90); Rep. Rizley, Okla., discussed with him WFA's authority "to determine who is entitled to a draft deferment as an essential farmer" and "who shall be entitled to a quota of farm machinery" and Rep. Murray criticized a War-Meat-Board slaughtering order and WFA's reply to his query on this subject (p. 2990).
2. A.A.A.; GASOLINE RATIONING. Rep. Springer, Ind., criticized the AAA cards sent to farmers, questioning the policy of a statement included therein that "A recent ruling provides that future nonhighway gasoline allotments will be based on your completing this farm plan" (p. 2946).
3. FOREIGN RELIEF. Agreed, 285-58, to the conference report on H.J.Res. 192, providing for U.S. participation in UNRRA (pp. 2969-76). This measure will now be sent to the President. Rep. Johnson, Ill., criticized and inserted tables showing the amount of the planned foreign farm machinery distribution program (pp. 2969-72).
4. TRANSPORTATION; IRRIGATION. Passed, 213-46, with amendments, H.R. 3961, the rivers and harbors bill (pp. 2951-69). Agreed to Rep. Mansfield's committee amendment providing that the excess-land provisions of the Federal reclamation laws shall not be applicable to lands irrigated by the Central Valley Project after rejecting Rep. Voorhis' (Calif.) modifying amendment (pp. 2962-4). Re-

jected, 48-77, an amendment by Rep. Robinson (Utah) providing that the waters of the Western States shall not be used in any way to interfere with domestic use, irrigation, mining, or industrial use whenever established under State law (pp. 2951-7), and an amendment by Rep. Barrett (Wyo.) to strike out all reference to the Missouri River (pp. 2957-60). Rep. Barrett inserted his correspondence with the War Department on the Missouri River project (pp. : 2957-60).

5. **FLOOD CONTROL.** Received the War Department's flood control survey report on the Miss. River between Cairo, Ill., and Baton Rouge, La. (H.Doc. 509). To Flood Control Committee. (p. 3003.)
6. **PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT.** Received WPB's 10th report of operations (p. 3003).
7. **BANKING AND CURRENCY.** Rep. Smith, Ohio, discussed the "united and associated nations stabilization fund" plan (pp. 2990-3003).
8. **COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS.** Accepted Rep. Outland's (Calif.) resignation from the Irrigation and Reclamation, Public Buildings and Grounds, Public Lands, Territories, and Indian Affairs Committees (p. 2951).

#### SENATE

9. **INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS BILL.** Continued debate on this bill, H.R. 4070 (pp. 2919-29, 2930-9, 2940-3). Sens. Hill, Ala., McKellar, Tenn., and others discussed TVA, and Sen. Aiken, Vt., commended TVA's fertilizer and power activities (pp. 2940-1).
10. **FEED IMPORTS.** Passed as reported H.R. 4410, after agreeing to the committee amendment to permit duty-free imports of oats for human consumption which was attached to the bill as reported by the Finance Committee earlier in the day (S. Rept. 765) (pp. 2914, 2929-30). As passed, this bill extends for an additional 90 days (until June 20, 1944) the period during which wheat, oats, barley, rye, flax, cottonseed, corn, or hay, or their products may be imported duty-free for use as livestock or poultry feed; and permits duty-free imports of flaxseed and oats for human consumption during this period. Later the House concurred in the Senate amendment (p. 2976). This bill will now be sent to the President.
11. **FORESTRY.** Concurred in House amendments to S. 250, the sustained-yield forest-management bill (p. 2933). (For provisions see Digest 52.) This bill will now be sent to the President.
12. **CROP INSURANCE.** Sen. Langer, N.Dak., inserted Ward Co. (N.Dak.) Agricultural Conservation Assns. resolutions favoring a nation-wide crop insurance corporation (pp. 2913-4).
13. **BANKING AND CURRENCY.** Sen. Capper, Kans., discussed S. 1642, to amend the Federal Reserve Act, so as to provide that the absorption of exchange and collection charges shall not be deemed the payment of interest on deposits, and inserted a Kansas Bankers Assn. resolution and statement opposing this bill (pp. 2912-3).
14. **FLOOD CONTROL.** Received a Vt. Legislature resolution favoring H.R. 4179, to repeal the provision of the Federal flood control law authorizing the Secretary of War to carry out flood-control projects without the prior consent and









[PUBLIC LAW 267—78TH CONGRESS]

[CHAPTER 135—2D SESSION]

[H. J. Res. 192]

JOINT RESOLUTION

To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President such sums, not to exceed \$1,350,000,000 in the aggregate, as the Congress may determine from time to time to be appropriate for participation by the United States (including contributions in funds or otherwise and all necessary expenses related thereto) in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by an agreement concluded by the United Nations and Associated Governments on November 9, 1943, reading as follows:

“AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND  
REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

“The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto,

“Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war,

“Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services,

“Have agreed as follows:

“ARTICLE I

“There is hereby established the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

“1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects and purposes.

“2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

“(a) To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and

other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services. The form of activities of the Administration within the territory of a member government wherein that government exercises administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed by the member government for carrying out measures planned by the Administration therein shall be determined after consultation with and with the consent of the member government.

“(b) To formulate and recommend measures for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships and other procurement activities in the period following the cessation of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and activities of the Administration with the total movement of supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distribution of available supplies. The Administration may administer such coordination measures as may be authorized by the member governments concerned.

“(c) To study, formulate and recommend for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of its experience in planning and performing the work of relief and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recommendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be referred to any or all of the member governments for individual or joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the Central Committee and by vote of the Council.

## “ARTICLE II

### “MEMBERSHIP

“The members of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be the governments or authorities signatory hereto and such other governments or authorities as may upon application for membership be admitted thereto by action of the Council. The Council may, if it desires, authorize the Central Committee to accept new members between sessions of the Council.

“Wherever the term ‘member government’ is used in this Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the Administration whether a government or an authority.

## “ARTICLE III

### “THE COUNCIL

“1. Each member government shall name one representative, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which shall be the policy-making body of the Administration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one of its members to preside at the session. The Council shall determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise provided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the Council shall vote by simple majority.



"2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may be convened in special session whenever the Central Committee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within thirty days after request therefor by one-third of the members of the Council.

"3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, with the Director General presiding, without vote. Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee which shall be communicated promptly to each member government. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by the Council at any regular session or at any special session called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The Central Committee shall invite the participation of the representative of any member government at those of its meetings at which action of special interest to such government is discussed. It shall invite the participation of the representative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affecting the provision of supplies are discussed.

"4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing those member governments likely to be principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies designed to assure the provision of required supplies. The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting supplies.

"5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the European area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern area and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The regional committees shall normally meet within their respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect to relief

and rehabilitation within their respective areas. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the Inter-Allied Committee on European Post-war Relief established in London on September 24, 1941, and the records of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for Europe.

"6. The Council shall establish such other standing regional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions of such committees and the method of appointing their members being identical to that provided in Article III, paragraph 5, with respect to the Committees of the Council for Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also establish such other standing committees as it considers desirable to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council, to advise the Central Committee. For such standing technical committees as may be established, in respect of particular problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, repatriation, and finance, the members may be members of the Council or alternates nominated by them because of special competence in their respective fields of work. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. Should a regional committee so desire, subcommittees of the standing technical committees shall be established by the technical committees in consultation with the regional committees, to advise the regional committees.

"7. The travel and other expenses of members of the Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by the governments which they represent.

"8. All reports and recommendations of committees of the Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 4.

#### "ARTICLE IV

##### "THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

"1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The Director General may be removed by the Council on recommendation by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

"2. The Director General shall have full power and authority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available resources and the broad policies determined by the Council or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office he shall in conjunction with the military and other appropriate authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations, arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary supplies and create or select the emergency organization required for this purpose. In arranging for the procurement, transportation, and distribution of supplies and services, he and his representatives shall consult and



collaborate with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the Administration without the consent and unless subject to the regulation of the Director General. The powers and duties of the Director General are subject to the limitations of Article VII.

"3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the organization and direction of the functions contemplated by Article I, paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c).

"4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy Directors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General, or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General, shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities as shall be required by the Council and its committees, including the regional committees and subcommittees. Such Deputy Directors General as shall be assigned special functions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it advised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation program within the region.

"5. The Director General shall make periodic reports to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall be made public except for such portions as the Central Committee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Nations, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests of a member government in such a way as to render it questionable whether it should be published, such government shall have an opportunity of expressing its views on the question of publication. The Director General shall also arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activities of the Administration within each region and he shall transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the Council, the Central Committee and the respective regional committees.

## "ARTICLE V

### "SUPPLIES AND RESOURCES

"1. In so far as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall authorize, each member government will contribute to the support of the Administration in order to accomplish the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). The amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies. All such contributions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

"2. The supplies and resources made available by the member governments shall be kept in review in relation to prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall initiate action with the member governments with a view to assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be required.

"3. All purchases by any of the member governments, to be made outside their own territories during the war for relief or rehabilita-

tion purposes, shall be made only after consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United Nations agency.

#### "ARTICLE VI

##### "ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

"The Director General shall submit to the Council an annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be allocated to the member governments in proportions to be determined by the Council. Each member government undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its share of the administrative expenses so determined.

#### "ARTICLE VII

"Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary. The determination that such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be made by its military commander.

#### "ARTICLE VIII

##### "AMENDMENT

"The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as follows:

"a. Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it;

"b. Amendments involving modification of Article III or Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the Central Committee;

"c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote.

#### "ARTICLE IX

##### "ENTRY INTO FORCE

"This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

#### "ARTICLE X

##### "WITHDRAWAL

"Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of six months from the entry into force of the Agreement for that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve months after the date of its communica-



tion to the Director General subject to the member government having met by that time all financial, supply or other material obligations accepted or undertaken by it."

SEC. 2. Amounts appropriated under this resolution shall be expended under the direction of the President pursuant to section 1 hereof. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures made under any such appropriations and of operations under the Agreement.

SEC. 3. In the adoption of this joint resolution the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the policy adopted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the first session of the Council, summarized in paragraph 11 of Resolution Numbered 12, and reading as follows:

"11. The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, but only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the Agreement. Problems, such as unemployment, are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences and, at the same time, motives of action. The Administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world."

SEC. 4. In expressing its approval of this joint resolution, it is the recommendation of Congress that insofar as funds and facilities permit, any area (except within enemy territory and while occupied by the enemy) important to the military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in the benefits to be made available through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

SEC. 5. No amendment under article VIII (a) of the agreement involving any new obligation for the United States shall be binding upon the United States without approval by joint resolution of Congress.

SEC. 6. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

That in the case of the United States the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount and character and time of the contributions of the United States is the Congress of the United States.

SEC. 7. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

That it is understood that the provision in paragraph 11 of resolution numbered 12 adopted at the first session of the council, referred to in section 3 of this joint resolution and reading "The task of rehabilitation must not be considered as the beginning of reconstruction—it is coterminous with relief", contemplates that rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief.

SEC. 8. In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following reservation:

That the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall not be authorized to enter into contracts or undertake or incur obligations beyond the limits of appropriations made under this authorization and by other countries and receipts from other sources.

SEC. 9. The authorization contained in this joint resolution shall expire on June 30, 1946.

Approved March 28, 1944.

